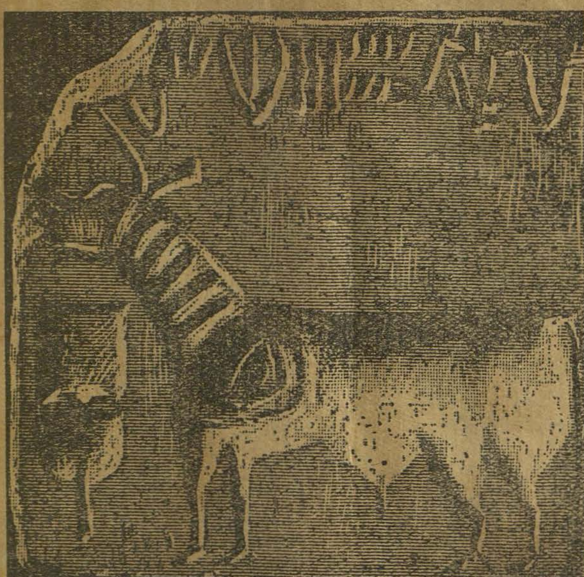
THE INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Edited by
NARENDRA NATH LAW

Vol. VII



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THE

Indian Historical Quarterly

Vol. VII MARCH, 1931 No. 1

On Foreign Element in the Tantra

I

The Tantra still remains an enigma to us. Very little work has been done in this domain and very little attempt has been made in the interpretation of its doctrines. But the fact remains that a vast literature has been written on it—a literature which is mostly found in manuscripts. The Tantras can be broadly divided into two classes—orthodox and heterodox. The orthodox Tantras are mainly represented by the Āgamas, the Yāmalas and their supplements. The heterodox Tantras are both Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical and are represented by the texts of a number of Tantrik schools like Kulācāra, Vāmācāra, Sahajayāna, Vajrayāna etc. In the present article I will deal with a number of indications contained in the Tantrik literature which definitely points out that mystic practices of foreign origin crept into the heterodox class of Indian Tantras at a very early date.

Mm. H. P. Sastri in his *Catalogue of the Palm-Leaf Mss. of the Darbar Library, Nepal* (1905, p. lxxix) quotes a very significant stanza from the *Kubjikā-tantra* which points out that the Kubjikā School of Tantras is probably of foreign origin :

1 The Substance of this paper was read at the *Anthropological Section* of the 6th All-India Oriental Conference held at Patna, December, 1930.

Gaccha tvam bhārate varṣe' dhikārāya sarvataḥ |
Pīṭhopapīṭhakṣetreṣu kuru sṛṣṭir anekadhā ||

"Go to India to establish yourself in the whole country and make manifold creations in the sacred places of primary and secondary importance."

In another place in the same Tantra the Tantras of this school are said to have originated among the potters, a low class Hindu, and this is why they are said to have belonged to the *Kulālikāmnāya.* It is prescribed there that the Goddess Kubjikā should be worshipped in the house of a potter.

A certain number of Tantrik practices styled Cīnācāras have been much discussed by scholars. The *Tārā-Tantra* adopted by both Hinduism and Buddhism says that the cult of Cīna-Tārā came from the country of Mahā-Cīna. Vasiṣṭha, one of the greatest sages of Brāhmaṇism, is said to have gone to the country of Mahā-Cīna to meet Buddha, who was to be found at that time neither in India nor in Tibet. Vasiṣṭha was initiated there by Buddha to the secret doctrines of Cīnācāra and subsequently came back to India to propagate them. In this Cīnācāra Prof. Sylvain Lévi finds distant echo of the secret societies which existed in China (*Le Nepal,* I, pp. 346f.). On my part while discussing one of the Sādhanas published by Dr. Binayatosh Bhattacharya (no. 127 of the *Sādhanamāla*) I have tried to establish the identity of Mahā-Cīna-Tārā with Ekajaṭā, whose cult is said to have been recovered by Siddha Nāgārjuna in Tibet (I. H. Q., vol. VI, pp. 584ff.). The Sādhana of the Goddess Ekajaṭā was discovered by him in the country of Bhoṭa (*Ārya-Nāgārjunapādaiḥ Bhoṭeṣu uddhṛtam*). The description of Ekajaṭā is found in six different Sādhanas (123-128). It closely agrees with that of Mahācīnakrama-Tārā as found in Sādhanas 100 and 101. A comparison of these two goddesses show that they are essentially identical, the only difference being in the *Bīja-mantra*; in the case of Cīnakrama-Tārā, it is composed of three letters, and in the case of Ekajaṭā, it is sometimes composed of 4 and sometimes of 5 letters. Corresponding to these goddesses we find in the Hindu Pantheon Tārā, Ugratārā, Kkajaṭā, and Mahā-Nīlasarasvatī. The dhyānas of these goddesses as found in the Hindu Tantras literally correspond with those found in the Buddhist Sādhanas. In my article already referred to I have also quoted from the *Sammoha Tantra* found by me in Nepal the following significant passage about the origin of this goddess :—

"The Maheśvara said unto Brahmā, hear from me about Mahā Nīlasarasvatī with attention. It is through her favour that you will narrate the four Vedas. There is a lake called *Cola* on the western side of the Meru. The mother, goddess Nīlogratārā was born there... the light issuing from my upper eye fell into the lake *Cola* and took a blue colour. There was a sage called Akṣobhya, who was Śiva himself in the form of a *muni*, on the northern side of the Meru. It was he who meditated first on the goddess (?), who was Pārvatī herself reincarnating in Cīnadeśa at the time of the great deluge."

According to this text Nīlasarasvatī or Ugratārā was born in a lake called *Cola* on the western side of the Meru; which was included in the Cīnā-deśa. I suggested that *Cola* is probably to be connected with the common word for lake, *kul*, *kol*, which is found with the names of so many lakes to the west and north of the *T'ien shan* that is in the pure Mongolian zone.

There are ample evidences to prove that the zone of heterodox Tantras went far beyond the natural limits of India. Some of the Tantras divide the Tantrik world into three *krāntās* or regions, Viṣṇukrāntā, Aśvakrāntā and Rathakrāntā. Viṣṇukrāntā comprises the region from the Vindhyas to Chaṭṭala (Chittagong), Aśvakrāntā, the region from the Vindhya to Mahācīna including Nepal, and Rathakrāntā from the Vindhya to the great ocean including Kamboj and Java (see Avalon, *Principles of the Tantra*, vol. II, Introd.).

In the *Sammoha Tantra* (fol. 7 a-b) we find a similar enumeration of Tantrik zones. The zones are here fixed according to two different Tantrik modes, known as *Kādi* and *Hādi*. The countries in which the *Kādi* mode is in vogue are the following :—

Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Kerala, Kāśmira, Kāmrūpa, Mahārāṣṭra, Saurāṣṭra, Drāviḍa, Tailiṅga, Malayādri, Karnāṭa, Avanti, Vaidarbha, Ābhīra, Mālava, Caula, Cola, Kamboja, Videha, *Bālhika*, *Kirāta*, Kaikaṭa, *Airāka*, *Bhoṭa*, *Cīna*, *Mahācīna*, Nepāla, Śīlahaṭṭa, Gauḍa, Kośala, Magadha, Snotkala (?Utkala), Kuntala, *Hūṇa*, Koṅkaṇa, Kekaya, Śūrasena, Kaurava, Siṃhala, *Pulinda*, Kaccha, Madra, Sauvīra, Lāṭa, Barbara, Matsya and Sindhu.

The countries in which the *Hādi* mode is in vogue are the following :—

Aṅga, Vaṇga, Kaliṅga, Suvīraka, Kāśmira, Kāmboja, Saurāṣṭra, Magadha, Mahārāṣṭra, Mālava, Nepāla, Kerala, Cola, Cala, Gauḍa, Malaya, Siṃhala, Voṅka(?), Vido (?), Vyonda(?), Karṇāṭa, Lāṭa, Malāṭa, Panaṭa, Andhaka, Pulindaka, *Hūṇa*, Kaura, *Gandhāra*, Vidarbha,

Videha, *Bālhika*, Barbara, Kekaya, Kośala, Kuntala, Kirāta, Śūrasena, Sevara, (? Sauvīra), Banaṭa, Taṅkaṇa, Koṅkaṇa, Matsya, Madra, *Maida*, Saindhava, *Pārśvakika*, Dyorjāla, Yavana, Jala, Jalandhara, Salva (? Śālva), Sindhu.

Two points are noteworthy about the zones described above. A number of countries beyond India are enumerated and described as the centres of Tantrik culture. These are—Bālhika (Balkh), Kirāta (the hill tribes of the Himalayan zone), Bhoṭa (Tibet), Cīna (China), Mahācīna (Mongolia ?), Maida (Media ?), Parśvakika (? Pārasīka—Persia), Airāka (Irak ?), Kamboja, Hūṇa. Yavana, Gandhāra and Nepāla. It is not to be literally believed that Tantrik culture ever spread to all those distant countries. The truth is perhaps that some heterodox schools of Tantras associated themselves with those countries either through tradition or through the community of some mystic beliefs, of which the history is lost to us. We should further note in this connection that even within the limits of India some non-Aryan groups of people like Pulinda, Kirāta, Barbara, Taṅkaṇa, Ābhīra, Kuntala etc. are connected with that paticular culture.

Another important point to be noted is that within the limits of India the countries of the outer zone only are enumerated. The Mid-Land (Madhyadeśa), the country of the orthodox Brāhmaṇical culture, is practically excluded except the doubtful reference to Kaura or Kaurava and Kośala which may very well be Southern Kośala. In an article published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* (Vol. VI, pp. 98ff.) I have tried to establish that the Mid-Land was the country of the orthodox Tantrik culture of which the 18 Āgamas and their supplements formed the sacred literature. But the countries around it like Kāmarūpa, Kāśmīra, Kaliṅga, Koṅkaṇa, Kāñcī, Kośala etc. were not fit places for its cultivation. The Brahmins of those countries were unfit to be priests according to the orthodox Tantras. So it is evident that in these countries on the outer zone grew later on a sort of Tantrik culture which was of a different inspiration.

The unknown compiler of the *Sammoha Tantra* does not remain contented by simply enumerating the different countries. He pretends to possess some knowledge of the Tantras current in some of these countries. Thus on fol. 27b while referring to the Tantras of different schools, he says that the country of Cīna possesses 100 primary and 7 subsidiary Tantras (*śataṃ tantrāṇi cīne tu upatantrāṇi*

sapta ca), Drāviḍa has 20 primary and 25 subsidiary Tantras, Kerala has 60 subsidiary Tantras and so on.

The sacred centres (pīṭhasthānas) of primary importance, as found in the heterodox Hindu Tantras and the Buddhist Tantras are four in number, Kāmarūpa, Pūrṇagiri, Oḍḍiyāna and Jālandhara. Pūrṇagiri has not yet been definitely identified. But there is no doubt that Uḍḍiyāna corresponds to the Swat valley, of which the people used to make "the acquisition of magical formulæ their occupation" (Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 225) already in the time of Hiuen Tsang in the beginning of the seventh century A.D. Jālandhara and Kāmrūpa have not changed their names since ancient times. All these three places are situated on the high roads leading to countries outside India—Uḍḍiyāna situated in the valley of the Swat river, easily accessible to the Upper valley of the Indus, has been the meeting place of the peoples of different origin. It is situated on the high road that connects the Upper valley of the Indus with Balkh, Samarcand etc. on the one hand and the Pamirs, Khotan, Kashgar etc. on the other by the valley of the Gilgit. Jālandhara is situated on another highway that connects Tibet with India through the Shipki pass, and Kāmrūpa has to a great extent been the centre of activities of foreign peoples who have been coming down from the Northern and the North-eastern hills since very ancient times. It is probably not without significance that Bhāskaravarman who was the king of Kāmrūpa told a Chinese envoy to India that his forefathers had come to India from the country of Mahācīna and requested him to send a Sanskrit translation of *Tao-te-king*, the sacred text of Taoism and a portrait of Lao tzu, its founder. In ancient times a land route connected Assam with Western and Southern China through the Patkoi hills and Upper Burma, and this route was generally followed by the invaders and immigrants from the North-East.

II

I will now proceed to deal with particular Tantrik texts that contain direct references to practices of decidedly foreign origin. The *Jayadratha Yāmala*, which I have elsewhere proved to be a compilation of the 8th century A.D., while discussing the special doctrines of different Tantrik schools, mentions amongst others the practices

of the Lāmās (*Lāmāvarga*), Śākinīs and Yoginīs (*Jayadratha Yāmala*, Ṣaṭka III, folia 187a, 193b). The texts in which these practices are described are sometimes very obscure. Following is roughly the substance :—

The special doctrine of the Lāmās is conducive to spiritual success (*siddhi*). According to it one should not cultivate the company of other gods except Śiva (?). The words of the Guru as embodied in the Tantras may or may not be followed. One should have all worldly desires and need not follow the strict discipline. He should not have satisfaction in (current) religious doctrines and practices. He should think that it is his self that is alone present everywhere and practise self-control in the company of women. He should perform religious acts on particular auspicious days according to the prescribed discipline. He should not be angry even at the gravest provocation. Such is the practice of the group of Lāmās.

According to the special doctrine of the Śākinīs the adept should never divulge the mantras to others. He should practise *samādhi* in company of all women, should always meditate on the *nāda*, take his meals at night and worship Śiva. He should not violate the discipline of his sect during the *Dakṣiṇāyaṇa*, should practise self-control by all means, should maintain his own *Kula* and should avoid the intermixture of *Kulas*. He should have himself undisturbed with respect to body, speech and mind either in his own *Kula* or in that of others. He should have his meals in company of the Yogins. Those who follow the doctrines of the Śākinīs do not uselessly kill animals for the sake of sacrifice.

Now who are the Lāmās and Śākinīs, of whom the special practices are just described ? The ḍākinīs, rākiṇīs, lākinīs, śākinīs and hākinīs are mentioned as the female energies (*Śaktis*) of the Tantrik deities respectively called ḍāmeśvaranātha, rāmeśvaranātha, lāmeśvaranātha, kākeśvaranātha, śāmeśvaranātha, and hāmeśvaranātha who together with their śakties, form mystic groups designated under the mnemonic *ḍa ra la ka śa ha*. The Lord of Lāmā is here called Lāmeśvara. Lāmā is not the commonly known Tibetan word *B*la-ma meaning 'scholar', but something different. The Lāmās are mentioned in the Jayadratha Yāmala on two other occasions in the same context (192a) :—

Durlabhā Kāśyapīvarge pañcāmṛtavivardhitā /
Rūpikā Cumbikā Lāmā paravṛttātha pālikā //

Anivarta ca···dvesi janmāntara-samudbhavā /
Vikhyāti raktamādau tu bhrūbhaṅgaḥ kurute tataḥ //
Etastu saṃgamenaiva param siddhim dadanti ca /
Saṃhṛtyārthādaya paścācca punarmarśayet //
.................ālāpenāpi cumbati
Cumbikā sā'nuvijñeyā yoginībaladarpitā...........
Niśvāsai bhairavaista stu Lāmānāṃ tu vinirdiśet //

The Lāmās otherwise called Rūpikā and Cumbikā flourish among the rare group of the Kāśyapīs. Association with them is conducive to spiritual success. They are called Rūpikā because they assume different shapes during their intercourse with others. They are called Cumbikā because they kiss at the very first introduction.

In the *Hevajra Tantra* (Paṭala III fol. 6a) the Lāmās are referred to in the company of the ḍākinīs and called *Khaṇḍarohā* and *Rūpiṇī.*

Dākinī tu tathā Lāmā *Khāṇḍarohā tu Rūpiṇī* /

The Lāmās therefore constituted a mystic group of female Tantrik adepts who had their special practices. The *Sammoha Tantra* (fol. 39b) in another place distinctly refers to a Tantrik practice (vidyā) called Lamayāmnāya i. e. the āmnāya of the Lamas or Lāmās.

Tne Lāmās are also known from other sources. Waddell in his *Lamaism* (p.364) describes in detail a goddess called in Tibetan Lha-mo. She is also called *pal ldan Lha mo* (Skt. Devī or Śrī Devī). She is the "goddess or the queen of the warring weapons". She "like her great prototype the goddess Durgā of Brāhmaṇism is perhaps the most malignant and powerful of all the demons, and the most dreaded. She is credited with letting loose the demons of disease and her name is scarcely ever mentioned and only then with bated breath and under the title of the great queen. In her pictures she is pictured as surrounded by flame and riding on a white-faced mule, upon a saddle of her own son's skin flayed by herself. She is clad in human skins and is eating human brains and blood from a skull and she wields in her right hand a trident rod. She is publicly worshipped for seven days by the Lāmās of all sects, specially at the end of the 12th month in connection with the prevention of disease for the incoming year. And in the cake offered are added amongst other ingredients the fat of a black goat, blood, wine, dough, and butter and these are placed in a bowl made from a human skull". In Western Tibet Lha-mos and ḍākinīs are represented as beautiful young women but

more often with fearful faces etc. to signify their power "to destroy demons whom it is their mission to combat." First in rank stands Lha-mo (Mahākālī), "mother of the gods." She is represented in 15 different forms, but specially as a woman of frightful aspect holding a club with a dead man's head at its end and a skull for cap.

It the district of Kanaur Buddhists believe in (i) Paldan Lamo, the supreme goddess equivalent to Mahākālī, (ii) Sai Lamo or the goddess Devī Bhagavatī, (iii) Sai Lamo or Baṭuka Bhairva (*The Punjab Castes and Tribes*, I, pp. 82, 83, 91 etc.).

We thus see that in Tibet in modern times the Lāmās who are certainly the same as the Lamos are conceived as goddesses of the type of Kālī and worshipped according to rites that can be called Tantrik. It seems that in more ancient times these Lāmās, like many other goddesses of the Tantrik pantheon, were female Tantrik adepts who later on came to be worshipped. It is the practice of these adepts of Tibetan mysticism that is referred to in the Tantrik texts mentioned before. That these Lamos were in the habit of kissing people at their first meeting with them seems to be a direct reference to the Tibetan mode of greeting by showing the tongue.

In this connection I may be permitted to make a few suggestions about the other groups of female adepts of Tantrik mysticism, e.g., the lākinīs, the ḍākinīs, the śākinīs. In Western Tibet, the land of sorcerers and witches, there is a class of sorcerers called Lha-ka (probably Lha-k'a) or god's mouthpiece (also called Ku T'em ba). They "are frequently found in Western Tibet and may be females and in which case the woman may marry without hindrance to her profession. These wizards are especially resorted to for relief of pain" (Ibid., pp. 482 ff.). Lākinīs seem to have been the name adopted in the Tantrik literature for these wizards. Similar types of witches distantly connected with the Dags (the people of Dāgistan) and Śakas were probably referred to in the Tantras as ḍākinīs and śakinīs respectively. Evidence is not wanting to prove that women still have a great rôle in the spiritual life of different peoples of this zone as well as that of Central Asia and Mongolia.[1]

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1 Mahāmahopādhyāya H. P. Śāstrī told me one day that the worship of Lāmādevī is prevalent in some parts of Midnapur. But I have not been able to collect any other information on it. I am

III

I have elsewhere tried to prove that the Tantrik doctrines were usually garbed in a mystic language. In the Buddhist Tantras it is called Sandhābhāṣā or Sandhāvacana. It is sometimes very difficult to penetrate into that language and arrive at the real interpretation of the doctrines.

The Jayadratha Yāmala while describing the special practices of the Lāmās mentions the special language to be used with them. This language is described as monosyllabic (*Ekākṣara-samullāpa*) and may thus be considered to have belonged to the Sino-Tibetan family as the Lāmās themselves belonged to the Tibetan group of mystics. The Lāmās, according to this language, had 24 different names :—Yoginī, Rūpiṇī, Lāmā, Śākinī, Nālinī, Khagī, Culī, Bilā, Trikhagagā, Peśinī, Dehinī, Jalā, Revatī, Bedhanī, Lukī, Paḍabhī, Raktinī, Hisā (?), Karoṭhī, Kaluśī, Bhadrā, Dundubhi, Mukharā, and Āturā. We have already seen that the Lāmās were Rūpikā as they were capable of assuming different shapes. Some of the 24 names enumerated are descriptive of such shapes which they could assume.

A number of words belonging to the language of the Lāmās is mentioned in the Jayadratha Yāmala. A comparison of these words with Tibetan and with other allied languages of the Himalayan zone clearly shows that they were culled from some dialect of that family. There are only two difficulties in establishing the identity of these words. As I have to depend on a single manuscript of the text preserved in the Darbar Library of Nepal and as that ms. also is in parts corrupt on account of the negligence of the copyists, I have not always been able to determine the real forms of the words. The words as transcribed in the text always possess a vowel ending though we are told at the outest that the language is a monosyllabic one. We have to remember that the compiler of the text could not always faithfully transcribe the words as they belonged to a foreign tongue. Besides we are not yet in a position to determine the real forms of the words in question as they were in the 8th century A.D., when the text was compiled.

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also informed that a goddess called *Raṅkiṇī* is worshipped at Ghātśilā in the Santal Perganas. This goddess may have some connection with our *Rākiṇī*.

Our knowledge of the Tibetan dialects of that period is still very limited. A few such words are given below :

abhivādana—biṃśa ? Tibetan—gdoṅ-bsu—greeting.

svāgatam—nārisī, bibi ; in the *Sammoha Tantra* (28[a]) Nāriśa is said to be the word for *praṇava* according to the traditions of some Tantrik schools (*ūrdhvāmnāye,...nāriśa praṇava parikīrtita*). bibi = *bib cf. Tibetan phibs-bsu meaning 'welcome'.

mātā—Lāsabhā = *lasabh cf. Ma'i tshabs meaning 'mother' in Tibetan. Lha as in Lha-mo means *devī*. The word, therefore, may be connected with Lha tshabs.

bhaginī—bhāginī ?

duhitā—duhinī ?

svaśrū—bhiḥ samanī

cf. Tib pha, a-pha meaning 'father',

bhrātṛjyā—nīmi śīmi ?

patnī—gusu naye, there may be three different words here, gu su, naye ; for the last two cf. Tib. chuṅ ma and Chinese *niu*.

mātula—mātṛsva ?

pitā—pīdimistho ?

naptī—triminī ?

pitāmaha—bālusi ? for 'grandfather' cf. Tib. po-bo, po-'o-lags ; Sikimese—jo-jo-o.

mātāmaha—pilapite nunoni ?

for 'grandmother'—Tib. mo'o laṭ, a phyi laṭ, Sikimese—a ṅogs, a naṭ.

sura bhakta—airīśaṃ ?

pakṣīrām—āpīsī ?

dadhi—divī ?

ājya—limaṃ ?

bhojana—dekaram, the real word seems to be *de for which cf. Lepca, zo, tha, and Magar jeu, Tib. za-ba.

gūḍha—duma ?

svāminī—japaṃ = *jap cf. Tib. zab meaning 'husbanding.'

pibāmi—barise ?

āgataḥ—enire *eni cf. Newar-wone, Tib. 'on ba etc. meaning 'to come.'

gacchāmi—nigānitesi ; the correct form probably was *nigānire which may contain two words ni, ga and the suffix *re*, cf. Tib. gyo, gyok ; Lepca non ; Murmi, nyu etc.

supta—suraktaṃ=*surot ? cf. Lepca-da, Limbu-ipse, Kirānti-imsa, Gurung-rod.

upta bīja—nībinakā, vulg. nilinītigī ?

samudra—andhakāyo ?

pṛthivī—anānī cf. Śokpa—wonnish.

parvata—uruka=*uruk cf. Tibetan—ri, Lepca—rok, Bhutanese—rong.

sapta—dveyāsinī ?

nagarāstridaśa—adhenā susurā ?

sādhyā—piśitāla ?

svabhuja—paśābarā.

pakṣī—urba nogā, for bird cf. Tib. byu, Bhutanese bhya, Lepca—pho, Limbu-bu. Newar jhango, jha-ngo, Thochu—marwo. Horpa—gyo.

hasti—ṭiṭilā ?

aśvā—nuka jabā—*nuk jab cf. Lepca—oṅ^k, Limbu—oṅ^k, Tib. chibs.

aja—anīḍa=*anīḍ cf. Tib.—ra, Bhutanese—rah. Magar-rha, Gurungra ;

gardabha—kharag ?

gāva—śrota jabān ?
cf. Tib. ba, Lepca—bik, Limbu—bit, Newar—sā, Thochu—sa-lo ; Chepang—yo shyā (a bull)

mahiṣa—anujapā=*anujap
cf. Limbu—sawet, Kiranti—sanwa.

uṣṭra—mīna dvira ?

vyāghra—puranyāsā ?
for 'tiger' cf. Sokpa—par.

mṛga=śīra kolo, probably mistake for *śība kol ?
cf. Chepang—kosya, Tib. śa ba., Tib. (spoken)-śa-p'o ; Ladaki-śa-po.

sarpa—sahinī ?

vijātayaḥ—kahiśeṣa ?

Besides these rapprochements another important fact is to be noted. The few verbs that are mentioned in the list—*enire, barire, nigānire* etc. end in *re*. Hodgson in his Comparative Vocabulary[1] of these languages notes that in Limbu the suffix *ré* is usually found with the verbs. cf. *pāré*—to give, *phéré*—to come, *piré*—to give, *téré*—to take away, *séré*—to kill etc.

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1 For the comparison I have mostly depended on this Vocabulary of Hodgson.

The words belonging to the language of the Lāmos discussed above therefore further corroborate the fact that these *yoginīs* belonged to some Tibetan race and that the compiler of the Hindu and Buddhist Tantras had a real knowledge of their practices. For facilitating intercourse with them a selection of some common words of their language was also made by them. The mystics, both female and male of India, really used to have regular intercourse with those of other contiguous countries in ancient times, and through this intercourse, exchange of ideas and practices were made. It is for that reason that we still find in the Tantras vestiges of mystic doctrines foreign to India.

THE TEXTS*

I

(*fol. 187ᵃ*) अन्यस्मिन् देवतासंगो हास्य......कारयेत् ।
तन्त्रोक्तं गुरुवाक्यं च विकल्पैर्वावतारयेत् ॥
विषयेषु लोलुपस्तिष्ठेत् नियमे हि अपवाहिनी ।
समयाचारचेष्टासु अप्रसादी सदा भवेत् ॥
आत्मानं सर्व्वतः पश्येत् अद्वितपरिभावितः ।
नारीचर्यासमुत्थेन संयमी व्रतपालनं ॥
तिथौ तिथैवत कुर्य्यात् नियमैः परिभूषितं ।
स्वविकल्पेन लामानां सम्प्रदाय निवर्त्तते ॥
शीलसञ्चरणी चैव नित्यमक्रोधरी भवेत् ।
इत्यष्टौ समया प्रोक्ता लामावर्गस्य सिद्धिदा ॥

* From the *Jayadratha Yāmala*, Ṣaṭaka, III, paper ms. no. 375 of the Nepal Darbar Library. I have printed the text as it is without proposing any emendation.

1 The underlined passages are supposed to be the eleven questions to be put to the Yoginīs while meeting them in deep dark nights. The language in which they are garbed is characterised as *Paiśāca Saṃskṛta* i.e. the Sanskrit of the Piśācas. Nothing could be made out of these questions, though their explanation is given in the verses that follow.

II

fol. 189[b]) प्रश्नभेदोयं चैव निर्घण्टपदपद्धतिं।
योगिनी काश्यपीनां च ज्ञापका शृणु साम्प्रतं॥
रामेहीरचला: श्रोति प्रश्नोऽयं प्रथमो मत:।
शययोगो मया श्रद्य द्वितीय: परिकीर्त्तित:॥
द्रव्यं इन्द्रं निलपितेति लामा च तृतीयकं।
चतुर्थोयनये भीमे चलने गिरते विल:॥
एषिमासप्तमाजान्तं जंभस्तं भञ्जकामि च।
दुर्भेद्यो पञ्चमं प्रश्नं कथितस्तव सुव्रते॥
(*fol.* 190[a]) एते प्रासारूह्यात्यानि षष्ठस्तु परिकीर्त्तित:।
इति कीलरूह्यायोगं योगानि सप्तम: परं॥
एत व्याधिप्रसुप्तिश्च फेनेमेनद्विमीमति।
अष्टमे देवि दुर्भेद्य: प्रश्नो योगेश्वरैरपि॥
तिमी दिवितलांगानि वीवि मीनमीनला।
गमनेति महाप्रश्नो नवमी दुर्गम: पर:॥
फिनीमहा सुनीमहा नारासि नेनरासक्तत्।
कराचरिणि दशमा मातृीणामपि च तथा॥
दुर्भेद्योऽयं महाप्रश्न:।
योनिसशीषतरूहरे शीमयुरफलं दुरूदहं॥
नाहतमानेति तथा एकदशमो महाप्रश्न:।
अन्धकारि महाघोरे पैशाचं संस्कृतं वदेत्॥
वोटयाव्यद्यभेदोयं प्रथमस्य वरानने।
नाम्नं भितोमयामस्य द्वितीयस्य प्रभेदने॥
पिवास्यद्य प्रभंगिं वा तृतीयस्य विभेदनं।
अवकारनता लामा एभिमिच्छति सुव्रते॥
चतुर्थस्य तु देवेशि भेदनं परिकीर्त्तितं।
जन्मसप्तकसप्रुक्तो एषनामवमोदक:॥
भचयाम्यद्य एह्येति पञ्चमस्य वरानने।
प्रसादशिखरारूढ़ विलंघं वुतिविचक्षणं॥
मत्वां मनोरमां लचां आगमिष्यति तत्पर:।
महासिद्धि महाघोर गगने न महातपे॥
गत्वा तु मानुषारूढ़ा आगमिष्यति सप्तमे।

प्राणजन्तु नरेंद्रस्य पिवामीद्यष्टमी स्मृतः ॥
सुरालये नगारूढ़ा गम्बोगा नवमस्य तु ।
महानासाचरे शते स्मृतो तस्य तु रोचनं ॥
गृहीत्वा तस्य काष्ठस्य आगच्छामीपरस्य तु ।
इति प्रश्नामिदाश्च योगिनीनां समागमे ॥
कथितां तव देवेशि गुह्यात् गुह्यतराः पराः ॥
अतिगुह्यतरा देवि म्रुण्भाषा विकल्पनं ।
अभिवादन डिंशेति नारिसि विवि स्वागतं ॥
लासभा इति माता तु भागिनी भागिनी स्मृता ।
दुहिनी दुहितेत्याशुः श्वश्रुभिः समनी विदुः ॥
नीमिशीमिति भ्रातृज्या पत्नी गुसुनये तथा ।
मातृष्वे मातुलः प्रोक्तो पीड़िमिस्थो पिता तथा ॥
तिमिनीति तथा नप्ता वालुसौति पितामह ।
मातामह प्रिलपिते नुनोनिः परिकीर्त्तिताः ॥
ऐरीशं सुरभक्तो आपीसि पक्षीरासुच्यते ।
द्विवी दधि लिमं आज्यं ट्रेकरं भोजनं तथा ॥
दुम गूढ़स्तु विज्ञेयो जपमीतीति स्वामिनी ।
पिवामीति वरिरे एनिरे चेति आगतः ॥
निगानितेषी गच्छामि सुवक्रं सुप्तसुच्यते ।
उप्तविज्ये नीविनका भाषा निलिनीतिगी तथा ॥
अन्धकायो समुद्रस्य अनानी पृथिवीस्मृता ।
ऊरुका पर्व्वता देवि सप्तद्वेयासिनी तथा ॥
अधेना सुसुराज्ञेया नगरास्त्रिदशा स्मृता ।
पिशिताल तथा साध्या सुभूजास्तु पशावरा ।
उर्व्वनोगा तथा पक्षी टिटिला हस्तिनस्तथा ।
नुक जवा तथा अश्वा अनोड़स्तु अजं विदुः ।
महिषः अनुजपा देवि उष्ट्रो मीनद्विरस्तथा ।
गर्द्दभो खरगः प्रोक्तो गावः श्रोतजवान् तथा
पुरन्यासास्तथा व्याघ्रं शीरकोलो मृगस्तथा ।
सह्निनीता तथा सर्पं कहिशेष विजातयः ॥
यक्षिकानां वरारोहे द्रव्यसंग्रहणं स्मृतं ।
परस्परविरोधेन एषां चैव महानघे ॥

उत्पद्यन्त सहस्राणि स्वभावाभारगाणि तु ॥
योगिनी रूपिणी लामा शाकिनी हीणालिनी खगी।
चुलिविला वीखगगा पेशिनी देहिनी जला।
रेवती वेधनी लुकी पड़भी रक्तिनी हिषा।
करोठी कालुशी भद्रा दुन्दुभी मुखरातुरा।
(*fol. 191a*) चतुर्व्विंशतिनामानि <u>लामानां</u> परिभाषणे ॥
पिशितं फल्गुषं मांसं पैशाचं राक्षसागणं।
ऊर्व्वं पवित्रं सर्व्वस्व प्राणिजं देहधारिणं ॥
द्रवं पिच्छिलकं प्राणं जसोसौरजमन्लकं।
करं पीतं तथा श्वेतं दशमं जाधिरं स्मृतं ॥
काष्ठं शपं मृतं सुप्तं असंस्कारं चितात्मजं।
शतप्राणमनामं च विमुक्तं प्रेतलक्षणं।
शून्यं समानसंस्थानं क्लेदवासं मृतस्य तु।
भक्षजुषखदं खादं पिवं भूक्षं अशीक्रदं।
प्राष्यं वोटं च एतानि <u>दश नामानि</u> भक्षणे।
प्रेतालयं महाघोरं श्मशानं निशिभूषणं।
सर्व्वोंजागीषण्यं भीषं चण्डराक्षसधामकं।
दीपनं चैव भाषं च अन्धकारं तमोत्कटं ॥
लामावासं महासिद्धिं शतज्योति शतम्बलं।
शिवालयं तु देवेशि श्मशानं परिकीर्त्तितं।
गुह्यात् गुह्यतरं मन्यं सिद्धिख्याता शृणुष्व च।
नायुमाशीस्त्रिया देवि पुस्तं गुच्छ च भक्षणं।
समाताजीश्च मिफेति पत्नी चैव शिखं स्मृतं।
लसं तप्नो तथा रक्तं भीमां संफेचो कुर्य्यात्।
हाश्रितं च तया योगी लामालाश्मीतिरूपिणी।
कुरू शाकिनी दुरेति अल्पां चुल्लीमहायुषं।
चां यागां न्नं तथा देवि विज्ञेयमभिवादनांत्।
<u>एकाक्षरा समुल्ला</u>पा एते मातृगणस्य तु ॥

ADDITIONAL NOTE—While examining some Mss. in the *Asiatic Society of Bengal* for other studies, I have recently come upon another text concerning the Lāmās. It is found in the Buddhist compendium called *Abhidhānottara*, preserved in the Government collection (see also H. P. Sastri, *Catalogue of the Government Collection of Buddhist Mss.* 1917, No. 10759). The Ms. was copied in 1298 A.D. One of the sec-

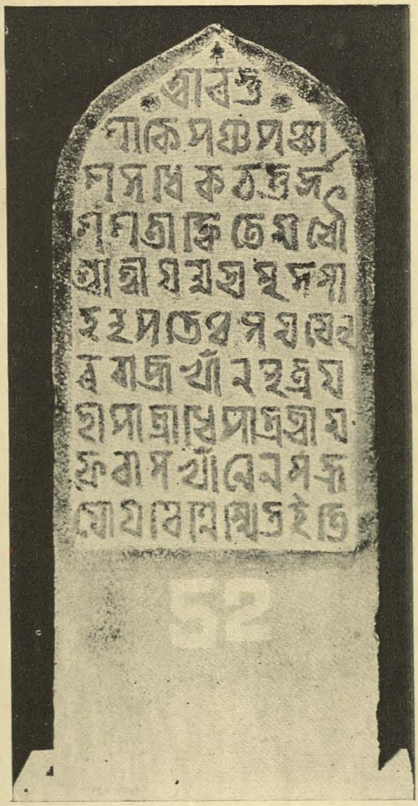
tions (*paṭala*) is called the *Lāmālakṣaṇa-paṭala* (fol. 836 ff.). The Lāmās are conceived here as female ascetics of different types. One of the types is described as possessed with well proportioned limbs (*saṃyagaṅgāvayava*), and round face (*mukhaṃ yasyās tu dṛśyate parimaṇḍalaṃ*). They have long eye-lashes, and are well-dressed (*suvastrā*), beautiful and truthful (*saumyā, satyavādinī*). They are faithful to their true religion and brave sisters (*saddharmaratā nityaṃ vīrabhaginyaḥ*). The *dharma* and *karma* mudrās are to be used with them. Another type of *Lāmās* has long lips (*lamboṣṭhī*), red grey eyes (*rakta-piṅgala-locanā*), auspicious looks and are fair like the Campaka flowers (*śubhagā dhanyā gaurī campaka-sannibhā*). They are tall (*dīrghā*), have fearful faces (*karālā*) and are fond of coloured dresses (*vicitra-vasana-priyā*). They laugh and play and stand obstructing the route (*hasate ramate caiva mārgam ākramya tiṣṭhati*). The *śūla mudrā* is to be used with them.

A third type of *Lāmās* is red and fair (*rakta-gaurā*) and has red, grey eyes (*rakta-piṅgala-locanā*). They have wavy hairs and put on a sort of head-dress (*kuñcitā ca tathā keśā paṭṭabandha śire tathā*) and they have one wrinkle on their forehead (*lalāṭe dṛsyate caiva ekarekhā*). They are long necked, and fond of singing. They are particularly restless and save in quarrels (*calaccittā viśeṣeṇa kalaheṣu ca rakṣate*). The *śakti mudrā* is to be used with them.

The last type of *Lāmās* is short statured and is fond of yellow cloths (*hrasvā sthūla-jaṅghā pītavastra-priyā*) ; they have dark grey eyes (*kṛṣṇapiṅgalalocanā*) and are dreadful looking (*karālavikṛtāghorā sthūlā syāt sthūlavaktrajā | lamboṣṭhī kṛṣṇavarṇā ca koṭarākṣī rugṇa-nāsikā ||*). They are fond of dancing, have dark colour and are charming (*nṛtya-gandharvakuśalā meghavarṇā manoharā*). The *Nāga-mudrā* is to be used with them. Such Lāmās are called *Heruka-lāmās* (*ŚrīHerukāṇāṃ ca lāmānām etadbhavati lakṣṇaṃ*).

The text further speaks of the *ḍākinīs* and the symbolic language to be used with them. I will deal with this symbolic language along with other similar Tantric devices in my next article. During my stay in Nepal I did not succeed in getting any infor mation either about the Lāmos or Lāmo devī. I am however informed by some Nepalese of Nayakot that there are temples of Lāmo devīs in the interior of Nepal. The Tibetan Bla-mas only are entitled to enter the temples for worshipping them. It is currently believed also that if any body enters the temple he is sure to die.

P. C. BAGCHI



Dhorail Inscription of the Reign of Mahmud Shah, Śaka 1455.

Dhorail Inscription of the Reign of Mahmud Shah : Śaka 1455

The inscribed stone under notice was discovered by Kumar Sarat Kumar Ray, at the village of Dhorail, in the district of Dinajpur, in course of one of his early tours in North Bengal for investigation and collection of antiquities of old Varendra. It is now being exhibited in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society.

The inscription is cut on a sand-stone slab pointed at the top, measuring 39″ high × 15½″ broad × 5″ thick. The writing covers a space of 25″ × 14″, and is arranged in 10 lines on one side of the stone. The reverse side is rough. The letters are raised and clear, and vary in size from 1½″ to 2″. The *characters* are Bengali. Especially noteworthy are *i*, *c*, *j*, *r*, *s* and *h* which changed from Proto-Bengali to Bengali after the Muslim conquest. Thus, the 5-shaped *i* of the Bodh Gayā inscription of Aśokacalla of L. S. 51 (Cunningham, *Mahā-Bodhi*, Pl. xxviii ; *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xii, pp. 27 ff. and plates) gains two slanting strokes at the top and the bottom (cf. *iti*, l. 10), the lower curve of *j* is extended to the left, and its angular adjunct to the right is lengthened too (cf.—*vāja* l. 7), the arrow-shaped *r* yields to a triangle with a dot inside (cf. *farāsa*, l. 9), *ś* acquires its double loops (cf.—*daśa*, l. 4), and *h* its present from (cf. *mahā*, l. 5). *C* retains its cursive form, *m* is either looped or non-looped (cf. *man*, l. 5, and *samaye*, l. 6), sub-script *r* is marked by a wedge at the bottom, and *visarga* by a triangle with a hook at the top (cf. *nṛpateḥ*, l. 6). To the student of Paleography the inscription is, therefore, of importance as supplying an epigraphic landmark for the fully developed Bengali alphabet. The *language* is Sanskrit. The *orthography* calls for no special remark, except that consonants following a super-script *r* are doubled. The final *t* between *Śrī-ma* and *farāsa* (l. 9) was first omitted through oversight, but subsequently inserted below *fa*.

The inscription is dated in the ŚAKA YEAR FOURTEEN HUNDRED AND FIFTY-FIVE, and refers itself to the reign of Mahāmuda Sāha (Mahmud Shah). It records the construction of a bridge in the spring time of that year by a minister of the king (*mahāpātrādhipātra*) Pharāsa Khāna (Faras Khan), son of Nṛravāja Khāna (Nurbaj Khan).

The date of the inscriprion, Śaka 1455 corresponds to A.D. 1533

and A.H. 940, the year following that of the accession of Ghiyasu-d-din Mahmud Shah to the throne of the kingdom of Gaur. His coins show that he had enjoyed a partial sovereignty from A.H. 933 to A.H. 939, when he succeeded in seizing the entire kingdom by murdering his nephew Ala-ud-din Firoz Shah (*Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, vol. II, p. 179). Mahmud was one of the eighteen sons of Husen Shah, and also the last of the independent Sultans of Bengal. The present record is also worthy of note as a Sanskrit epigraph of a Muhammadan minister of a Muhammadan king. It is the earliest known inscription of Mahmud's reign, and is perhaps the earliest Sanskrit inscription of Bengal of the Muhammadan period. Two more inscriptions of the same reign are known, but they are in Arabic. Both of them are of the Malda district ; one records the construction of a mosque in A.H. 941 (*J. A. S. B.*, vol. lxiv, pt. I, p. 226), and the other, that of a gateway in A.H. 943 (*Ibid.*, p. 214).

Text

Śrīr-astu.
Śāke pañca-pañcā-
śad-adhikacaturdda-
śa-śat=āṅkite madhau
śrī-śrīman-Mahāmudasā-
ha-nṛpateḥ samaye Nṛ-
ravāja-khāna-putra-ma-
hāpātrādhipātra-śrīma-
t-Pharāsa-khānena śaṃkra-
moyaṃ vinirmmita iti.

Translation

"May you be prosperous !"

"This bridge was caused to be built by the illustrious Pharāsa-Khāna, minister of ministers, son of Nṛravāja-khāna, in the time of the doubly auspicious Mahāmuda Sāha, in the spring, marked by Śaka (year) fourteen hundred increased by fifty-five."

NIRADBANDHU SANYAL

Cultivation in Ancient India

II

IV *Preparation and Application of Manure*

Parāśara on Manure.

माघे गोमयकूटन्तु ... ... ।
सारं शुभदिनं प्राप्य कुद्दालैस्तोलयेत् ततः ॥
रौद्रे संशोष्य तत् सर्व्वं कृत्वा गुण्डकरूपिणम् ।
फाल्गुने प्रतिकेदारे गर्त्तं कृत्वा निधापयेत् ॥
ततो वपनकाले तु कुर्य्यात् सारविमोचनम् ।
विना सारेण यद्धान्यं वर्द्धते न फलत्यपि ॥[1]

"In the month of *Māgha*, a dung-heap is raised by a spade, dried in the sun and made into smaller balls. In the month of *Phālguna*, these are placed into holes dug for the purpose, and afterwards scattered on the field at the time of sowing. The paddy-plant only grows without manure, it does not bear fruit." 107, 108, 109.

The value of manure in cultivation was appreciated in India as early as the time of the Ṛg-veda.[2] Pārāśara also wants to point out the importance of manure by the sentence :

"विना सारेण यद्धान्यं वर्द्धते न फलत्यपि ।"

The ancient Indians did not apparently know the use of chemicals as artificial fertilisers ; they have come into use only about hundred years ago. Besides bones, flesh of animals, fish-washings, vegetable and animal products etc., the manure that they primarily used consisted of the excreta of various animals mixed with litter which absorbed the urine and kept the animals clean. Whether they knew the exact chemical composition of the yard-manure is not known, but they certainly appreciated its fertilising property and also its physical effects upon the texture and water-holding power of the soil. It is only a modern discovery that the farm-yard-manure contains all that is necessary for the nutrition of plants, viz., nitrogen, phosphoric acid and potash. Nitrogen compounds are the chief fertilising elements in the manure, but the nitrogen is inevitably

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1 *Kṛṣi-saṃgraha*, p. 24.

2 *Vide Ante.*

lost to a certain extent. The loss can be minimised only if the dung-heap is not disturbed ; for any disturbance causes rapid fermentation of the liquid portion of the manure, viz., urine, with a consequent increase in the evaporation of ammonia. The direction of Parāśara to keep the dung-heap undisturbed up to the month of *Māgha*, i.e., for ten months of the year is thus significant. Again, the sentence,—"रौद्रे संशोष्य तत् सर्व्वं कृत्वा गुण्डकरूपिणम्" is also significant, for if any easily fermentable material still remained in the active form, it should be got rid of by drying. This process also reduces ammonia which would otherwise be injurious to the seeds and the tender roots of plants. The direction "गर्त्तं कृत्वा निधापयेत्" is also very important inasmuch as the manure, as it decomposes under the earth, increases the stock of humus which oxidises and tends to decrease in the open air, so that when the manure is scattered over the field, it is comparatively rich in humus that contributes greatly to the fertility of the soil. Knowledge of manuring at the time was probably a result of extensive practical and not scientific observations.

The Bṛhat Saṃhitā, the Agnipurāṇa & the Arthaśāstra etc. on manure.

There are also many other writers who speak of manure. Varāhamihira in the Bṛhat Saṃhitā[1] says, "To promote inflorescence and fructification, a mixture of one *āḍhaka* (64 palas) of sesame, 2 *āḍhakas* of excreta of goats or sheep, one *prastha* (16 palas) of barely powder, one *tulā* of beef thrown into one *droṇa* (256 palas) of water and standing over for seven nights should be poured round the roots of the plant" (17, 18). He further prescribes that the seeds before sowing should be treated as follows :—They should be taken up in the palm greased with ghee and thrown into milk ; on the following day the seeds should be taken out of the milk with greased fingers and the mass separated into single seeds. This process is to be repeated for 10 successive days. Then, the seeds are to be carefully rubbed with cow-dung and steamed in a vessel containing pork or venison. Then the seeds are to be sown with the above mentioned flesh and lard in a soil where previously sesame was sown and dug up, or trodden down and then sprinkled daily with water mixed with *Kṣīra*. (19, 20)

"To ensure the growth of *Ballarīs* (i.e., sprouting and the growth of luxurious stem and foliage), the seeds should be properly soaked in an infusion of powdered paddy, *māṣa* (bean), sesame and barley

1 *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* edited by Dr. Kern, chapter 55, p. 304.

mixed with decomposing flesh and then steamed with *Haridrā* (turmeric). This process will succeed even with *Tintiḍī* (tamarindus indica). For the *Kapittha* (Feronia elephantum) the seeds should be soaked for about 2 minutes (literally, such length of time as it would take one to make a hundred rhythmic claps with the palms (तालशब्द:) in a decoction of 8 roots,—*Āsphoṭa* (Jasmine), *Āmalakī* (Phyllanthus embellicus), *Dhava* (Grislea tomentosa), *Vāsika* (Tustica guarderussa), *Vetula* (calamus rotung), *Sūryavallī* (Gynandropsis pentaphyla), *Śyāma* (Echites fructescens) and *Atimuktaka* (Aganosma caryophyllata) boiled in milk. The seeds then should be dried in the sun. This process should be repeated for 30 days. A circular hole should be dug in the ground, a cubit in diameter and 2 cubits deep, and this should be filled with the milky decoction. When the hole dries up, it should be burnt with fire and then pasted over with ashes mixed with ghee and honey. Three inches of soil should now be thrown in, then the powder of bean, sesame and barley, and then again three inches of soil. Finally washings of fish should be sprinkled and the mud should be beaten and reduced to a thick consistency; then the seeds previously prepared should be placed in the hole under three inches of the soil and fish washings (with fish). This will lead to luxuriant ramification and foliage which will excite wonder."[1] (21-26).

The Agnipurāṇa[2] gives the following directions :

"A tree becomes laden with flowers and fruits by manuring the soil with powdered barley, sesamum and the offal matter of a goat mixed together and soaked in washings of beef for seven consecutive nights. A good growth of trees is secured by sprinkling them with the washings of fish". While Khaṇā advises the cultivators thus :

"O worthy cultivator, for a vigorous growth of bamboo, give an infusion of powdered paddy to its roots, for the growth of Arum, ash, and for that of cocoanuts, salt.

In the Arthaśāstra it is stated that :

"The seeds of grains are to be exposed to mist and heat (*tuṣāra-*

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1 Translation of these verses from the Bṛhatsaṃhitā are taken from Dr. Seal's Positive Sciences of the Hindus.

2 Translation by M. N. Dutt, vol. II, p. 1038.

pāyanam uṣṇaṃ ca) for seven nights ; the seeds of *Kośī* such as *Mudga*, *māṣa* etc. are treated similarly for 3 nights ; the shoots of sugar-cane and the like (*kāṇḍabīja*) are plastered at the cut with the mitxure of honey, clarified butter, the fat of hogs and cow-dung, the bulbous roots (*kāṇḍa*) with honey and clarified butter, cotton-seeds with cow-dung ; and water pits at the root of trees are to be burnt and manured with bones and cow-dung at proper sea sons. The sprouts of seeds when grown are to be manured with a fresh haul of very small fish and irrigated with the milk of *snuhi* (Euphorbia antiquorum)".[1]

V Collection and Treatment of seeds

About the collection and treatment of seeds. Parāśara says,—

"All kinds of seed should be collected in the month of *Māgha* or *Phālguna.* They are then to be well dried in the sun and exposed to dew at night". "The *Puṭikās* (small receptacles) are afterwards made and the seeds kept in them". "Different kinds of seed must be kept separate, for mixed seeds are not good". "After the seeds have been placed, in the *Puṭikā* must be well closed ; grass that may grow out of it must be up-rooted or when the seeds sprout, the field will be full of grass".[2]

VI Construction of Agricultural Implements

The Plough.

Parāśara describes the plo ugh and its accessories thus : "The plough consi sts essentially of the following 8 parts : *Īśa* (the pole of the plough), *Yuga* (the yoke), *Niryola* (the rod of the plough exclusive of the pole and the share), *Niryolapāśikā* (iron plates that fix the share to the *Niryola*). (There are two pairs of *Paśikā*), *Halasthāṇu* (a strong piece of wood that is fixed to the *Niryola* at the end opposite to which the plough-share is fixed ; this is held by the cultivator while ploughing the field), *Aḍḍacalla* (the pins of the yoke where the bullocks are tied), *Śaula* (an extra piece of wood that tightly fixes the *Niryola* to the pole) and *Paccanī* (goad)".

"*Īśa* is 5 cubits long, *sthāṇū* 2½ cubits, *niryola* 1½ cubits, *yuga* कर्णसमानकः (?), *niryola-pāśikā* and *aḍḍacalla* द्वादशाङ्गुलमानौ (i.e., about 9 inches, taking the breadth of a finger to be approximately ¾ inch) and *śaula*

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1 Shyāmā Śāstrī's translation. 2nd ed., p. 141.

2 *Kṛṣi Saṃgrahaḥ*, 148-151.

an अरत्नि (nearly a cubit). *Pacanī* is made of bamboo with iron-top and (सार्द्धद्वादशमुष्टिर्वा नवमुष्टिका) about 3 or 4½ feet long, (taking the transverse length of a fist (मुष्टि) to be approximately 4 inches)."

"*Ābandha* (a rod of iron which prevents the *niryola* from getting out of the pole) must be cyclindrical and (पञ्चदशाङ्गुल) about one foot long. *Yoktra* (the tie of the yoke) 4 cubits in length, a rope 5 cubits long and *Phāla* (ploughshare) 1 cubit or (पञ्चाङ्गुलाधिको हस्तो) 1 cubit and 4 inches, *Pāśikā* is नवाङ्गुला (nearly 7 inches) and looks like a leaf of *Arka* (calotropis gigantea). *Viddhaka* (a big hoeing instrument) has twenty-one spikes and the harrow is 9 cubits long."[1]

Besides the plough and its accessories as enumerated by Parāśara, there were also the following agricultural implements :

Sṛṇi (sickle), *Khanitra* (hoe), *Mūsala* (pestle), *Ūdūkhala* (mortar), *Sūrpa* (winnowing basket), *Dhānyakṛt* (winnowing fan), *Cālanī* (sieve), *Sthivi* (granary), *Methi* (the post of the threshing floor round which cattle turn to thresh out the grains), etc.

VII *Ploughing the Land*

Injunctions and Prohibitions.

"In order that the crops may have a luxuriant growth", Khaṇā says, "the cultivator should plough the land under the auspices of the asterisms known as, *Svāti*, *Uttaraphalganī*, *Uttarāṣāḍhā*, *Uttarabhādrapada*, *Mṛgaśirā*, *Mūlā*, *Punarvasu*, *Puṣyā*, *Śravaṇā* or *Hastā* and on Fridays, Mondays and Wednesdays." "It is unwise to begin ploughing on the day of the full moon or the new moon". "The land should be ploughed 16 times for radish, half the number of times for cotton, half of that for paddy and none for betel." "The soil for radish must be as soft as cotton and for sugarcane, the soil must be ploughed to dust."

VIII *Sowing, Planting, Treatment of Plants, etc.*

General.

"*Āman* paddy, jute, ginger, arum, turmeric, mango, pumpkin, gourd, cucumber etc. are to be sown in the month of *Vaiśākha* ; and sugarcane, plantain and betel are also to be planted in this month if they have not been planted in *Caitra*." "The field is manured generally towards the end of *Jyaiṣṭha*. In this month *Jyaiṣṭhik* paddy ripens." "The month of *Āṣāḍha* is the best for planting autumn paddy (i.e., for transplanting the *āman* paddy that

1 *Loc. cit.*, verses 110-117 and 96, 97.

is sown in *Vaiśākha*), and also for planting mango, lichis, cocoanut, flower plants, betel etc. In this month, *Āus* paddy begins to ripen." "Pepper, tobacco, kalai and kaluttha (dolichos biflorus) are to be sown in *Śrāvaṇa*. Old trees will surely bear fruits if the soil at their roots is turned up in this month and fresh soil dumped there in the month of *Agrahāyaṇa*." "Turnip, sesamum, mudga (mungo) and pepper are to be sown towards the end of *Bhādra*. In this month, *Āus* paddy fully ripens ; and hoeing is done and water drained off from the field (in which *āman* paddy had been sown) leaving just enough for only the roots to be under water.

"In the month of *Āśvina*, the ground must be prepared for the winter crops. *Godhūma* (wheat), mustard, *kalai*, cabbage, potato, radish, beet etc. are to be sown in this month and arrangements made to preserve water in paddy-fields." "Barley, peas, coriander, water-melon, cucumber and gourd are to be sown in the month of *Kārtika*." "In *Āgrahāyaṇa*, *āman* paddy ripens and pumpkin is sown." "In *Phālguna*, winter crops ripen, and if it rains sufficiently, *Āus* paddy is sown."

Now-a-days, *Āus* is mostly sown in the month of *Vaiśākha*. In *Phālguna*, *Jyaiṣṭhik* paddy is sown. There is usually a scarcity of rain in the months of *Phālguna* and *Caitra*. That is why *Jyaiṣṭhik* paddy requires a marshy land for its growth.

Rotation of crops.

Rotation of crops was known early in India. *Āus* paddy and winter crops are thus sown in the same field by rotation--the former in spring and the latter in Autumn.

"Khaṇā says, "my worthy cultivator, plant radish towards the end of the 3rd season of the year, sow mustard towards the end of Autumn. And if you mind to make money, sow maze in the following month of *Caitra*."

In the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra (Eng. trans. 2nd ed., pp. 139 f.) the directions are given about sowing.

The Arthaśāstra.

"*Śāli* (a kind of (rice), *vrīhi* (rice), *kodrava* (paspalum scorbiculatum), *tila* (sesamum), *priyaṅgu* (panic seeds), *dāraka* (?) and *varaka* (phaseolus tribolus) are to be sown at the commencement (pūrvavāpa) of the rainy season. *Mudga* (phaseolus mungo), *māṣa* (ph. radiatus) and *śaibya* (?) are to be sown in the middle of the season. *Kusumbha* (safflower), *masura* (Ervum hirsutum), *kulattha* (dolichos biflorus) *yava* (barley), *godhūma* (wheat) *kalāya* (leguminous seeds), *atasī* (linseed) and *sarṣapa* (mustard) are to be sown last".

The following directions are given in the Bṛhatsaṃhitā (chap. 55) and the Agni-purāṇa about the planting of trees :

The Bṛhatsaṃhitā and the Agni-purāṇa.

Bṛhatsaṃhita : "It is best to plant trees at intervals of 20 cubits, next at 16, and 12 cubits interval is the minimum that can be prescribed". 12.

Agni-purāṇa : "Trees planted in rows twenty cubits apart should be deemed as the best planted, while those having an intervening space of 16 or 10 cubits between them should be deemed as ranking second best in respect of fruitfulness. Trees should be transplanted 12 times, they should not be planted too close or adjoining each other, in which case, the branches that touch one another should be lopped off with a chopper, as otherwise, they would bear no fruit. Should barrenness be apprehended, the leaves and branches of a tree ought be sprinkled over with a solution of cold water saturated with *Viḍaṅga*, clarified butter, pulverised *Mudga*, *Māṣa* and *Kaluttha* pulse. Similarly, a tree sprinkled with cold water and clarified butter becomes laden with abundant fruits and blossoms.

Cutting and Grafting.

The method of propagation by cuttings and graftings was also known to India from very early times. The following lines from the Bṛhatsaṃhitā (chapter 55) will be illustrative : "*Kāṇṭhāl* (Jack-fruit tree), *Aśoka*, *Kadalī* (plantain), *Jambu*, *Lakuca*, *Dāḍimba*, *Drākṣā*, *Pālibata*, *Bījapūra* (Mātulaṅga) *Atimukta ka*—these are the plants to be propagated by means of cuttings besmeared with cow-dung" (4-5). "Better than this method is the method of propagation by graftings. This can be done in two ways,—the cuttings of one plant is either inserted in the root of another plant or on the stem of another plant (मूलोच्छेदेऽथवा स्कन्धे रोपणीयाः परं ततः). Grafts should be smeared with cow-dung. For transplanting (अन्यदेशे नीत्वा रोपयेदित्यर्थः) the plants should be smeared from root to the top (आमूलस्कन्धलिप्तानां) with ghee (clarified butter), sesame oil, honey of the *kṣudra* variety of bees of the *Uśīra* (Andropogon Laniger or Andropogon Chitrarum), the *Viḍaṅga* (Embelica ribes) milk and cow-dung". (6-7) "The most suitable ground for planting is soft soil that has been sown with sesamum indicum and dug up and trodden with sesame in flower".

Parāśara on Sowing.

Directions for sowing paddy are elaborately given by Parāśara in his Kṛṣi-saṃgraha thus :—

"Sowing in the month of *Vaiśākha* is best, in the month of *Jyaiṣṭha* is tolerable, *Āṣāḍha* bad and *Śrāvaṇa* worst. Transplanting

should best be done in *Āṣāḍha*. It is bad to do it in *Śrāvaṇa* and worst in *Bhādra*.

"After the seeds have been sown, the field is to be harrowed, otherwise the seeds are not distributed uniformly over the field." 169.

"The seeds are of two kinds—one for sowing and the other for planting. Only healthy seeds are used for sowing. Unhealthy seeds are for planting (i.e., the seeds are sown and when they sprout, the shoots are transplanted). Full-grown plants should not be raised ; transplanting is to be done while the plants are young. If planting is done in the month of *Śrāvaṇa*, there must remain one cubit of ground between any two plants ; if in *Bhādra*, ½ cubit, and if in *Āśvina*, चतुरङ्गुलम् (i.e., about 3 inches). (170, 171, 172).

On planting the Paddy.

Parāśara says, "आषाढ़े श्रावणे चैव धान्यमाकर्षयेत्". We have already said that the seeds are of two kinds. In the case of those for which transplanting is not necessary, the field is ploughed for a second time in the month of *Āṣāḍha* or *Śrāvaṇa*, after the seeds grow into plants. This destroys some of them but they subsequently turn into manure and give the rest a healthier growth. "For want of sufficient timely rains, the second ploughing may be done in the month of *Bhādra*, but in that case, the produce will only be half. If the second ploughing is not done before *Āśvina*, the prospect of harvest is little." (174). "Planting or the second ploughing should not be done in marshy land neither should manure be given ; only the grass is to be cleared out." (175).

On Second Ploughing.

"If after planting, the field is not hoed, the crops cannot grow in abundance, nor yield a good harvest. If hoeing is done in the month of *Śrāvaṇa* or *Bhādra*, the harvest is doubled thereby, even if grass may again grow. If another hoeing is done in the month of *Āśvina*, corns grow as plentifully as *Māṣa*." (176-178).

Hoeing.

"So that the paddy may not get diseased (नैरुजार्थं), the water in the field is to be drained off in the month of *Bhādra*, leaving just enough for only the roots to be under water." (180).

Drainage and provision for water.

"The fool who does not make arrangements in *Āśvina* and *Kārtika* to preserve water should not expect a harvest." (183).

IX *Reaping and Storing*

"In the month of *Pauṣa* (after the *Puṣya-yātrā*), the wise cultivator reaps the full harvest and after threshing the corns, measure the grains with *Āḍhaka.*[1] The measured grains are then stored and are never spent in *Pauṣa* even erroneously." (217,218).

Harvesting.

Khaṇā says: "The corns ripen 30 days after the appearance of flowers and 13 days after the ears bend low." "The corns ripen in the month of *Agrahāyaṇa.* They should be reaped in *Pauṣa,* threshed in *Māgha* and husked in *Phālguna.*"

Conclusion

Thus beginning at the time of the Ṛg-veda, the science and method of cultivation steadily developed and attained a high stage of perfection by the 4th century B.C. In the Vedic age, agriculture was the general occupation; each family possessed a number of corn fields in well-marked holdings measured off according to the standard of measurement prevailing in those days. The occupation was then considered noble and each respectable householder was eager to possess a number of cattle and fertile corn-fields. By the time of the Yajurveda, caste-system became fully established and agriculture became the occupation of *Vaiśyas.* In the age of the Brāhmaṇas we find that industrial workers were gradually sinking in estimation, yet agriculture being the staple industry of the country went on developing in the Sūtra and the Epic periods. After the disruption of the Maurya empire, the political history of India became full of vicissitudes and under inimical political circumstances, agriculture instead of being a concern of the state and a matter of expert knowledge, was relegated to the lowest strata of population. The wisdom that grew in the course of ages remained buried in literature not easily accessible to the mass. Thus neglected and uncared for, the art of cultivation gradually decayed in India.[2]

R. GANGULI

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1 Here *Āḍhaka* is a unit of measure for grains. It is a vessel having a volume of 216 cubic inches.

2 I am thankful to Dr. B. M. Barua of the Calcutta University for many suggestions.

Śīlaparikathā

This short treatise by Vasubandhu is found twice in the Tanjur, once in the *gi* section and a second time in the *ñe* section of the *mdo* portion of that collection. It treats of the greater efficacy of *śīla* than that of *dāna*.

That it was regarded as an important work, though short, is evident from the presence of a fairly elaborate commentary on it occurring in the same collection. This commentary is by Prakāśakīrtti.

Śīla may be explained as moral vows or observances. The *śīlas*, ten (or sometimes five) in number, had to be observed by all desiring emancipation. The whole of Bnddhist eithics is based on these observances.[1]

It is not possible to ascertain who this Vasubandhu was. If he is the famous Vasubandhu, the Buddhist philosopher, his date will be *circa* 410-490 A.D. He was the brother of Asaṅga, the famous teacher of the Yogācāra school of the Mahāyāna. Vasubandhu was the author of a large number of valuable works, some of which are available in Sanskrit and the rest in Chinese and Tibetan translations. The present work is one whose original has so far not yet been traced. There is nothing in this work which can either prove or disprove this identification of the author of this short treatise with the famous Buddhist philospher of the same name.

As has been mentioned, this work occurs in two sections of the *mdo* i.e., *sūtra* portion of the Tanjur (see Cordier's *Catalogue du Fonds tibétain*, vol. III, pp. 423 and 436). In editing the text both these readings have been compared. The xylograph used is of the Visvabharati Library. We have not tried to give verse-restoration of the Sanskrit original but have given only a prose reconstruction with an Euglish translation.

From the text it would appear that two different metres were used in the original—each had four lines but one had seven syllables and the other nine in each line.

The work contains only eleven verses and the Tibetan transla-

1 For details see *Visuddhimagga*, P.T.S., pp. 6-58.

tion is fairly clear except in one or two places. In editing and translating it, the commentary mentioned before has been utilised. In some cases the commentary (Com.) gives a different reading; these readings are noted in the footnotes. Nothing is known about Prakāśakīrtti, the author of this commentary.

Tibetan Text

rgya gar skad du | śī la pa rī ka thā |
bod du | tshul khrims kyi gtam |
dkon mchog gsum ia phyag ḥtshal lo ||

1

rgya mtsho daṅ ni glaṅ rjes kyi |
khyad par dag ni gan yin pa |
sbyin pa daṅ tshul khrims kyi |
khyad par dag ni de yin no ||

2

gaṅ zig dog paḥī sems kyis ni |
lo brgya[1] sbyin pa byin pa pas |
gaṅ zig ñin cig[2] tshul khrims ni
bsurñ ba de las khyad par hphage ||

3

sbyin pa śan pa runams daṅ ni |
rigs ṅan dag[3] kyaṅ sbyin[4] par byed |
gaṅ yaṅ ruṅ bas tshul khrims ni |
yoṅs su bsruṅ bar mi nus so ||

4

sbyin par[5] rab tu ḥbyor gyur kyaṅ |
de ni sbyin bdag chen po min |
tshul khrims rnzm par dag pa yis |
sbyin bdag chen po yin par bśad ||

5

mgo bo[6] bregs paḥam gtsug phud ldan pa[7] rgyu |
khrus kyi[8] chu yis ral pa khyab par ḥchaṅ |

---

1 Com. *brgyar.* 2 Com. *gcig* 3 Com. *rnams.*
4 Com. *ster bar.* 5 Com. *pa.*
6 Original omits this *bo* 7 Com. *par*
8 Com. *tshnl khrims*

cha lugs sna tshogs dag gis spyod gyur kyaṅ ׀
gal te tshul khrims med na sgyu spyod yin[1] ‖

6

gaṅgā bgrod paḥam[2] chu bo na der soṅ baḥam ׀
dbyaṅs can chu ḥam rdziṅ bur soṅ ba ḥam ׀
ne le śar[3] ni brten[4] par byed pa yaṅ ׀
gal te tshul khrims kyis rgud la don med ‖

7

ji ltar tshul khrims bla med ldan paḥi dri ׀
dam pa mtho ris ḥdi na mi zad ldan ׀
de ltar phreṅ baḥi dri ni khyab min ciṅ ׀
de bzin byug paḥi dri yaṅ ḥbyuṅ[5] mi ḥyur ‖

8

ḥdi ni bdag ḥgaḥ gzan du ḥgro ba bde ׀
grags daṅ dgaḥ ziṅ[6] kun gyis bkur pa ste ‖
chos ldan ḥbras bu de de maṅ po mthoṇ ׀
tshul khrims ḥbras bu draṅ sroṅ chen pos gsuṅs ‖

9

tshul khrims nad pa sman paḥi mchog yin ziṅ ׀[7]
mun paḥi sgron me ñam thag la skyabs daṅ ׀
ḥjigs pa bsruṅ daṅ phoṅs la ñe du daṅ ׀
ḥchi baḥi rgya mtṣho mthaḥ med gdziṅs gyur yin ‖

10

gaṅ zig ḥdul baḥi tshul khrims rnams ḥjig tshe ׀
skrag zugs tshul khrims ldan pa yod ma yin ׀
de bas ḥjig rten gzan mthaḥ rgal sems kyis ׀
gaṅ zig[8] ḥgro ḥdod des ni tshul khrims bsruṅs ‖[9]

11

tshul khrims dri med ma lus ji bzin bzag ׀[10]
śes rab zi bas yid ni yoṅs smin ḥgyur ׀

---

1 Com. *gal te tshul khrims med na gyo sgyus spyod*

2 Com. *pa*

3 Com. *na le sa*

4 Com. *ston*

5 Com. *khyab*

6 Com. *ñid*

7 Original has *tshul khrims mchog la*

8 Com. *zag*

9 Com. *sruṅs*

10 Com. *du*

de bas rga śi[1] nad ḥjigs rnam thar pa ।
gaṅ zig thob ḥdod des ni[2] tshul khrims sruṅs ॥

SANSKRIT RECONSTRUCTION

॥ नमो रत्नत्रयाय ॥

1

सागरगोष्पदयोर्मध्ये यदन्तरं तदेव दानशीलयोरन्तरम् ॥

2

शुद्धचित्तेन यो वत्सरशतं दानं ददाति तस्माद् यो दिनमपि शीलं रक्षति स प्रतिविशिष्यते ॥

3

शौनिकाः दुष्कुलीनाश्च दातारो दानं ददति न पुनः कश्चिद् विधिना शीलं परिरक्षितुं शक्नोति ॥

4

दानेन सम्पन्नोऽपि दानपतिर्न भवति विशुद्धेन शीलेनैव दानपतिर्भवतीत्युच्यते ॥

5

शिरोमुण्डनेन वा शिखाधारणेन वा स्नानजलेन वा व्याघ्रजटाधारणेन वा विचित्रवेशचर्यया वापि वञ्चको भवेद् यदि शीलं न स्यात् ॥

6

गङ्गां गतो वा नदीमुपसंक्रान्तो वा सरस्वत्या जलं वापीं वा गतो—व्यर्थो भवेद् यदि शास्ता शीलविपन्नः स्यात् ॥

7

यथानुत्तरशीलगन्धः परमस्वर्गेऽप्युच्चयस्तथा माल्यगन्धो न स्फुरति एवमनुलेपनगन्धोऽपि न स्फुरति ॥

8

इह कस्यचिदात्मनोऽन्यत्र गतौ सुखम्। सर्वं यशः प्रीतिश्च सेवन्ते। धार्मिकस्य तत्तत् फलं बहु दृश्यते। शीलफलं तु महामुनिना कथितम् ॥

9

शीलं रोगिणः परमो वैद्यः, तमसि दीपः, आर्तस्य शरणम्, भये रक्षणं, विपदि बन्धुः, अनन्तमृत्युसागरे च नौः ॥

10

कश्चिद् विनयशीलभङ्गे भयाविष्टो न शीलवान् भवति। कश्चित्तु तेन लोकापरान्तोत्तरणचित्तेन लाभेच्छया शीलं रक्षति ॥

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1 Original has *de bas na śi* and Com. has *de bas rga ḥchi*.
2 Com. *la*.

11

अशेषनिर्मलशीलेन यथावदवस्थितप्रज्ञाशमथाभ्यां च मनः परिपच्यते। अत एव जरामरणव्याधिभयेभ्य यो विमोचं प्राप्तुमिच्छति स शीलं रचति॥

॥ आचार्यवसुबन्धुकृता शीलपरिकथा सम्पूर्णा ॥

English Translation

Salutation to the Three Precious Gems

1

There is as much difference between gifts and moral observances (*śīla*) as there is between the sea and the foot-prints of a cow.

2

He who observes the moral observances even for a day is superior to one, who with a pure heart, bestows gifts for a hundred years.

3

Even the butchers and the low-born people, can become donors by making gifts ; but one is not able to observe *śīla* properly.

4

Giving rich gifts one does not beeome a great giver, but by pure moral observances does one beeome a great donor.

5

Even after shaving the head, or keeping a crest on the crown (*śikhā*), or possessing big clotted hair washed with water of ablution, or using various dresses a man is a cheat if he is devoid of *śīla*.

6

Whether going to the Ganges or to a river, or to the waters of the river Sarasvatī or of a well, or teaching Neleśa (?)—all these become fruitless if a man be devoid of *śīla*.

7

The supreme fragrance of *śīla* is imperishable even in the uppermost heaven. Even the garlands do not spread such fragrance nor even the pomades.

8

Here there are some persons who desire happiness in the other world. Every one worships happiness and fame. These results in the

case of religious men are seen very often. The results of *śīla* have, however, been spoken of by the great sage.

9

Śīla is like the best doctor in diseases. It is like the lamp in darkness, the refuge of the distressed, the protection in (times of) fear, like a friend in danger and a boat in this endless ocean of death.

10

There are some persons, who being afraid of the breach of *vinaya-śīla* do not observe them. There are some others who, desiring in their minds to go to the other end of this world, observe it.

11

With entirely pure *śīla* and well-kept wisdom and peace the mind becomes mature. So he, who wants liberation from the dread of old age, death, and diseases, should observe *śīla*.

NOTES

1. I have used गोष्पद for *glaṅ rjes* which literally means imprint of bull.

3. In the second line of this stanza the commentary of Prakāśa-kīrtti uses the word *ster* for *sbyin*; but that does not alter the meaning as both the words mean the same thing.

5. This is the first verse with nine syllables in each line and the rest are like this. The second line in the Com. begins as *tshul khrims chu yis*, which means "water of *śīla*." This is not clear and *khrus kyi chu yis* is a better reading. The last line of this verse in the Commentary reads as *gal te tshul khrims med na gyo sgyus spyod*. The words *gyo sgyus* means the same as simply *sgyu*.

6. In the third line occurs the word *ne le śar* in the original and *nal e śa* in the Com. What it means I have not been able to ascertain; *brten* means to adhere or to hold but the Com. has *ston* for it; *ston* means to show or to teach. So according to the Com. *na le śa* indicates some subject, whereas in the original *ne le śar* may be a place and any such thing.

9. In the first line of this verse we have accepted the reading of the Com. The original reads as follows: *tshul khrims mchog la sman paḥi mchog yin ziṅ* which means that 'with best *śīla* the best results accrue.' But in consideration of what follows the reading of the Com. seems better.

ANATHNATH BASU

Inscriptions of Govindacandra Haricandan in the Fort of Laṅgalaveṇi

Govinda Haricandan Jagdev was the 21st king of the Boghale dynasty of the Atagada rulers. He ruled his kingdom from Ś. 1683 to 1710 (1716-1788 A.D.). His father Jagannāth or Jagabandhu Haricandan acted as the Viceroy of the Musalman Nawab in the District of Ganjam. Jagabandhu had two sons. The elder Madhusūdan succeeded his father and ruled from 1758 to 1761 A.D. As he died without any son, his younger brother Govindacandra ascended the throne of Atagada. Govindacandra was an able ruler. He made his subjects happy by his good and wise administration and kept his estate unmolested by foreign enemies. It is this king, about whom these inscriptions speak in glowing terms. On the lotus seat of the deity Gopālasvāmī at Lāṇgalaveṇī fort, the following inscription is found. It is in one śloka written in Oriya characters and Sanskrit language, and reads thus :—

गोविन्दनामा हरिचन्दनश्च यातो जगद्देव धराधिनाथः ।
नेत्राङ्कषट्चन्द्रमिते शकाब्दे भक्त्या निजेशां प्रकटीचकार ॥

[Netra 2 Aṅka 9 ṣaṭ 6 Candra 1. As Aṅkānāṃ vāmato gatiḥ is the rule, it must be 1692 (1770 A.D.). Rājā Govindacandra Haricandan had got the idol of the Goddess "Śrīmatī" or Rādhā prepared with great devotion and reverence.]

The inscriptions exist in the mutt of Gopālasvāmī in the fort of Lāṇgalaveṇī even now along with the deities of Gopālasvāmī and Śrīmatī. It is said that Govindacandra Haricandan installed the idol of "Śrīmatī" or Rādhā by the side of Gopālasvāmī, and prior to this, the deity Gopālasvāmī alone was worshipped at that place. As this inscription support the tradition, there is no room for doubting the establishment of goddess "Śrīmatī" or Rādhā by Rājā Govindacandra Haricandan Jagadev.

The second inscription written in Oriya characters and language is on the lotus seat of Rādhā-Govinda deity made of stone in the Jagannātha temple of Atagada. It reads thus :—

गोविन्द हरिचन्दन जगद्देव, शकाब्द १६९३

[Govinda Haricandana Jagaddeva, Śakābda 1693 (1771 A.D.)]

This shows that it was made by Govindacandra Haricandan Jagadev in the very next year after the first inscription. Hence he was the founder of the two idols Rādhā and Govinda.

The third inscription is inscribed in a circle under the lotus seat on which the deity Dola-Govinda is seated. This inscription is in one śloka written in Oriya characters but Sanskrit language.

The reading is as follows :—

चित्ते यस्य वरीवरीति जगतीभर्त्तापहर्त्तापदां
कीर्त्तिर्यस्यचरत्यनिद्रसुषमा सासेतुशीताचलम् ।
यस्यालङ्करणं द्विजैकभरणं धर्माय कर्माखिलं
तस्य श्रीवनमालिनः शिवमियं गोविन्दमूर्तिः क्रियात् ॥

[May this god Govinda bless Śrī Vanamālī Deva, in whose heart sits always Lord Jagannātha, the destroyer of all evils, whose fame has spread from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, whose sole duty is the maintenance of the Brahmins and whose work is based on religion.]

On Vasanta Pañcamī and Dolapūrṇimā (holy), the festive occasions of god Jagannātha at the foot of Lāṅgalaveṇī, the custom was and even now is that the idol of Dola-Govinda is taken out instead of that of Jagannātha. This image of Dola-Govinda is nicely executed on metal. The exact date of this inscription is not known, but from the genealogy of the ancient royal family of Atagada, it may be said that this king was known by two names, namely, Govinda and Vanamālī. So it may safely be concluded that the third inscription also belongs to the reign of Govindacandra Haricandan and that he was the founder of the image of Dola-Govinda.

As the history of Govindacandra Haricandan of those days will be interesting to the readers, it is given below :

When Govindacandra Haricandan was ruling over Atagada, Nawab Kumbhila Ānanda Rāj attacked the gates of Jagannāth Prasad of Lāṅgalaveṇī fort at Bovrani or Boirani. But the Nawab was repulsed. Thirty of the enemies' party were imprisoned and beheaded by the order of the Rājā.

In the reign of Madhusūdan Haricandan, Kṛṣṇa Bhuñja, the Rājā of Gumsoor had captured the Hattiutto mutt of Atagada. To avenge this, Govindacandra sent his large army to attack Bhuñja after the death of his brother Madhūsudan. This expedition was led by commander Śrīkaraṇ Patnaik. The Atagada army attacked the Bhuñja Fort of Kakarsali, where the Rājā

was defeated and was compelled to retreat. The victorious army took possession of the Hathiutto mutt and built a new fort named Mandaragaḍ, the walls of which were made of mud (18 × 25 cubits), and made 300 soldiers guard the fort. These soldiers who guarded the newly built fort were granted lands at those places free of taxes and their descendants are enjoying the same till now. Another fortress named Balabahdra Palace was constructed at a place called Biripura. Two years later Kṛṣṇa Bhuñja concluded a treaty with the Rājā of Atagada at a village of Kanachai. The successor of Kṛṣṇa Bhuñja by name Lakṣmaṇa having been driven out from Gumsoor by his brother Trivikrama took refuge in Atagada.

Govinda Haricandan had powerful allies such as Harihara Narendra of Mohuri, Vināyaka Māndhātā of Nayagarh, Marda Gopāladeva of Khallikote and Jagaddeva of Tekkali.

Vīrakeśarideva of Orissa, having been captured and imprisoned by Rājārām Paṇḍit Subedar of the Maharattas, died and left Divyasiṃhadeva, his grandson as his only heir. At that time the Maharattas had been a source of great trouble. Divyasiṃha arrived at the village of Pamtiamba via Banapur. Having come to know the pitiable state of the Orissa king, Govinda Haricandan had a fort built at Usta Agency and kept him with his 2000 followers, 5 elephants and 50 horses as his guest for one year. During this time was born his first son Mukundadeva the great Oriya king.

Govinda got back certain conquered territories from Gajapati, Jagannātha Nārāyaṇa Deva, king of Parlakimedi. He then attacked and defeated the Maharattas who attacked the Puri temple and restored Divyasiṃhadeva at his old palace of Bali. The fort of Khurda was also released from the hands of the Mahrattas.

Mr. Catsford of the East India Company came to know this fact, and besiezed Lāṅgalveṇī Fort through Jagannāth Prasad Gate in 1768. A treaty was then concluded between the Rājā of Atagada and the East India Company to the effect that the Rājā of Atagada should pay an annual revenue of Rs. 47,000 to the East India Company. Since then the independence of the Rājā of Atagada came to an end. Some time before the above incident, Colonel Peach waged war against the Rājā of Parlakimedi at Jalumur, and as the Rājā of Parlakimedi was defeated, his estate was taken by the East India Company. In the same year, Resident Catsford went with a large army and attacked and captured the fort of Ganjam.

LAKSHMI NARAYAN HARICANDAN JAGADEB

The Candra Dynasty of Arakan

We know of several Candra dynasties of Bengal, from the accounts of Tāranātha, songs of Mayanāmatī and the copper-plate grants of Śrī Candra deva, but nothing of the Candra dynasty of Arakan, except what can be made out from the few coins of Arakan described by Sir A. P. Phayre in his 'Numismata Orientalia'. Recently some interesting accounts have been published of a dynasty of Candra kings of Arakan in the Annual Report for 1925-26 of the Archaeological Survey of India (pp. 146-48). This is the result of a preliminary examination of some inscriptions on a stone-pillar found on the platform of the Sitthaung temple at Mrohaung in Arakan by Forchhammer in the early eighties. For some reasons or other they remained so long undeciphered. Mr. Hirananda Śāstrī, the Government Epigraphist for India, who examined them, says that the oldest of the inscriptions is written in characters resembling those of the late Gupta script. The others are in Nāgarī characters. Their major portion is practically obliterated. A preliminary decipherment has been made of the best preserved portion. The following is a summary of its reading as supplied by Mr. Śāstrī :

"The first twenty lines are illegible on the impression. Ll. 21-41 give an account of the numerous kings of the Śrī-Dharmarājānuja-vaṃśa, preceding Ānandacandra, to whose rule the inscription belongs. The kings are stated in order with a period of reign assigned to each.

		Years.			Years.
1.	Bālacandra reigned for		10.	Nīticandra ...	?
2.	Devacandra ..	22	11.	Mahāvīra Nareś-vara	12
3.	Yajñacandra ...	7	12.	?	12
4.	.........son of Bhūmicandra ...	?	13.	?	12
5.	.........son of Kīrticandra	24	14.	Dharmaśūra ...	3
6.	.........son of Nīticandra	55	15.	?	8
7.	Dīpacandra ...	?	16.	Śrī-Dharmavijaya	?
8.	Prīticandra ...	22	17.	Narendravijaya, the son of Dharmavijaya	2
9.	.........candra ...	?	18.	Narendracandra ...	8
			19.	Anandacandra ...	

"Ll, 41-62 enumerate in detail the numerous benevolent deeds of Ānandacandra. He was like Karṇa in charity; like Yudhiṣṭhira in speaking truth. He resembled Kāma in beauty and in splendour was like the sun. He built many vihāras and attached to them a large extent of land, cows and buffaloes. He erected many Buddhist temples and set up in them beautiful images of copper, etc. He gave everyday linen cloths to the monks coming from different parts of the country. He also granted land with servants to fifty Brahmans. Various dwellings and roads in different parts were constructed for the use of Ārya-saṃgha.

"Ll. 63-71 probably state that a subordinate (of Ānandacandra) gave his daughter, a 'gem among women' to Ānandacandra, the king of Tāmrapaṭṭana, together with a dowry of a town called Śrī-paṭṭana after having constructed in it a tank and a vihāra.

"The inscribed stone does not itself appear to have belonged originally to the temple, where it is now serving the purpose of a gate-post at the entrance to the temple. The latter was built by Minbin, the 12th of the Myauk-u dynasty, who reigned over Arakan from 1531 to 1533 A.D., while the former is said to have been set up by Ānandacandra, a king of Tāmrapaṭṭana and a descendant, according to the chronological table given in the inscription, of Bālacandra of the Śrī-Dharmarājānuja-vaṃśa. Who this Ānandacandra was and how that Tāmrapaṭṭana is to be identified still remain to be worked out; on palæographical grounds alone, the inscription stone is older than the temple by many centuries. Moreover, the names mentioned therein are altogether new to us, and it is quite possible that we are now on the threshold of an important discovery and are about to resuscitate to life a dynasty of kings, which was in existence in the mediæval period, but which has now become extinct. However, mention may be made of some of the names, probably of kings, which are also preserved on old coins of Arakan. For this purpose reference may be made to the coins Nos. 1-12 on plate II of Phayre's Coins of Arakan. Coin No. 2 has the name Prīticandra above the bull, while coin No. 3 probably has Dharmavijaya and No. 8, Vīracandra. The name on coin No. 9 figured in plate XXXI of the Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum (Calcutta, Volume I) should certainly be read as Nīticandra, although Vincent Smith read it as Śrī Śivasya or Givasya. The cabinet of the Phayre Provincial Museum has another coin of the same name stamped on it, but it is a better specimen, and on palæographical grounds, it

may be older than the coin in the Indian Museum. That is to say, we have two coins both bearing the same name Nīticandra, but belonging to two different periods. There are other coins bearing names not mentioned in the list of kings given in our inscriptions. But the above will suffice at least to allow us to conjecture that the names of kings mentioned in the inscription are no others than those of Arakan. But on the other hand, none of these names can be identified with any of those that are mentioned in the lists of the kings of Arakan as given by the native chroniclers, although there were kings in Arakan with names ending in Candra and Taing-candra. At the same time, Tāmrapaṭṭana, the name of the country, over which Ānandacandra was king is not known to chroniclers. Śrīpaṭṭana is equally unknown. Again, Ānandacandra is said to be a descendant of Bālacandra of the Śrī-Dharmarājānuja-vaṃśa. One Bālacandra, son of Siṃhacandra who reigned in Bengal, is known to have extended his power to Tirhut and Kāmarūpa at a time when Magadha was ruled by the elder son of king Harṣa. Bālacandra was succeeded by his son Vimalacandra followed by Gopīcandra. During the latter's reign the seat of Government was at Cāṭigrāma (Ciṭṭagong), and the kingdom of Rakhan or Arakan was just to its south."

We shall try to give here some facts and suggestions, with the hope that they may help in editing the inscriptions.

It appears that king Ānandacandra, though a Buddhist, patronised Brāhmaṇas. We find in the Kulaji books of the Vārendra Brāhmaṇas of Bengal that king Vallālasena of Bengal sent Brāhmaṇas to Maurāṅga or Mauḍāṅga and to Rasāṅga or Rabhāṅga (Arakan ?) :

"Gauḍe śataṃ nṛpatinā pancāśan Magadhe tathā/
Bhōṭe ṣaṣṭiḥ samākhyātāḥ Maurāṅge ca tathāvidhāḥ//
Utkale dvāviṃśatiś ca Rasāṅge ca tathāvidhāḥ/
evaṃ sthitir Brāhmaṇānāṃ sarvadēśa-nivāsinām//"
(Vārendra-kulapañji)

Again :—"dvi-śat=ādhika-pañcāśād-Vārendrāṇāṃ dvi-janmanām/
pañcāśan Magadhe ṣaṣṭir Bhōṭe ṣaṣṭī Rabhāṅgake//
catvāriṃśad-Utkale ca Mauḍāṅge'pi tath=āṅkakaḥ/
dattā nṛpatinā harṣaṃ Vallālena mahātmanā//"
(Gauḍe Brāhmaṇa, p. 88)

Can these be the Brāhmaṇas, to whom Ānandacandra gave away

lands with servants? If so he becomes a contemporary of king Vallālasena in the first half of the twelfth century A.D.

There are names of nineteen kings in the list. If the first and the last are excluded, there remains seventeen only. Of these, the periods of reign of 12 only have been deciphered. They reigned for 187 years, each about 16 years on an average. The remaining five, at this rate, might have reigned 80 years. Or assuming three generations a century, their reign comes to 166 at the highest. So Bālacandra was earlier than Ānandacandra by about 267-353 years. Assuming Ānandacandra to have ascended the throne on 1100 A.D., Bālacandra's reign must have terminated some time between 747-833 A.D. i.e. he reigned some time between the eighth and the ninth century. It is said that in the ninth century the country around Chittagong was conquered by a Buddhist king of Arakan, who erected a pillar at Chittagong (Chittagong District Gazetteer, p. 20). It may be that this pillar was subsequently removed to Mrohaung.

This dynasty of kings is said to be of the Dharmarājānujavaṃśa. Yama is Dharmarāja. Who is his anuja or younger? It may be Citragupta, the mythical forefather of the Kāyasthas, for he is said to be a twin brother of Dharma-rāja :—

> Vāyuḥ sarvagataḥ sṛṣṭaḥ Sūryas tejovivṛddhimān /
> Dharmarājas tataḥ sṛṣṭaś Citraguptena saṃyutaḥ /"
>
> (Garuḍa-Purāṇa, Vaṅgavāsī Edition, 1314 B.S., p. 676)

I may also mean his another brother Vicitra :—

> prayāti Citranagaraṃ Vicitro yatra pārthivaḥ //
> *Yamasy=aiv=ānujaḥ* saurir yatra rājyaṃ praśāsti ha/ (Ibid., p. 622).

In the Kulaji books of the Kāyasthas of Bengal, we find that Citragupta, Vicitra and Citrasena are three brothers. Of them Citragupta lived in heaven, Vicitra among the Nāgas and Citrasena on earth :

> Citragupto gataḥ svarge Vicitro nāga-sannidhau// Citrasenaḥ pṛthivyāṃ
>
> (Śabda-kalpadruma, see under 'Kāyastha').

Among the many surnames of the Bengal Kāyasthas, 'Candra' is one. So this Candra dynasty of Arakan may be of the Kāyastha caste. If Bālacandra of Bengal be identical with Bālacandra of Arakan, then the Candra dynasty of Bengal was also of the Kāyastha caste.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH

The Administration of the Delhi Empire in the Pre-Mughal Period

II

Land Revenue

Land revenue formed the principal source of income to the State in the pre-Mughal period. India was then, as is still now, an agricultural country. From a perusal of the contemporary records we find that the demand of the state varied in different times. During this period, the revenue was generally assessed by "guess or computation," and it was Alauddin who first devised the scheme of *jarib* and tried to improve the system of assessment then prevalent in the country, but it appears that his system did not long survive his death. His standard of taxation was extremely exorbitant and it was "equal to half the gross annual produce of the lands, to be levied throughout the kingdom, and to be regularly transmitted to the Exchequer" (Brigg's Ferishta, vol. I, pp. 346 f.). "Cultivation whether on a small or large scale was to be carried on by measurement at a certain rate for every biswa" (one twentieth part of a bigha—Elliot, vol. III, p. 182), "and the headmen and Chowdhuris and all other rayyats were placed on the same footing ; so that the burden of the strong was not thrown on the weak. He also ordered that what used to be the perquisites of the Chowdhuris should be collected and paid into the treasury, and that grazing fees for each head of cow and buffalo and sheep should also be realized" (De, Tabaqati Akbari, pp. 169, 170, Persian text, p. 153). "The scrutiny into the conduct of the ministerial officers and scribes was carried to such an extreme, that they were not able to misappropriate even one *jital*. If any one took anything in addition to his fixed salary, it at once appeared against him in the papers of the patwari (the village accountant) and was immediately exacted from him with the greatest rigour and contumely" (De, Tabaqati Akbari, p. 169-170). But as has already been said, Alauddin's system of assessment did not long survive his death. On the accession of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq to the throne, the old system of assessment by "guess or computation" was revived by that monarch. "In the generosity of his nature, he ordered that the land

revenues of the country should be settled upon just principles, with reference to the produce. The officers of the Exchequer were ordered to assess either by guess or computation, whether upon the reports of informers or the statements of valuers. They were to see that cultivation increased year by year. The Hindus were to be taxed so that they might not be blinded by wealth and so become discontented and rebellious, nor, on the other hand, be so reduced to poverty and destitution as to be unable to pursue their husbandry" (Elliot, vol. III, pp. 230 f.).

"In fixing the revenue of the various territories, he acted with moderation ; and did not listen to the words of those who made high offers. If any one forcibly realized from his *jagir* more than that was fixed, the Sultan objected to, and cancelled, the transaction. If any one deducted any amount from the revenue payable by him, on account of payments to his retainers, and the amount did not reach the latter, he was punished, and the amount was recovered from him" (De, Tabaqati Akbari, pp. 209, 210 ; Persian text p. 192). Thus from the above writings of Zia Barni and Nizamuddin Ahmed, we get a good account of the principle of taxation, and its working during the reign of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq.

The demand of the State reached its climax during the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq, when he increased it in the Doab "out of all proportion to the income of the people"—as Zia Barni has described. The same author proceeds on to say that the tax was raised from ten or twenty times which rather seems to us to be an exaggeration. However, that the rate of taxation was extremely exorbitant and that "it operated to the ruin of the country and the decay of the people" is admitted by all historians. Ferishta, who came much later and who derived his materials mainly from the contemporary historians, says, "the duties, levied on the necessaries of life and realised with the utmost rigour, were too great for the power of industry to cope with ; the country in consequence, became involved in poverty and distress" (Brigg's Ferishta, vol. I, p. 414). Along with his heavy taxation some *abwabs* were also levied which was an additional horror to the people (De, Tabaqati Akbari, p. 218 ; see also in this connection Zia Barni's Tarikhi-Ferozshahi).

After the death of Muhammad Tughlaq and the accession of Feroz Tughlaq to the throne, the storm passed away, and India again showed signs of prosperity and happiness ; taxes were levied according to just principles and many illegal exactions (*abwabs*) were

done away with. The revenue was imposed after a proper enquiry about the condition of the land and the facilities of irrigation provided by the construction of canals for improved agriculture.

Feroj, in his Fatuhati-Ferozshahi says that he abolished twenty three illegal and vexatious taxes. About the steps that Feroz took to suppress these illegal imports, the following quotation may be cited from Ferishta : "It is hereby proclaimed that the small and vexatious taxes, under the denomination of cottwaly, etc., payable to the public servants of Government as perquisites of offices by small traders, licenses from shepherds for the right of pasturage on waste lands belonging to the crown, fees from flower-sellers, fish-mongers, cotton-cleaners, silk-sellers, and cooks, and the precarious and the fluctuating taxes on shop-keepers and vintners, shall henceforth cease throughout the realm ; for it is better to relinquish this portion of the revenue than realize it causing so much distress occasioned by the discretionary power that has to be vested on tax-gatherers and officers of authority ; nor will any tax hereafter be levied contrary to the written law of the book" (Brigg's Ferishta, vol. I, p. 463).

However, much may be said in support of the benign policy of the sovereigns like Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq and Feroz Tughlaq in regard to revenue matters and their noble aspirations to do good to the peasantry, corruptions could not be totally stamped out of the country and old order of things revived as soon as any one of them had made their exit from the royal stage. Even during their life time oppression of the *moqaddams* on the one hand and high handedness of the fief-holders on the other, could not be checked properly, because of the fact that very few cases could reach the ears of the sovereign.

Provincial Administration

The Delhi empire in the pre-Mughal period was divided into provinces and the number of provinces sometimes increased and sometimes decreased according to the extent of the empire. In the early days of the Muhammadan rule the number of provinces was smaller than those of the reign of Alauddin Khilji or Muhammad Tughlaq when the Muhammadan empire rose to the meridian of its glory. But when the noon-tide splendour of the meridian sun had begun to wane, the number of provinces again decreased.

From the writings of Zia Barni we get references to twelve pro-

vinces of the Delhi Empire at the beginning of the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq which are as follows :—(1) Delhi, (2) Gujrat, (3) Malwa, (4) Deogir, (5) Tilang, (6) Kampila, (7) Dwara Samudra, (8) Ma'bar, (9) Tirhut, (10) Lakhnauti, (11) Satgaon, (12) Sonargaon. But afterwards Muhammad Tughlaq increased the number of provinces for the better administration of the empire. Shahabuddin, the author of the Masalik-al-absar, who was a native of Damascus, and whose source of information on this subject was Sirajuddin Abul Fath Aumar, ("a lawyer and a native of the province of Oudh, who had lived long at the court of the Sultan of Delhi"), gives a list of twenty-three provinces into which the Delhi empire was then divided. These were as follows :—"(1) Delhi, (2) Deogir. (3) Multan, (4) Kahran, (Kuhram) (5) Samana, (6) Siwistan, (7) Uch, (8) Hasi, (Hansi), (9) Sirsuti, (Sirsah) (10) Maabar, (11) Tilank (Telingana), (12) Gujrat, (13) Badaon, (14) Oudh, (15) Kanauj, (16) Lakhnauti, (17) Bihar, (18) Karra, (19) Malwa, (20) Lahore, (21) Kalanor, (Gowalior), (22) Jajnagar, (23) Tilanj, Darusamand (Telingana (?) and Dwarasamudra" (Elliot, vol. III, pp. 574-575). Over each of the provinces there was a Governor who was responsible for its administration and proper management. This increment of the number of provinces by Muhammad Tughlaq was, no doubt, judicious and calculated to ensure better administration in the provinces.

From the above account of Shahabuddin we hear of only one province of Bengal, namely, Lakhnauti, whereas from the account of Zia Barni we find that Bengal was divided into three provinces, Lakhnauti, Satgaon, and Sonargaon. This fact is also corroborated by Ferishta (Brigg's Ferishta, vol. I, p. 423). So, on the whole, we get twenty-five provinces. The administration of the distant places like Bengal, the North-Western provinces and the Deccan was somewhat different from that of the other places. Bengal as we have just seen, was divided into three provinces with a Governor over each of them ; above these three Governors, there was one Viceroy at their head to look into the affairs of Bengal as a whole and to supervise the actions of the provincial Governors. The distant provinces of the Deccan and the Punjab were similarly administered. From the account of Shahabuddin which agrees with that of Ferishta (Brigg's Ferishta vol. I, p. 432), it is seen that the Deccan was divided into four provinces, namely, Deogir, Malabar, Telingana, and Dwara-Samudra with a Governor over each ; above these four governors there was similarly one Viceroy with his capital at Deogir as the head of all the provincial

governors of the Deccan. The Punjab was similarly divided into several provinces with a governor over each, but above them a Viceroy with similar powers as stated in the case of Bengal and the Deccan. These small divisions of the three distant places ensured better government in those places, and each provincial governor served as a check upon the other and a sudden combination on their part against the Central Government was rendered difficult.

But so far as the administration of the provinces was concerned, there were some serious defects in the machinary of the government itself. Each of these provinces was, as Mr. Smith described them, "miniature replica of a State". The governors had a very slender tie of allegiance to the Central Government, and all of them were leaders of large armies, recruited and paid by them direct. They generally appointed all their subordinate officers, whose promotion and dismissal as well depended on them alone. In short, in regard to internal affairs of a province, the governor was practically his own master. Provincial revenue was under his control, forts were garrisoned by him and soldiers were under his command. If a governor was ambitious enough he could, on the slightest negligence on the part of the Central Government, cut off every connection from it. Moreover, want of good communication in the absence of steamship or telegraphs only facilitated their projects. Had there been any better means of communication, much of the trouble might have been overcome and timely information and intervention might have nipped in the bud the aggression of these provincial governors. Balban, Alauddin Khilji, Muhammad Tughlaq and Feroz Tughlaq were all, for some time or other, provincial governors and they knew fully well how in such a state of affairs, it was easy for a provincial governor to throw off the mask and aspire to the royal dignity, but still none of them made any attempt whatsoever to bring the provincial governors into a closer and more rigid control of the Central Government and thus lay the foundation of the empire on a stronger basis.

In the provincial head quarters there was a Qazi for the administration of justice to which I have already given reference.[1] There

1 In the I.H.Q. of June, 1930, p. 270, in speaking of provincial Qazis, I told that there was a Qazi in Bengal and another in the Deccan, but they referred to the Qazis of the Viceroy's courts. Besides the Qazis for Viceroy's courts, there were Qazis in

was also certainly a provincial Dewan without which the management of the revenue was not possible.

Army

The governmental organization was on military lines and every official had to be enrolled in the army list. In those rough and stormy days strong and well-disciplined army was of imperative necessity for the stability of every kingdom. The provincial Governors were ambitious, rebellion was rife, and the mode of communication extremely difficult, and in such a state of affairs, the only means to overawe the provincial Governors and to check their disruptive tendencies was the formation of a well-trained and well-disciplined standing army. But in those days the kings generally depended upon the provincial Governors and fief-holders for the supply of troops in times of necessity. This was an extremely cumbrous and irksome process. It revealed the weakness of the central Government in case the Governors or fief-holders could not come forward in time with their levies. Moreover, the provincial Government and fief-holders were well aware of the weakness of such a system, and they might, if they had only the inclination to do it, put the central Government in an utter helpless condition in times of crisis by wilful negligence of the royal mandate.

Even a king like Balban had to depend mainly upon this practice. He had no doubt, a well-drilled and well-organized army and he kept up the efficiency of the army by constant exercise "by leading them out twice every week to hunt for forty or fifty miles round the (capital) city" (Brigg's Ferishta, vol. I, p. 255), but however strong and efficient his army might be, a politician and a statesman like him should have more thoroughly realised the weakness of the above practice and should have taken steps to curb the power of the Governors and fief-holders and thereby remodel the militia on a sound basis.

It was Alauddin who first conceived the idea of organizing the Indian army on a stronger and more solid basis. He was confronted with two great difficulties—firstly, high-handedness and discontent of the great nobles which must be checked, secondly, the frequent incursions of the Mongols on the North-western Frontier which seem-

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each of the head quarters of the Governors' provinces into which those countries were divided.

ed to threaten the very existence of the Delhi Empire. Now, in order to cope with these difficulties, the most important thing that was necessary was the formation of a strong and well-disciplined standing army under the direct control of the central governments. With this purpose in view, he appointed worthy men to act as commanders and lieutenants and the army was directly recruited by the Ariz-i-Mamalik (muster-master of the kingdom). The pay of the soldiers was fixed and they were paid by the central government in cash from the royal treasury and the corruption was checked by means of the branding system. In this connection Ferishta says: "He (Alauddin) settled the pay of every horseman for himself and his horse. The first class had 234 tankas, the second class 156 and the third class 88 tankas annually, according to the goodness of the horse, and upon a muster, he found his cavalry to consist of 475000" (Brigg's Ferishta, vol. I, p. 360). The military commanders and lieutenants were also paid in cash and not by grants of lands which had hitherto been the practice under the previous Sultans. The rigidity of the discipline in the army, which he maintained, may be clearly understood from the following words of Alauddin himself— "I am in the habit of stopping one month's pay for three successive years, from every soldier who neglects to appear at muster......" (Brigg's Ferishta, vol. I, p. 352).

After the death of Alauddin, the efficiency of the army was greatly impaired and abuses slowly crept into the military organization. But with the accession of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq many of the abuses were remedied. In this connection Nizamuddin Ahmed, the author of the Tabaqati Akbari says: "He (Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq) adopted the methods introduced by Sultan Alauddin in respect of the descriptive rolls of the troopers, and the branding of horses and the prices and examination of the latter, and of the maintenance of the retainers" (De, Tabaqati Akbari, p. 210; Persian text, 193).

During the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq the Delhi emperor had at one time, an enormous cavalry numbering 370,000 (Brigg's Ferishta, vol. I, p. 414), but the efficiency of the army was greatly impaired due to his whims and caprices.

During the reign of Feroz Tughlaq the efficiency of the army was maintained through the efforts of Malik Razi, the Deputy-Ariz-i-mamalik. Shams-i-Afif says: "In the reign of Feroz Shah there was an army of 80,000 and sometimes 90,000 horses, exclusive of slaves. These men remained on service all the year.........In those

days Malik Razi, a very venerable and righteous man, was the Deputy-*Ariz* and administered the business of the army in a very proper manner" (Elliot, vol. III, pp. 347 f.).

But however efficient Feroz's army might have been, he displayed lack of political foresight and statesmanship, as he again resorted to the old method of granting fiefs to the nobles and military commanders in lieu of cash payment. Herein Feroz laid the germs for the future dissolution of the Delhi empire by increasing the power of the nobles at the expense of the central government. After his retirement from the political arena of Hindusthan, Delhi empire showed signs of speedy decay, whereas the barons grew richer and more powerful. As the power of the central government decreased, the power of these fief-holders increased and, by and by, almost the whole of Hindusthan was divided into innumerable tribal chieftaincies. In some places the Farmuli tribe was predominant, at another place the Lohani tribe, and at others the Serwani tribe and so on. Waqiati-i-Mushtaqi has given a very graphic picture of the condition of Hindusthan during the reign of Sikandar Lodi which runs as follows :—

"One-half of the whole country was assigned in *jagir* to the Farmulis, and the other half to the other Afghan tribes. At this time the Lohanis and Farmulis predominated. The chief of the Serwanis was Azam Humayun and the principal chieftains of the Lodis were four :—Mahmud Khan who had Kalpi in *jagir*; Mian Alam, to whom Etawah and Chandwa were assigned ; Mubarak Khan whose *jagir* was Lucknow; and Daulat Khan who held Lahore. Among the Sahu Khails, the chiefs were Husain Khan and Khan Jahan, both from the same ancestor as Sultan Bahlol, Husain Khan, son of Feroz Khan, and Qutb Khan Lodi Sahu Khail, who flourished in the time of Sultan Bahlol.

"The districts of Saran and Champaran were held by Mian Husain, Oudh, Ambala and Hodhana by Mian Muhammad Kālā Pāhār, Kanauj by Mian Gadai, Shamsabad, Thaneswar and Shahabad by Mian Imad."

"Among the great nobles of Sultan Sikandar's time was Saif Khan Acha-Khail. He had 6,000 horse under him, and was the deputy of Azam Humayun, jagirdar of Karra, who used to buy 2,000 copies of the Quran every year, had 45,000 horses under his command, and 700 elephants. There were also Daulat Khan-Khani who had 4,000 cavalry, Ali Khan Ushi who had 4,000, and also : Feroz Khan

Serwani who had 6,000. Amongst other nobles, there were 25,000 more distributed. Ahmad Khan also, the son of Jumal Khan Lodi Sarang Khani, when he was appointed to Janupur, had 20,000 cavalry under him" (Elliot, vol. IV, pp. 545, 547 f.).

If we go through the above accounts carefully and at the same time remember how Sikandar had to strive hard to maintain his position, we can realise the pitiable condition of the Delhi empire. The system was unsound at the core and its fall was inevitable and it was only a question of time.

Kotwal -

The function of a Kotwal in mediæval India was very important inasmuch as public peace, tranquillity and safety of the urban people mainly depended upon him. He was the chief of the city police and was entrusted with the protection of the city against all offences. During the Mughal period, we get a very good picture of the duties and functions of a Kotwal from the Aini-Akbari of Abul-Fazl as well as from Storia-de-Mogor of Manucci. But about the period of which we are speaking only some casual references to his duties may be found here and there in the pages of some of the histories of the period. Briggs in his translation of the Tarikh-i-Ferishta says, "The office of Kotwal embraces the regulation of the town police, and the public market. The Kotwal also regulates the hire of cattle, and provides carriages for the Government and for travellers" (Brigg's Ferishta, vol. I, p. 288 ; see also Tabaqati Akbari, p. 158, Persian text, 143).

As his position was that of the Superintendent of Police (De, Tabaqati Akbari, p. 154) there were certainly other officers below him like the Inspectors or sub-Inspectors of the present day, and we find that in the administration of the capital city, Darogha was appointed under him (Tabaqati-Akbari, Persian text, p. 139) but we do not know what were their exact functions.

Dak-Chauki

The institution of Dak-Chauki was first inaugurated during the reign of Alauddin Khilji who "whenever sent an army to any place, arranged a horse dak-chauki (relay) from Delhi to the place of destination and posted at each Karoh a fast runner, who is called Paik in Hindi ; and he appointed a scribe at each town or city, on the way, who

reported every day what happened there" (De, Tabaqati-Akbari, p. 183). The above system has been more vividly described by Zia-Barni in the following language :

"It was the practice of the Sultan, when he sent an army on expedition, to establish posts on the road, wherever posts could be maintained, beginning from Tilpat, which was the first stage. At every post relays of horses were stationed and at every half or quarter kos runners were posted and in every town or place where horses were posted, officers and report-writers were appointed. Every day, or every two or three days, news used to come to the Sultan reporting the progress of the army and intelligence of the health of the sovereign was carried to the army. False news was thus prevented from being circulated in the city or in the army. The securing of accurate intelligence from the court on one side and the army on the other was a great public benefit" (Elliot, vol. III, p. 203).

But during the reign of his unworthy successors the services of this valuable department seemed to have been lost to the empire, and again Tughlaq Shah made endeavours to revive this old department established by Alauddin, when during his Deccan expedition he made arrangements that "messengers should come from Delhi, twice a week, by Dak-Chauki, and should bring intelligence of everything being safe." (De, Tabaqati-i-Akbari, p. 211).

The following description of the Dak-Chauki as was prevalent during the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq has been given by the Moorish traveller, Ibn Batuta—"The barid or post in India is of two kinds. The horse-post is called *ulak,* and is carried on by means of horses belonging to the Sultan stationed at every four miles. The foot-post is thus arranged. Each mile is divided into three equal parts, called *dawah,* which signifies one-third of a mile. Among the Indians, mile is called kos. At each third of a mile there is a village well populated ; outside of which are three tents, in which are men ready to depart. These men gird up their loins and take in their hands a whip about two-cubits long, tipped with brass bells. When the runner leaves the village, he holds the letter in one hand and in the other the whip with the bells. He runs with all his strength and when the men in the tents hear the sound of the bells they prepare to receive him. When he arrives, one of them takes the letter and sets off with all speed. He keeps on cracking his whip until he reaches the next *dawah.* Thus, these couriers pro-

ceed until the letter reaches its destination. This kind of post is quicker than the horse-post" (Elliot, vol. III, pp. 587 f.).

The department subsequently fell into disuse and it was revived after a long time by Sikandar Lodi who improved upon the old system and extended its operation to all parts of his kingdom as is evident from the accounts of Ferishta, who says—"He established horse-posts throughout his country and received accounts daily from every military detachment of his army in motion" (Brigg's Ferishta, vol. I, p. 587). The department seemed to have been utilised both for civil and military purposes and with its help he kept himself in constant touch with all the important parts of the dominion.

Such was the administrative machinery which prevailed in the Delhi empire during the pre-Mughal period. As is apparent from the machinery of government which has been described above, there were some serious defects in the system as well as in its working which not only marred the efficiency of the government, but also exposed it to the worst kinds of casualties leading to the ultimate dismemberment of the empire. They pointed out undoubtedly that the germs of its destruction could be found in the system itself and when the final crash came, although it came from outside, it would have certainly come, even, if no Tamarlane or Babar would have invaded India. By the middle of the 14th century the Delhi empire exhibited unmistakeable signs of decay and destruction; the empire was worn out and it bore the appearance of a spent-bullet deprived of all its strength and vitality. There could not be any further doubt about its fall, and it is rather strange that the end came so late.

The first characteristic defect of the system was that it had no balanced constitution. No political machinery was ever devised to checkmate the whims and caprices of the sovereigns, and, as a matter of fact, they did whatever they liked, without any fear of opposition or hindrance from any duly organized constitutional body. The people could not device or organize any constitutional body as the people of England did to extort any charter or right of liberty and thereby put a stop to the despotic actions. The advisory council which existed, as we have already seen, was no check upon the autocratic action of the sovereign. It was the creation of the king himself and it depended wholly on his mercy for its existence. Had there been any constitutional check upon the despotic actions of the sovereign,

much of the unrest and lawlessness that prevailed during the reigns of Kaikhusru, Kaiqubad, Mubarak Shah, Tughlaq Shah II etc. on account of their negligence and incompetence, might have been averted and much of the energy of the State which was thus frittered away in unnecessary commotions might have added strength and vitality to the kingdom. The loss of moral prestige which it ultimately suffered owing to the follies and unstatesmanlike actions of Muhammad Tughlaq, which hastened the downfall of the empire, could also have been averted.

The second defect was that there was no proper machinery of government for the administration of the provinces. Each province, as has already been said, was "a miniature replica of a state." With vast resources at his back, "the provincial governorship often proved a stepping-stone" to the imperial authority, as were the cases with Jalaluddin Khilji, Alauddin Khilji, Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq and Bahlol Lodi, but none of them made any attempt to bring the provinces into a closer connection with the central government by putting salutary checks upon their actions. Moreover, the provinces should have been further divided into smallers units, like Sarkars and Parganas, for their better administration as were done in later times.

The third characteristic defect was that there was no attempt to connect the outlying provinces of the empire with the central government by means of roads, bridges, and other facilities of communication. In those days when there was no steamship or telegraphy, the only means by which the central government might keep in touch with the different parts of the empire was by the construction of good roads connecting all the important parts of the empire. But this the pre-Mughal emperors did not do.

Fourthly, in regard to law and justice in rural areas and in smaller places, the people were left to themselves and the government was satisfied only with the collection of revenue. The maintenance of peace and security in those areas were left to the village communities and no officer seemed to have been appointed to look into their actions and thus ensure proper administration and at the same time keep itself in closer touch with the masses. This indifference of the government towards the rural areas, also engendered a corresponding indifference on the part of the people towards the government.

Fifthly, the military character of the government was maintained from the beginning to the end. There was no attempt on the part

of the sovereigns to create a national Government or a homogeneous State and thereby merge the differences of the conqueror and the conquered. As a matter of fact, all the feelings of the conqueror and the conquered were allowed to remain and this "social inequality producing bitterness ended in rebellion." Even Feroz Tughlaq who has been described by the contemporary historians as "full of the milk of human kindness," and who posed himself as the champion of justice and humanity proved no exception.

Sixthly, "the Islamic State fostered luxury among the members of the ruling class. The highest offices in the State were held by Muslims and elevation to positions of honour was generally determined by Royal will and not by merit. The easy acquisition of enormous wealth and participation in the festivities of the court led to great vices, and the Muslims towards the close of the 14th century lost their old vigour and manliness. The early Muslims who served Altamash, Balban and Alauddin were soldier martyrs who cheerfully braved risks for the glory of Islam, but their descendants, who had no inducement to work, degenerated into mediocres, who had neither the ability nor the enthusiasm of their ancestors"(Mediæval India, Iswari Prosad, p. 470).

Seventhly, absence of the law of primogeniture was one of the most important causes which undermined the strength, vigour and prestige of the empire and paved the way for its ultimate extinction. In the absence of the law of primogeniture, every son, brother or other near relations of the preceding emperor considered himself to be the best fitted to wear the crown and would not give up his claim before sufficient trial of strength, and it meant chaos, unrest and disorder in the empire with consequent loss of prestige of the royal power. Taking advantage of such internal strife or weakness of the central government, the provincial governors did, as a matter of fact, often raise the standard of rebellion and some of the more ambitious of them even aspired to the throne of Delhi, as for instance, Jalaluddin Khilji, Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq and Bahlol Lodi. Had there been any recognized law of succession, or, in absence of it, had there been any duly authorised constitutional body like the Parliament of England, whose decision might be final in regard to these affairs, much of unnecessary bloodshed and commotion might have been avoided. But in the absence of both of them the country suffered a great deal from so much court intrigue, wars of succession, rebellion, murder of sovereigns, and other heinous

acts that the onward march of the Empire was very often retarded.

Inspite of the defects in the organization of the government or in its works, as described above, the Muslims during the pre-Mughal period brought Northern India for a very long time and the greater part of the Deccan for about half a century under one Imperial unity in place of petty hostile states, hitherto fighting with one another for suzerainty. There was enough of chivalry in the Rajput blood, their patriotism was proverbial and their valour was universally acknowlodged, but what was wanting in them was the idea of national union. The Muslim State again taught the Indian people how to become a single power—a power having youthful vigour and a strong militia at its back. The new power imparted a new vigour and freshness to the Indian soil, which has lost much of its strength and power by petty strifes and internecine struggles.

"The military system of the Hindus was" also "out of date and old fashioned." They used to depend too much upon elephants, but that elephant was dangerous against well trained cavalry had been proved on many occasions, but still they would cling to this old method of warfare and even bitter experience could not make them change their minds. The Muhammadans, on the other hand, had excellent cavalry which was constantly recruited from beyond the Afghan hills.

Another important thing which the Muhammadans gave to India was better discipline and organization. The caste system of the Hindus worked as a hindrance in the way of their governmental organization. Even at times of national crisis they often refused to make a common cause for their own deliverance by merging the differences of their creeds or clans and thus put forth a concerted action under a common leader. The Muslims, on the other hand, had no caste barrier, and they could offer a united front against their enemies. No artificial barrier divided them in their actions and they stood shoulder to shoulder for their national cause.

JOGINDRA NATH CHOWDHURY

Persian Inscriptions in the Gwalior State[1]

The royal order under notice is engraved in a panel on a stone post. It has been recently discovered at Bhilsa by the Gwalior State Archæological Department. It is being published, by the courtesy of the said department, from a photograph of the inscription. Bhilsa has been explored by the archaeologists as early as 1874, but this inscription does not appear to have been noticed so far.

Bhilsa is a railway station on the Bombay-Delhi main line of G. I. P. Railway and is 535 miles from Bombay. At present it is a growing town, being the head-quarters of a district of the same name in the Gwalior state.

It is one of the biggest centres of monuments of archaeological and historical interest in the State and the earliest monument discovered so far in the state belongs to Bhilsa.

Bhilsa is famous for its ancient site[2] which lies two miles N. W. of the present town called Bes or Besnagar identified with the Vesenagara, or Caityagiri of the Pāli works and the *Vidiśā* of the *Purāṇas*, and was once the capital of a great kingdom. The city was of marked importance since many important relics dating between the 3rd century B.C. and the first century A.D. were unearthed from the site[3] and many others are still to be found in its close vicinity. The most important of these are the remains of Buddhist *stūpas* and shrines at Sanchi[4] and the inscribed *Garuḍa* pillar of a Vaiṣṇava Temple at Bes, called *Khamb Baba* locally known to the archaeologists as Heliodoros pillar.[5]

Bhilsa first appears in Muhammadan writings as *Mahabalistan* in *Alberuni's*[6] description of India written about 1030 A.D. In 1235 A.D. Bhilsa was attacked and sacked by Altamash,[7] who is

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1 See I. H, Q., Vol. III, no. 4.

2 See C. A. S. R., Vol. X, 34-146.

3 See Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports 1913-14, 1914-15, pp. 186-226 and 234-36.

4 Sanchi lies 5 miles S.W. of this site. It is now included in the Bhopal State.

5 J.R.A.S., October 1919, pp. 1053-1093.

6 E. M. H, I. 59.

7 *Ibid.*, II, 328 and R. T., 622.

said to have destroyed a great temple here. In 1290 A.D. Ala-ud-din[1] reduced the size of the town. He completely subjugated Malwa. Bhilsa, being on the borders of Malwa, was therefore attached to this province.

The inscription reproduced here[2] is inscribed on a stone-post fixed in the ground in front of the Gandhi Gate in the city wall of the present Bhilsa. The portion of the post above ground is about two feet and the top has been chamferred into a sort of conical shape. The inscribed panel measures 9½"×13½". The inscription consisting of five lines of Persian prose in *Nastaliq* characters eontains a royal warrant exempting the *Kolis* (the Hindu weaver class) from *Begar* (forced labour or compulsory service without wages). It does not contain any date, name of a king or any other person, and cannot therefore be assigned to any particular ruler of the Muhammadan period to which it evidently belongs. Locally it is ascribed to the time of Alamgir (Aurangzeb) who ravaged Bhilsa in A.D. 1682,[3] and changed its name into Alamgirpur—a name which did not become popular.

Considering the general intolerence, which Aurangzeb had towards non-Moslems, it appears quite improbable that Aurangzeb Alamgir would have at all extended this concession to the Kolis. Be that as it may, on palæographical grounds and keeping in view the foregoing tradition, I feel inclined to assign it to the later Mughal period preferably to Alamgir II (A.D. 1754-1773), by whose time the Mughal rule has almost declined.

The Kolis of Bhilsa enjoy the privilege even to-day hardly knowing of this royal decree.

The *Begar* system continues even now and has been more or less in vogue throughout India. A reference to this system may be traced back to 3,000 B.C. or to the olden days of the Egyptian and Babylonian civilization. The mention of *Begar* is found in tale XVII, chapter I of the *Gulistan*, of Shekh Sāde of Shiraz (Persia), written in A.H. 656 (=A.D. 1258). Later on this system is mentioned in most of the Mussalman chronicles. It is therefore probable that this system developed and came to be widely practised during the rule of the Muhammadans though they may not necessarily be the originators.

RAMSINGH SAKSENA

1 E.M.H., III, 148 and 543.

2 See annexed plate.

3 E.M.H., VIII, 283.

PERSIAN INSCRIPTION AT BHILSA.



Line 1. از پیش گاه خلافت

Line 2. و جهانداري بيكار

Line 3. بر كوليان معاف است

Line 4. كسي مزاحم نشوند

Line 5. * * * * *

TRANSLATION.

Line 1. From the threshold of Imperial Majesty.

Line 2. And dignity (the fiat is hereby decreed).

Line 3. Kolis (Hindu weaver class) are (henceforward) exempted from **Begar** (forced labour or compulsory service without wages);

Line 4. None should run counter to it (i. e. attempt to exact **Begar** from the Kolis).

Line 5. * * * * *

I. H. Q. March, 1931.

Daṇḍin's Conception of the Guṇas

Daṇḍin is one of the earliest known writers who treat of the Guṇas in connection with the Rīti, although the term Rīti itself, standardised by Vāmana, is never employed by him. The professed object of his work[1] is to describe what he calls 'the body of poetry and the embellishments thereof.' These embellishments consist of certain external modes of expressions and are covered by the general term Alaṃkāra (which is described as *kāvya-śobhākara dharma*), applicable as much to the technical Guṇas that form the essence of his postulated "ways of speech" (*girām mārgaḥ*, which is equivalent to the Rīti of other writers) as to the so-called *alaṃkāras* or poetic figures. Whatever enhances poetic beauty (*kāvya-śobhā*) is its Alaṃkāra, and in this view Daṇḍin's position is not fundamentally different from that of Vāmana who explains the term *alaṃkāra* broadly as beauty (*saundarya*) in a non-technical sense.

In the first chapter of his work Daṇḍin defines and classifies poetry and discusses at some length the special characteristics of the two extreme modes of composition (*mārga*), viz., the Vaidarbha and the Gauḍa, explaining the application or otherwise of the ten standard excellences or Guṇas which form all the while the criterion for their distinction, and giving throughout a preferential treatment to the Vaidarbha. In the beginning of the second chapter he first offers a general definition of *alaṃkāra* as embellishment *per se*, and then goes on to remark that in the previous chapter he has spoken of *alaṃkriyāḥ* in connection with the classification of the *mārgas*. The term *alaṃkriyāḥ* in this passage has thus a clear reference to the ten standard excellences which he has already dealt

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1 Our references throughout are to the edition of Raṅgācārya, with the commentary of Taruṇavācaspati and the anonymous Hṛdayaṅgamā commentary (Madras, 1910), unless otherwise indicated. The editions of Premacandra Tarkavāgīśa with his own commentary (Calcutta, Śaka 1803), and of Belvalkar and Reddi (with a new Sanskrit commentary and English notes) in the Bombay Sanskrit Series (1920), as well as Belvalkar's English translation (Poona 1924) have also been consulted. It is rarely that Böhtlingk's edition has been of use; its text follows generally that of the Calcutta edition.

with as the essence of the Vaidarbha-mārga. Next, he says that he would now deal with the general (*sādhāraṇa*) *alaṃkāras,* which term obviously refers to the poetic figures that he is proceeding to discuss in the chapter under discussion. Thus, the Guṇas are *generally* laid down as *eka-mārga-gata,* pertaining to the excellent diction Vaidarbha, and therefore *viśiṣṭa alaṃkāras,* while the so-called poetic figures or *alaṃkāras* in the narrow sense are *mārga-dvaya-gata* or *sādhāraṇa,* because both the mārgas abound in such decorations as the *upamā, rūpaka* etc. Taruṇavācaspati comments on this : *śobhākaratvaṃ hi alaṃkāra-lakṣaṇam, tallakṣaṇa-yogāt te'pi* [*śleṣādayo daśa guṇā api*] *alaṃkārāḥ......guṇā alaṃkārā eva ity ācāryāḥ.*

From this we are not to understand, with P. V. Kane, that "Daṇḍin's work......makes no distinction between the Guṇas and the Alaṃkāras," for while to Daṇḍin every Guṇa is an Alaṃkāra, he nowhere states that every Alaṃkāra is a Guṇa. What is meant is not that the Guṇas and the Alaṃkāras are identical, but that the embellishments like *śleṣa* etc., which are technically called Guṇas, form the *sine qua non* of a diction *par excellence,* which cannot go without them ; whereas the figures of speech or Alaṃkāras like *upamā* etc. are not the special characteristics of a specific diction but they may reside in all kinds of diction. From this we may conclude that so far as a good composition is concerned Daṇḍin makes the Guṇas (but not the poetic figures) its absolute condition, a position approximating that of Vāmana who, however, commits himself to the clear statement that the Guṇas constitute an inseparable attribute of poetry,[1] implying thereby that it can do without Alaṃkāras or poetic figures. Thus, when the technical excellence and the poetic figure are both termed *alaṃkāra* in a non-technical sense, and yet a technical distinction is implied between them as characteristics of a diction, we may well hold that Daṇḍin as S. K. De remarks[2] "practically fore-shadows, if he does not theoretically develop the rigid differentiation between the Guṇa and the Alaṃkāra of the Rīti school".

We have seen that Daṇḍin treats of the Guṇas in connection with his conception of the *mārga,* which is equivalent to the Rīti, and not in relation to *rasa* (as writers on *Rasa* and *Dhvani* theories do), the fundamental importance of which had not yet been recognised in theory. Proceeding to describe the distinctive characteristics of the

1 *Kāvyālaṃkāra-sūtra-vṛtti,* iii, 2, 1-3.

2 *Sanskrit Poetics,* II, p. 106.

two (among many) extreme ways of speech (*mārga* or *vartman*), Daṇḍin lays down:[1]

śleṣaḥ prasādaḥ samatā mādhuryaṃ sukumāratā|
arthavyaktir udāratvam ojaḥ-kānti -samādhayaḥ||
iti vaidarbha-mārgasya prāṇā daśa guṇāḥ smṛtāḥ|
eṣāṃ viparyayaḥ prāyo dṛśyate gauḍa-vartmani||

It will be well to bear in mind here that Daṇḍin, like his predecessors, does not give a general definition of the Guṇa; but he describes it broadly in connection with the *doṣas* (iv, 1)[2] by the statement that *doṣas* mar the poetic effect just as the *guṇas* heighten it. In the verses cited above Daṇḍin mentions ten guṇas, which follow those of Bharata in their number and nomenclature but differ in their content. They are described as the very "life-breath" of the Vaidarbha-mārga. If we accept the term *vaidarbha-mārga* to be an *upalakṣaṇa*, standing for a standard good diction, as S. P. Bhattacharyya has suggested,[3] Daṇḍin's position is that the excellences just mentioned are essential in any good composition. But the Gauḍa-vartman often (*prāyaḥ*) presents a different aspect, the conception of the Gauḍas about the essentials of a diction being apparently different from that of the Vaidarbhas. Some controversy exists over the meaning of the term *viparyaya* in this verse. Those who accept Taruṇavācaspati's interpretation would take it to mean *vaiparītya*, i. e., opposition or contrariety, while others following the *Hṛdayaṅgamā* mean by it *anyathātva*, i. e., difference or divergence. The ten fixed excellences, viz., *śleṣa* etc., are said to constitute the essential characteristics of the Vaidarbha-mārga, but if it is asked what constitutes the essential characteristics of the Gauḍa-mārga we cannot reasonably answer that the opposites of these excellences (which would really be *doṣas* or faults) do it; i.e. if "*eṣām*" in i, 42 is taken to refer to the essentials (*prāṇāḥ*), then the term *viparyaya* should mean *anyathātva* instead of *vaiparītya*.

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1 *Kāvyādarśa*, i, 41-42.

2 [This verse is missing in the Calcutta (Premcandra) and Bombay (Reddi and Belvalkar) editions, as well as in the edition of Böhtlingk. It is also missing in the Tibetan version (*J.R.A.S.*, 1903, p. 349). As this extra verse is found in the Madras edition only, it would not be profitable to deduce any definite conclusion therefrom.—S. K. D.].

3 *The Gauḍī Rīti in Theory and Practice* in the *I.H.Q.*, June, 1927.

The point requires some explanation. If, in this case, *viparyaya* is interpreted to imply 'the reverse'' or "the opposite", the fundamental characteristics of the Gauḍa-mārga are relegated to the position of something like *doṣas* and would correspond to such *doṣas* as are actually defined as *arītimat* by Bhoja.[1] We cannot, however, hold that the Gauḍa-mārga could have been defined as something marked by the opposites of the excellences constituting the Vaidarbha-mārga, for these would be devoid of all charm and would hardly constitute a poetic diction. Daṇḍin presents to us the type of the Gauḍa-mārga

1 *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* (K. M. edition) p. 24. In the enumeration of this set of negative *guṇa-viparyaya-doṣas*, besides the technically defined positive *doṣas*, Bhoja was, perhaps, influenced by Vāmana's dictum *guṇa-viparyayātmano doṣāḥ*—ii, 1, 1 (where, however, the term *viparyaya* can rightly be taken to mean "the opposite," since *doṣas* in Vāmana's theory bear characteristics opposite to those of the *guṇas* ; that is, if the *guṇas* create poetic charm the *doṣas* destroy it) as well as by the treatment of Daṇḍin's *viparyayas*. Bhoja's *viparyayas* mean certainly *vaiparītya*, since each of a set of nine out of twenty-four of his *guṇas* has on principle been shown to have a particular *doṣa* corresponding to it ; and the *doṣas* which thus arise do not attach themselves to a particular Rīti, so that by reason of these *viparyayas* the Gauḍī Rīti, or for the matter of that, any other Rīti does not unnecessarily suffer from deficiency. But while Bhoja was partially influenced by Daṇḍin in evolving such a set of faults, he does not appear to have followed any fixed tradition. Some of these *guṇas* which have been shewn to have a set of corresponding *doṣas* are defined after Vāmana, and some after Daṇḍin. Besides, Bhoja, on principle, invents a *viparyaya* of each of the ten Guṇas (excepting Samādhi) of Vāmana or of Daṇḍin, while Daṇḍin names or characterises the *viparyayas* of only some of them, the other Guṇas being common to both the Mārgas. Bhoja calls the *viparyayas* distinct *doṣas*, and as such they are not the characteristics of a particular Rīti, whereas Daṇḍin's *viparyayas* are sometimes the characteristics of the Gauḍa-mārga, and he never uses the term *doṣa* in their connection, excepting once in i, 69. Thus Bhoja's *viparyayas* are negative entities, being always the exact opposites of some corresponding *guṇas*, whereas Daṇḍin's *viparyayas* are partly the characteristics of his Gauḍa-mārga, and as such, they constitute positive entities.

which is not, really speaking, devoid of charm, nor condemned outright. In spite of his decided partiality for the Vaidarbha and a mild aversion for the Gauḍa manner, we are not convinced that he meant to deprive the latter of the recognition that was its due. S. P. Bhattacharyya has already shewn[1] that even long before the time of Daṇḍin the Gauḍī Rīti had, side by side with the widely accepted Vaidarbhī, an established tradition of its own, which Daṇḍin himself could not ignore.

On the other hand, if *viparyaya* is taken to mean *anyathātva*, the utmost we can hold against the Gauḍa-mārga is that its standard of a poetical composition differs from that prevalent in the very widely recognised Vaidarbha; and that in their attempt to attain that standard the propounders of the Gauḍa diction did not mind if they sometimes deviated from the practice prevalent in the other mode.[2]

The controversy about the exact meaning of *viparyaya* really raises distinctions without much difference, and the ultimate conclusion derivable from the different views is almost the same. Thus, we may distinguish three different views :

(1) The Gauḍa-mārga generally presents a different aspect as regards the essentials of a diction. The word *eṣām* in this case would refer to the essentials (*prāṇāḥ*) and *viparyaya* would mean *anyathātva* or a different aspect.

(2) Far-fetchedness, unevenness etc. which are themselves the opposites of excellences like lucidity (*prasāda*), evenness (*samatā*) etc. are sometimes noticed as existing in the Gauḍa-mārga. The word *eṣām* in this case would refer to *śleṣādīnāṃ guṇānām* and *viparayaya* would mean *vaiparītya* or opposite.

(3) The conception of the Gauḍas regarding the excellences of composition generally differs from that of the Vaidarbha.

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1 *Loc. cit.*

2 Taruṇavācaspati, who explains *viparyaya* as 'opposite' (i, 42), remarks in connection with i. 88 ; *kānti-viparyayam atyukti-nāma guṇaṃ gauḍābhimataṃ darśayati.* This statement confirms our belief that the Gauḍas could not have taken the *viparyayas* as positive blemishes since they were supposed to add charm to their composition, and that the Gauḍas had possibly a tradition of their own, which though sometimes different from that of the Vaidarbhas, was equally appreciated by a class of writers and theorists.

This view may be arrived at from the hint given in the *Hṛdayaṅgamā*, where *eṣām* has been taken to refer to *śleṣādīnāṃ guṇānām* and *viparyaya* to mean *anyathātva*.

All these interpretations, though seemingly divergent so far as the terms *eṣām* and *viparyaya* are concerned, lead us to some important conclusions on which there appears to be general agreement. No one would perhaps deny that (i) the ideals of composition differ generally in these two types of poetry, i.e. if the Vaidarbha-kāvya demands compactness of structure, clarity of expression, a sense of proportion, evenness of syllable-structure etc., the Gauḍas are satisfied with hyperbole and verbosity, alliteration and bombastic expressions, and such other characteristics. (ii) In order to attain this standard the Gauḍas do not care if they have sometimes to have recourse to *śaithilya*, *vaiṣamya* etc. But it must not be understood on that account that looseness, harshness, unevenness of syllable-structure etc., which are deviations from or even opposites of qualities like *śleṣa*, *sukumāratā* and *samatā*, form the inseparable characteristics (*prāṇāḥ*) of the Gauḍa-mārga, as the excellences like *śleṣa*, *prasāda* etc. are of the Vaidarbha-mārga. (iii) Far-fetchedness, exaggeration, looseness etc. are looked upon as positive excellences by the Gauḍas, who *sometimes* entertain them in poetry for a particular purpose, viz., the achievement of their standard of poetry which differs[1] fundamentally from that of the Vaidarbhas,—the one emphasising the chaste and classical manner and the other preferring the fervid and the bombastic. That Daṇḍin meant to imply all this will be clear as we proceed with his treatment of the individual Guṇas, which we now propose to take up in detail.

(1) ŚLEṢA. It is found in a composition which is free from looseness (*śaithilya*), and this looseness consists in the use of *alpa-prāṇa* syllables, i.e. syllables containing unaspirated letters which require little effort in pronouncing, or more technically the first and third

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1 The word *prāyas* in i, 41 is important in this connection. The characteristics of these two types of poetry often differ but sometimes they agree. The Gauḍa-mārga sometimes presents opposites of and deviations from the excellences prevailing in the Vaidarbha, but qualities such as *samādhi*, *arthavyakti*, *audārya*, *mādhurya* and *ojas* are more or less common to both the *mārgas*, as we shall see hereafter.

(non-conjunct) letters of each *varga*, and the semi-vowels and nasals, the rest being mahāprāṇa-syllables.[1] The Vaidarbhas are fond of compactness of syllabic binding (*bandha-gaurava*), which is illustrated by examples like *mālatī-mālā laṅghitaṃ bhramaraiḥ*, where, though soft syllables like *mā* and *la* are present, the effect of looseness or *śaithilya* has been removed by the use of *mahāprāṇa* syllables and conjunct consonants, and as such the passage illustrates the excellence *śleṣa*. A fondness for alliteration inclines the Gauḍas to accept instead a composition like *mālatīmālā lolālikalilā*, though it contains *alpa-prāṇa* syllables and consequently involves *śaithilya*. It is, however, not meant that *śaithilya*[2] in itself is a blemish. From the point of view of the Vaidarbhas it may appear so, and Daṇḍin elsewhere says that all soft syllables constitute a blemish of looseness (*bandha-śaithilya-doṣo hi darśitaḥ sarvakomale*, i, 69). But to the Gauḍas it is a preferable excellence of diction inasmuch as it gives more scope to alliteration.

(2) PRASĀDA. It is the excellence which conveys a sense which is well-known (*prasiddhārtha*) and easily comprehended (*pratīti-subhaga*). Theorists, old and new, define and emphasise this special excellence almost in the same way. Too much strain required to arrive at a meaning spoils the charm of poetry. The illustration given by Daṇḍin is *indor indīvara-dyuti lakṣma lakṣmīṃ tanoti* "the moon's spot resembling the glow of a blue lotus increases its beauty." Here the words *indu*, *indīvara*, *lakṣmī* and *lakṣma* are so well-known that the expression conveys its sense without any effort. Here, as elsewhere, Daṇḍin speaks of the characteristics of the Gauḍa-mārga side by side with the excellences attached to the Vaidarbha. The Gauḍas who aim at learned expressions prefer even what is not conventional (*nātirūḍha*). Since their idea of poetic excellence differs from that of the Vaidarbhas they hold that poets can achieve distinction only when they have mastered etymologies and vocabularies and can use difficult words and round-about expressions, while the Vaidarbhas aim

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1 *Ayugmā varga-yamagā yaṇaścālpāsavaḥ saṃṛtāḥ*, quoted by Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita under Pāṇini, viii, 2, 1. On these technical terms, see Belvalkar's notes on *Kāvyādarśa* (Bombay edition), pp. 55 f.

2 We do not think that *śaithilya* is exactly the opposite of *śleṣa*, which is an admixture of *alpa-prāṇa* and *mahāprāṇa* syllables. A composition consisting exclusively of *mahāprāṇa* syllables would constitute the exact opposite of *śaithilya*.

at making their composition lucid and easily intelligible to every reader by the use of well-understood expressions. Here we would like to maintain that the term *vyutpanna* is not the name of the *viparyaya* corresponding to the *prasāda*, but that we follow the *Hṛdayaṅgamā* in interpreting it as *vyutpannam iti* (*hetoḥ*), i.e., by reason of its being learned.[1] The example given[2] of the Gauḍa mode contains difficult expressions, the meanings of which are not clear on the surface. Arjuna generally means the third Pāṇḍava and it is not *rūḍha* in the sense of 'white': the expressions *valakṣagu* (white-rayed, i.e. moon) and *anatyarjuna* (*anati-dhavala*) are round-about and unusual.

(3) SAMATĀ. It consists in the absence of unevenness[3] in syllabic structure, or rather in the arrangement of letters (*varṇa-vinyāsa*). There must be an evenness between the beginning and ending of a stanza as regards the arrangement of letters or syllables, i.e. if a passage begins with soft vocables it must end similarly. There are three kinds of such structure (*bandha*), namely, (i) soft (*mṛdu*) (ii) harsh (*sphuṭa*) and (iii) temperate or mixed (*madhyama*), arising from the grouping together of soft, harsh or mixed letters. The examples of *samatā* consisting of three structures (*bandhas*) and that of the uneven structure (*vaiṣamya*) are given in two verses (i, 48-49). Each half-verse is supposed to consist of the example of a particular *bandha*, whereas the latter half of the second verse illustrates *vaiṣamya*[4]

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1 [This is quite plausible. But in spite of this strict stress on a dubious grammatical construction, there appears also the implication that the *viparyaya*, as described in i, 42, of Prasāda can perhaps be designated as *vyutpanna*. Compare, for instance, Śithila which is a *viparyaya* of Śleṣa, but which is not expressly designated as such. But this does not affect the general argument and is merely academic so long as *viparyaya* is not taken to connote a direct opposite or a positive blemish. The same remark applies also to *dīpta* below—S. K. D.].

2 ... ... *anatyarjunā'bjanma-sadṛkṣāṅko valakṣaguḥ*.

3 On the variant reading *samaṃ bandheṣu viṣamam* (Bombay ed.), see Belvalkar's notes in his edition at pp. 45 f.

4 Belvalkar and Rangacarya reasonably suggest that to avoid syntactical difficulties these two verses should be taken as separate examples of *vaiṣamya*, whereas "the halves are by themselves examples of Samatā." Thus we should connect the word *iti* in the beginning of i, 50 with the two previous verses, and not with the latter half of the second verse only.

The Gauḍas, we are told, admit such compositions (even though they lack uniformity of syllable structure) for the sake of richness of ideas and *alaṃkāras*, which being their specific aim, they do not care whether they find it in an even or and uneven structure. Taruṇavācaspati suggests that, even though each half-verse contains an example of *samatā*, the soft (*mṛdu*) and harsh (*sphuṭa*) *bandhas* are not accepted by the Vaidarbhas, for the soft structure is devoid of distinction and the harsh one of agreeableness, implying thereby that the Gauḍas would sometimes like the *samatā* displayed in soft and harsh structures, and hence they would not have recourse to *vaiṣamya* as a matter of principle. In certain cases, however, they would sacrifice evenness for the sake of *artha-ḍambara* and *alaṃkāra-ḍambara*.[1]

(4) MĀDHURYA. It consists in the establishment of *rasa* in the word and in the theme[2] (*vāci vastuny api rasa-sthitiḥ*, i, 51). S. K. De has already shown[3] that the term *rasa* as found in Daṇḍin's treatment does not involve the technical sense in which it is used by the *rasa* and *dhvani*-theorists, but should be taken in the non-technical sense of pleasing poetic flavour generally. But in Daṇḍin's Mādhurya, as S. K. De further points out,[4] the term *rasa* seems to bear another distinct technical connotation which is different from that given by the Rasa and Dhvani schools ; and this is implied in the special meaning attached by Daṇḍin to the *vāg-rasa* and *vastu-rasa* involved in his Mādhurya, the former consisting of repetition of sounds belonging to the same *śruti* (*śrutyanuprāsa*) and the latter connoting absence of vulgarity (*agrāmyatva*). Taruṇavācaspati rightly gives them the names of *śabda-mādhurya* (i, 52) and *artha-mādhurya* (i, 62) respectively,

1 [The terms *artha-ḍambara* and *alaṃkāra-ḍambara* should be explained as indicating a partiality for excessive ornamentation and for exaggerated conceptions, which latter cannot be strictly called ornamentation. The *akṣara-ḍambara* (i.e., *śabda-ḍambara*), which Bāṇa refers to as a characteristic of the Gauḍas, must mean a certain leaning towards verbal bombast, while *artha-ḍambara* is not exactly verbal bombast but has also an implication of what may be called 'mental bombast.'—S. K. D.].

2 or sense (*artha*, i. 62).

3 *Sanskrit Poetics*, ii, p. 137. fn.

4 *The Theory of Rasa* in Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volume (Orientalia, vol. III), p. 212, where the subject has been fully treated.

suggesting thereby a two-fold characteristic of this special excellence. Daṇḍin himself recognised the two-fold aspect of this particular *guṇa*, as will be understood from his remark *vibhaktam iti mādhuryam* in i, 68. It is noteworthy that he has nowhere else made any distinction between a *śabda-guṇa* and an *artha-guṇa* as Vāmana has done; nor, like Bharata, does he expressly state that he looked upon any *guṇa* as relating either to *śabda* or to *artha*. The standard of distinction between a *śabda-guṇa* and an *artha-gnṇa*, which the later writers describe as *āśrayāśrayi-bhāva* and which we find first fully established in Vāmana's work[1] leads us to judge that some of the Guṇas of Bharata and Daṇḍin belong to *śabda*, some to *artha* and others again to both.

The *vāg-rasa* or *śabda-mādhurya* is said to consist of what is called *śrutyanuprāsa*. This is not alliteration consisting of repetition of the same or similar syllables, but it is the name given to the specific grouping of similar sounds[2] (*śruti-sāmya*) which exists in letters belonging to the same *sthāna* or place of utterance and effort (e.g., *kaṇṭha*, *tālu*, *danta*, etc.), or homogenous letters to which Pāṇini (i, 1, 9) gives the name *savarṇa* and which is defined as *tulyāsya-prayatna*. The example given in this connection is *eṣa rājā yadā lakṣmīṃ prāptavān brāhmaṇa-priyaḥ*, where the use of *ṣ* and *r*, *y* and *l*, *t* and *d* as well as *p* and *b* produces *śrutyanuprāsa*, which, involving an economy of effort in articulation, gives a special pleasure to the Vaidarbhas, who avoid, for fear of incurring monotony, mere *varṇānuprāsa* or the alliteration consisting of repetition of similar letters.[3] The Gauḍas,

1 The *Kāmadhenu* calls it *śabdārthopaśleṣa-vaśāt......bhedaḥ* (p. 84 V. V. Series).

2 S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics*, ii, p. 101, fn. 8. The *yamaka* is excluded expressly (i, 61) as being not conducive to *mādhurya*.

3 [The respective effects produced by the two kinds of *anuprāsa* are described in i, 52 and i, 55. When within any group of vocables is experienced a similarity of sounds, a juxtaposition of words (*padāsatti*) exhibiting that kind of similarity apparently produces the specific kind of alliteration called *śrutyanuprāsa*, which involves an economy of effort due to a restriction to the same *sthāna* of articulation. The *varṇāvṛtti*, on the other hand, is contiguity (*adūratā*) which awakens latent impressions from the immediately earlier cognition of the same sound produced by the same letters (*purvānubhava-saṃskāra-bodhinī*). Here also there is an economy

however, are fond of *varṇānuprāsa* displayed in examples[1] like *cāru candramasaṃ bhīru bimbaṃ paśyaitad ambare| manmano manmathā-krāntaṃ nirdayaṃ hantum udyatam||*, where the repetition of *ca, ba, ma,* and *na* in the words produce the desired alliteration. Here the Gauḍas take special care to see that too many syllables do not intervene the repetition of similar letters (*adūratā*, i, 58), for that would destroy the immediateness of the effect.

Hemacandra and Māṇikyacandra remark that the *vāg-rasa* (or the *śabda-mādhurya* as Taruṇavācaspati calls it) consists both of *śrutyanuprāsa* and *varṇānuprāsa*, and as such it will be clear that *mādhurya*, which as a *śabda-guṇa* consists of the repetition of sounds or syllables, is admitted in both the Vaidarbha and Gauḍa modes, the only difference being that the character of alliteration slightly differs in the two Mārgas, the one emphasising *śruti* and the other *varṇa*. Taruṇavācaspati suggests (i, 60) that the word *prāyaḥ* in i, 54 signifies that *śrutyanuprāsa* and *varṇānuprāsa* are both accepted in both the *mārgas*: only in i, 59-60 it has been stated that the Vaidarbhas do not admit specific kinds of alliteration, like *smaraḥ khalaḥ* etc., where the alliteration is not accepted on account of its harsh structure in the first half and on account of its loose structure in the second half.

Coming to *vastu-rasa* or *artha-mādhurya* Daṇḍin appears to imply that since embellishment is the general source of poetic charm and since all *guṇas* and *alaṃkāras* go to embellish poetry, it may be granted generally that all embellishment imbues the sense with *vastu-rasa* or *artha-mādhurya*; yet what specially does this is the absence of *grāmyatā*, in which is also included the idea of *aślīlatva*[2] of later writers, and which belongs both to *śabda* and to

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of effort, but since one and the same letter is repeated the economy is supposed to decline into a weariness caused by the employment in the same way of the same organs of articulation.—S. K. D.].

1 [Two kinds of *varṇānuprāsa* appear to be distinguished in the two examples (given in i, 57), viz., in metrical feet (*pāda*) or in word (*pada*). They must be of sufficient contiguity to awaken the impression.—S. K. D.]

2 [It is rather curious that Daṇḍin should bring in the idea of *aślīlatva* or indecency in this Guṇa. This apparently shows that the *rasa* in this Guṇa is taken not in the technical sense of the Rasa-theorists, but in the general sense of pleasing poetic effect produced

artha.[1] This *vastu-rasa* or *artha-mādhurya* which can be induced by all embellishment but which is specially marked by the absence of coarseness and vulgarity is accepted both by the Vaidarbhas and and by the Gauḍas. Indecorous and vulgar expressions and ideas are rejected by both, for Daṇḍin clearly lays down : *evamādi na śaṃsanti mārgayor ubhayor api* (i, 67).[2]

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by a certain arrangement of word (*vāc*) or matter (*vastu*). Such pleasing effect in the mind of the Sahṛdaya is apt to be marred by anything which is *grāmya.* The *grāmya* is not vulgar in the restricted sense, but Daṇḍin brings under its connotation the *aślīla* (both in word and sense, and not in sense alone) which equally disturbs a good and pleasing sense. Bharata appears to comprehend the *aślīla* in an aspect of the fault *bhinnārtha,* while Bhāmaha includes it under *duṣṭatā* (in *śruti* and *artha*) in his first list of general *doṣas.* This first list of Bhāmaha's ten *doṣas* appears from the context to mention those which concern the inner nature of poetry, for it is dealt with in connection with the classification and general characteristics of poetry ; while the second list of another ten *doṣas* includes faults which are more or less external. This second list of Bhāmaha is accepted and verbally repeated by Daṇḍin, but he does not mention the first list of ten *doṣas*, as well as most of Bharata's original ten *doṣas,* which includes the idea of the *aślīla.* In treating the Guṇas taken as essential characteristics of good poetry, Daṇḍin could not very well avoid referring to some of the essential *doṣas* (e.g. *neyatva* in *arthavyakti*) although he does not define and distinguish them properly ; and in *mādhurya* it was natural for him to bring in the idea of the avoidance of the *aślīla.*—S. K. D.]

1 In i, 63-64 and i, 66-67 two kinds of indecorous expression are distinguished. The proposal in i, 63 is direct and therefore vulgar ; in i, 64 it is reached by implication and therefore taken as quite decorous. In i, 66 words are used which, if united together, give rise to a new word in Sanskrit by combination, which conveys a vulgar meaning. In i, 67 the words used, possessing more than one meaning, give rise to an undesirable and indecorous suggestion.

2 Hemacandra and Māṇikyacandra remark that Daṇḍin establishes this definition of *mādhurya* by rejecting the one given by Vāmana (*pṛthak-padatvam*), since this excellence consists in alliteration (in its verbal aspect) and as such it may as well be present

(5) SUKUMĀRATĀ. It consists in the absence of harshness due to the use of mostly soft syllables. But it has been remarked in connection with Śleṣa that the presence of all soft syllables in a composition makes it *śithila*, and as such it ceases to be excellent with the Vaidarbhas. What is implied here is that soft syllables must remain mixed up with slightly harsh ones and conjuct consonants, and that the total effect must be a certain elegance. It might be argued that such an admixture is not a distinctive criterion: Sukumāratā might have a chance of being confused with Śleṣa. To this Tarkavāgīśa remarks that the admixture of *alpa-prāṇa* and *mahāprāṇa* syllables constitutes *śleṣa*, whereas Sukumāratā consists in tenderness as a total effect arising from the admixture of soft (*komala)* and harsh (*paruṣa*) letters. Nor should we understand that what is *alpaprāṇa* is necessarily *komala* and what is *mahāprāṇa*, *paruṣa*. Even unaspirated letters may give rise to harshness by reason of a specific admixture (*alpaprāṇasyāpi varṇa-viśeṣa-saṃyoga-tvena paruṣatva-sambhavāt*, p. 69). Similarly aspirated letters too may give rise to *komalatva* as a total effect under special circumstances. Thus, it is the general effect that forms the critertion of *paruṣatva* or *komalatva* syllables. In a *śithila-bandha* the syllables are all *alpaprāṇa* and the general effect is 'loose'. In *śleṣa* this looseness is overcome by the presence of *mahāprāṇa* syllables, appearing side by side with the *alpaprāṇa* ones and making the general effect compact. In the example *mālatīdāma laṅghitaṃ bhramaraiḥ* the conjunct consonants shine prominently and seem to make the structure generally compact. But the example *maṇḍalī-kṛtya varhāṇi* etc. (of Sukumāratā) consists of an admixture of *alpa-prāṇa* syllables slightly with *mahāprāṇa* ones, as well as conjunct consonants, but the general effect is not harsh or inelegant. The conjunct consonants do not shine prominently and consequently there is no such touch of cohesiveness or compactness as in the expression :.........*laṅghitaṃ bhramaraiḥ*.

Here too Daṇḍin presents the Gauḍa ideal side by side. Whereas the Vaidarbhas accept Sukumāratā in which expressions consisting of unharsh vocables generally predominate, the Gauḍas have an eye to a 'glaring composition', and consequently they do not

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in compound words. But this unhistorical statement ignores the chronological relation between Daṇḍin and Vāmana, and therefore possesses little value.

mind if their poetry involves harsh vocables requiring much strain for pronouncing them. The example given here *nyakṣeṇa kṣapitaḥ pakṣaḥ* etc. consists of harsh vocables, but to achieve a glaring or grand effect, as well as an exuberance of alliteration, the Gauḍas do not care if they have to sacrifice the general tenderness of structure so welcomed in the Vaidarbha-mārga. We would like to interpret the words *dīptam iti* as *dīptam iti* (*hetoḥ*), following the *Hṛdayaṅgamā's* indication with reference to *vyutpanna* in i, 46. These terms[1] *vyutpanna*, *dīpta* etc. give us some of the standard characteristics which the Gauḍas aim at, and they also serve as an apology for the Gauḍa poet's deviations from some of the *guṇas* prevailing in the Vaidarbha mode. Such an interpretation will not be out of place here, since Daṇḍin has all along been presenting the fundamental characteristics that distinguish the two types of poetry.

(6) ARTHAVYAKTI. It is the explicitness of sense which consists in the absence of *neyatva*,[2] that is, in the absence of extraneous matter to be brought over for the completion of the sense. In other words, it is that excellence in which the idea of a passage is quite clear from the words actually used, and no implication is necessary for the completion of the sense. The example given here *hariṇoddhṛtā bhūḥ* etc. (i, 73) contains Arthavyakti since the redness of the ocean has been explictly stated to be due to the blood of the snakes that were crushed by Hari's claws. The *neyatva*[3] is illustrated in the next verse where the reader requires an implication to be

1 [They are all the same called *viparyaya* in i, 42. It does not really matter whether these are the actual names of the *viparyayas*, or generally describe what is understood by *viparyaya* in the Gauḍa-mārga, so long as the very likely interpretation which the writer puts on the word *viparyaya* is accepted.—S. K. D.].

2 Daṇḍin does not recognise *neyatva* and *grāmyatva* in his treatment of ten technical *doṣas*. The Post-dhvani writers enumerate a fault called *neyārtha* where a secondary (indicated) sense is had recourse to without any established usage (*rūḍhi*) or special motive (*prayojana*), one of which is absolutely necessary in Indication. The verse which illustrates *neyatva* here would be an example of the technical fault *nirhetutā* in the treatment of Post-dhvani writers.

3 This must be distinguished from the technical faults *nyāya-virodhi* which Daṇḍin deals with in iv, 51-54.

understood as to why the ocean was reddened. The Vaidarbhas and the Gauḍas both reject it: *nedṛśaṃ bahu manyante mārgayor ubhayor api* (i, 75), because the sense is not apprehensible where the *śabda-nyāya*[1] (i.e. the law of the expressive power of the words) has been violated. Thus Arthavyakti as an excellence is admitted in both the mārgas. It will be clear, therefore, that if there were anything which the Vaidarbhas would reject and which could be recognised as a technical blemish, it would be equally rejected by the Gauḍas. In other words, a veritable *doṣa* the Gauḍas would avoid just like the Vaidarbhas.

We must not think that since Daṇḍin's Prasāda and Arthavyakti both involve explicitness of sense, these two guṇas should be identical. A distinction, though very subtle, can be made in this respect between these *guṇas*. J. Nobel rightly points out that in Prasāda the sense must not be too unusual, words should be used in their obvious or generally understood senses; whereas in Arthavyakti the connection of ideas must be apprehended from the words actually used, there must not be any expectation (*ākāṅkṣā*) of further word or words to complete the sense.

(7) UDĀRATĀ. It implies an elevation consisting of the expression of some high merit;[2] literally, upon the utterance of which (*yasmin ukte*) is suggested (*pratīyate*) some excellence possessing elevation (*utkarṣavān guṇaḥ kaścit*). The Udāratā is said to be present in all the Mārgas.[3]

In the example given of this excellence (i, 77) is implied the eminence of the king's liberality (*tyāgasya utkarṣaḥ*), which is not directly expressed in so many words. It is not clear[4] what Daṇḍin

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1 The *Hṛdayaṅgamā* explains the *śabda-nyāya* thus: *yāvad artho' bhimatas tāvac chabdena bhavitavyam, śabdasyāpi yāvad artha-pratipādana-śaktis tāvad arthena bhavitavyam iti śabda-śāstra-nyāyaḥ.*

2 *Sanskrit Poetics*, ii, p. 101.

3 ....*tena sanāthā sarva-paddhatiḥ* (Madras ed.). The other editions read *kāvya* in place of *sarva*: yet we can take it that this *guṇa* is entertained in both types of poetry in the absence of the mention of the corresponding characteristic prevalent in the Gauḍa-kāvya.

4 [It does not certainly refer to any elevated way of expression but to some implied high merit or *utkarṣavān dharma* of the subject-matter described. Thus, it is not equivalent to the *uttānapadatā* of

really means by this definition. The use of the expression *pratīyate* in the definition reminds us of the *partīyamāna artha* of the Dhvani theorists.[1] But we are not certain if the concept of Dhvani as such was at all recognised so early.

Daṇḍin mentions an alternative definition of *udāratā* in deference to the view of "some" (*kaiścit*), which is "something characterised by commendable or eulogistic epithets" (*ślāghyair viśeṣaṇair yuktam*) such as *līlāmbuja*, *krīḍā-saras* etc. Taruṇavācaspati interprets *ślāghya* as *vaiśiṣṭya-pratīti-kṛt*, i.e., bringing into comprehension its pecularity or distinctive character, and this is supported apparently by Daṇḍin's examples. But we need not take it in this restricted significance alone.

(8) OJAS. It consists in the super-abundance (*bhūyastva*) of compound words, and it appears to be accepted in both the Mārgas. In the Vaidarbha-mārga it is the soul of prose ; even in verse this is the sole resort of the Gauḍas. It is said to be of manifold variety according as there is a profusion or paucity of heavy (*guru*) or light (*laghu*) syllables or an equal mixture of both. This apparently refers to the prosodic long and short syllables. It is further added that this excellence is met with in compositions like *ākhyāyikā*. But since the fine distinctions between the *kathā* and the *ākhyāyikā* are not favoured by Daṇḍin, we may presume that Ojas of manifold

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the *Agni-purāṇa* (34,69). It must, however, be distinguished from the poetic figure *udātta* in ii, 300, where the greatness, high merit or prosperity of a personage is directly expressed or described ; and in this light the use of the word *pratīyate* in the definition of the *guṇa* is important. As the illustration shows, Daṇḍin appears to think that the *varṇanā-bhaṅgī* is essential : otherwise, the *udāratā* could hardly be an excellence of diction. But it need not mean any technical suggestiveness or *pratīyamānatā* of the Dhvani-theorists, although the word *pratīyate* is actually used. The alternative definition of the *guṇa* cited by Daṇḍin speaks of praiseworthy epithets (*ślāghya viśeṣaṇa*) : but this, as the example shows, only refers to *epitheta ornatia* of a distinguishing character, like 'toy-lotus', etc. The pregnancy of meaning implied in the first as well as the second definition must therefore be taken in an extremely narrow sense ; and the *udāratā* is a *guṇa* in so far as it depends upon a particular way of description or *varṇanā-bhaṅgī*.—S. K. D.].

1 Premcandra interprets in this definite sense.

variety is acceptable as the life of prose (*gadyasya jīvitam*) in all kinds of prose composition. The employment of compounds[1] was probably meant to add force or energy to the diction.

The Gauḍas, we are told, like long compounds even in metrical composition.[2] The Vaidarbhas, too, use compounds in verses, but whereas the Gauḍas are indiscriminately fond of long compounds, the Vaidarbhas would admit them in verses only when they serve to afford charm without much strain, and do not produce confusion (*anākulam*). Thus, in brief, Ojas, is particularly a characteristic excellence with the Gauḍa poets, who use it to any degree in any composition, while the Vaidarbhas apply it with greater discretion and with certain restrictions.[3]

(9) KĀNTI. It is said to predominate in a composition which is agreeable to the whole world on account of its not transgressing the general usage or ordinary possibilities. Briefly, it is the absence of the unnatural. This excellence, we are told, is generally found

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1 In the treatment of Ānandavardhana (p. 141) compound words constitute the criterion of *saṃghaṭanā* and not of *guṇa*. The primacy of Rasa having been admitted, Ānanda could not maintain that any amount or variety of compound words might be used in any kind of prose composition. Long and middling compounds may be employed in the *ākhyāyikā*, but since the depiction of sentiment, particularly *śṛṅgāra*, predominates in the *kathā*, the compounds must be used with an eye to its awakening, and too many long compounds would be detrimental.

2 Ojas and, for the matter of that, long compounds have all along been accepted as the *sine qua non* of the Gauḍī Rīti, and even in the twelfth century Śrīharṣa regaled the scholarly Indian with his brilliant and sonorous verses. See S. P. Bhattacharyya, *op. cit.*

3 Hemacandra and Māṇikyacandra refer to the view of one Maṅgala along with Vāmana, and remark that they reject Daṇḍin's definition of Ojas on the ground that long compounds cannot be the special characteristic of Ojas, since this excellence resides in all the three Rītis (whereas long compounds are met with only in the Gauḍī Rīti). We must not, however, place much reliance on these remarks of later writers. About Maṅgala we know nothing except what we get in such references: but all the three Rītis of Vāmana do not contain Ojas, for his Pāñcālī has not been defined as possessing it.

in *Vārttā* and *Varṇanā*. The meaning of the term *vārttā* is not clear; but the *Hṛdayaṅgamā* explains it as *anyonya-kathanam*, and *varṇanā* as *praśaṃsā-vacanam*. Premacandra Tarkavāgīśa quotes a definition of Vārttā: *anāmaya-priyālāpo varti vārttā ca kathyate*, and explains it thus; *priyālāpe hi loka-prasiddha-vastvabhidhānam evocitam*. He further refers to another explanation of *vārttābhidhāneṣu* viz., *itihāsa-varṇaneṣu* i.e., legendary accounts. Bhāmaha uses the term *vārttā* in cases where *vakrokti* is absent, and it falls short even of Daṇḍin's *svabhāvokti*; it consists of such bald and matter of fact expressions as *gato'stam arko bhātīndur yānti vāsāya pakṣiṇaḥ* etc. It is rejected by Bhāmaha as an *alaṃkāra*, and there is no indication for supposing that it is accepted by Daṇḍin, whose *svabhāvokti* too involves at least some amount of charm. So far as Daṇḍin's treatment is concerned, the meaning *anāmaya-priyālāpa* may well serve our purpose. The Varṇanā may be taken to mean *vastu-svarūpa-nirūpaṇa*, but even in that case it would be different from Daṇḍin's Svabhāvokti.[1] It must be noted here that though the illustrations of Kānti given by Daṇḍin are theoretically said to conform to general usage, they are yet tinged with a slight touch of exaggeration; but this is probably necessary for the sake of a certain heightened expression without which a dry *svarūpa-varṇanā* (such as involved in Bhāmaha's *vārttā*) might become an example of Kānti. It is thus a heightened expression in the shape of a slight exaggeration that makes Daṇḍin's *vārttā* fundamentally different from that of Bhāmaha.

The Gauḍas[2] however, are satisfied with exaggerated ideas transcending ordinary possibilities. These highly exaggerated descriptions are called *atyukti*, which, Taruṇavācaspati remarks, is not a blemish but an excellence pleasing the Gauḍas. The examples contain indeed highly exaggerated statements, since (i) the dust from the feet of a great man cannot really wash away the sins committed, and (2) to say that the creator created the aerial space as small, because he was mindful of the extensive expansion of the heroine's

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1 Compare the illustrations in i, 87 and ii, 10.

2 We would accept the order of verses as in the text in the Bombay and Calcutta editions (i.e., place i, 91 of the Madras edition immediately after i, 87 and not after i, 90).

3 In i, 88 the Vidagdha is a reference to the Gauḍas, implying a certain love of learned display, as opposed to the general simplicity aimed at by the Vaidarbhas.

breasts is certainly a flattering but an excessive statement. This is not merely a heightened expression, but indicates a preference for the exaggerated and the unnatural. Yet the Gauḍas are said to make much of such descriptions, and this is really due to the difference of ideals aimed at in the two types of poetry.

(10) SAMĀDHI. It consists in the transference of the qualities of one thing to another. The transference may be manifold, and five different cases are distinguished by Gopendra Tippa Bhūpāla in his commentary on Vāmana iv, 3, 8, viz., *abhidheya-sambandha*, *sādṛśya*, *samavāya*, *vaiparītya* and *kriyā-yoga*. But Daṇḍin speaks of three cases: (i) superimposition (*adhyāsa*) of the action of one object on another, (ii) transference of the original sense of a word, which may not in itself be very pleasing (e.g. spitting, vomitting, etc), to a secondary sense for the sake of some pleasing effect, and (iii) simultaneous super-imposition of many qualities.

It is worthy of note that since transference is at the root of this particular *guṇa*, it is very difficult to distinguish it from poetic figures like *rūpaka* etc. which also are based on similar transference of an object or its functions to another object. As suggested by S. K. De, the distinction may be explained by supposing "that in the *guṇa* there is a transference only of the qualities or actions of one thing to another while in the *alaṃkāra* either one *dharmin* itself is substituted for another, or the new *dharma* entirely supplants the existing *dharma*." "But the process of poetic transference" he goes on, "is essentially a mode of figurative expression, resting finally on *lakṣaṇā*, and Vāmana would (partially) regard Daṇḍin's definition of the *samādhi-guṇa* as constituting the figure *vakrokti*, which, in his opinion, consists in a similar transference based on resemblance".

This excellence is said to be followed by all poets, by which Daṇḍin probably means that it is accepted in both types of poetry, Vaidarbha and Gauḍa. But he may also imply that such a mode of figurative expression is the basis of all poetic expression, and no poet (whatever be his ideal of poetry) can do without it.

From the above sketch it will be clear that in spite of Daṇḍin's professed partiality for the Vaidarbha-mārga, he gives the Gauḍa its due recognition as a mārga of a different type, which might not have been totally acceptable to himself, but which must have had an established tradition of its own, differing in many respects from the widely preferred Vaidarbha. To him the Vaidarbha represents the mode of the standard good kāvya, but he also accepts Gauḍa

as a Mārga. If the fixed excellences are required to be essential in standard good poetry, the Gauḍa does contain some five or six of them. The *samādhi* and *udāratā* are accepted in both the Mārgas. The *neyatva* and *grāmyatva* as defects of poetry are rejected by both ; and as a corollary, both cherish an equal amount of regard for *arthavyakti* and *artha-mādhurya* which consist in the avoidance of these faults. The *śabda-mādhurya* consisting of alliteration finds a place in both these types—only the ideas about alliteration differ. Hemacandra finds *vāg-rasa* (or *śabda-mādhurya*) in *śrutyanuprāsa* and *varṇānuprāsa* which are accepted in Daṇḍin's opinion, by the Vaidarbhas and the Gauḍás[1] respectively. The *ojas* is accepted by both, with this difference that it is the *sine qua non* of the Gauḍa-mārga where it is indiscriminately practised, but the Vaidarbhas use it with some restrictions. Of the three kinds of *sambandhas* the Vaidarbhas practise only the mixed or middle type, the other two extreme types, viz., *mṛdu* and *sphuṭa* being practised by the Gauḍas. Hence the latter do not accept *vaiṣamya* on principle, but if it is sometimes found in their composition we are to understand that it is there for the purpose of attaining a different ideal. Similarly, if the Gauḍa deviates from other excellences prescribed for the Vaidarbha as the standard good composition, it is done for the achievement of the same purpose, viz., for attaining a different poetic standard, which had independently developed even long before Daṇḍin expounded his theory.

Judging independently, the treatment of Daṇḍin's Guṇas does not seem to be quite clear and consistent. Some of his Guṇas are somewhat obscure in their conception or definition. "The definition of *udāratā*" remarks S. K. De "is rather vague, so also is that of *kānti*, in both of which Daṇḍin apparently admits subjective valuations not clearly indicated." The distinction between certain Guṇas is again too subtle (e.g. *śleṣa* and *sukumāratā*, *kānti* and *udāratā*). The ten excellences shown above, having been described as the *life breath of a standard diction*, it is natural to expect that they would all present a positive aspect and should not be defined in negative terms. But in the case of certain Guṇas, viz., *artha-vyakti* and *artha-mādhurya*, the fault to be avoided is first characterised, wherefrom the character of the corresponding Guṇa is to be comprehended by implication. Thus, so far as these

1 *Śruti-varṇānuprāsābhyāṃ vāg-rasaḥ* (p. 198, N. S. P. Edn.).

two excellences are concerned they are negatively conceived (while others present a definite positive meaning) and consequently give rise to a lack of uniformity in Daṇḍin's conception of the Guṇas.

We have already noticed that the splitting up of each Guṇa as relating to śabda or to artha respectively did not, as a theory, develop till the time of Vāmana. For the first time Vāmana offers us such a standard for distinction (viz., *āśrayāśrayi-bhāva*) which was later on utilised by writers like the author of the *Agni-purāṇa*, Bhoja and Prakāśavarṣa who added a third variety of Guṇa, namely, the Guṇa appertaining to both the word and the sense. Daṇḍin, like Bharata, is not explicit on this distinction. Now that this standard of distinction came to be definitely established since Vāmana's time up to the systematic development of the Rasa-dhvani theory, we can apply it to ascertain whether the Guṇas as characterised by Bharata and Daṇḍin can be taken as belonging to the word or to the sense or to both. This procedure leads us to conclude that Daṇḍin's *śleṣa samatā*, *ojas* and *sukumāratā* are prominently what are called *śabda-guṇas*; his *prasāda*, *arthavyakti*, *udāratā*, *kānti* and *samādhi* belong to *artha*, whereas his *mādhurya* has an implication of both *śabda* and *artha*. The two-fold aspect which Daṇḍin imparts to his *mādhurya* is a more direct evidence justifying the conclusion that this is a Guṇa having a double character. Vāmana's was an original move on this direction, and with the eye of a novel theorist he read a new aspect in the Guṇas of his predecessors from which he shaped a system of his own. What was naively treated in the works of Bharata and Daṇḍin received a systematic development at the hands of this earliest known expounder of the Rīti school, properly so called.[1]

PRAKAS CHANDRA LAHIRI

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1 I am indebted to Dr. S. K. De for helping me in diverse ways in the writing of this article.

about the commentaries such as Mādhava, the elder brother of Sāyaṇa, who delegated the work to him, kings Bukka I and Harihara II who ordered the production of the work, and several scholars like Paṇḍari-dīkṣita (Mys. Arch. Rep. 1908, p. 14) who might have helped in the interpretation of certain passages of the Vedas. Vidyāraṇya is nowhere praised as having had anything to do with the Vedic commentaries but the inscription attributes to him the credit due to Vidyātīrtha for the promotion of the Vedic commentaries.

But even here Vidyāraṇya is not spoken of as the author of Vedabhāṣya but only as its promoter. But in Vidyāraṇyakālajñāna composed after the extinction of the Vijayanagara kingdom (circa 1664) and before the compilation of Śivatattvaratnākara (1709) Sāyaṇa and Mādhava are said to be nominal authors of the works named after them while to Vidyāraṇya comes the real credit of composing them. The work Guruvaṃśa of the 18th century A.D. follows this but ascribes to Vidyāraṇya the sole authorship of Vedabhāṣya and the other works in the name of Mādhava and Sāyaṇa are stated to be written by them practically to his dictation.[1] The succession list or Gurupīḷige in the Sringeri Mutt also agrees with the above as regards Vedabhāṣya. Another small work containing the praise of Vidyāraṇya and composed in recent times is Vidyāraṇyāṣṭottara-śatanāmāvaḷi which contains the praises of Vidyāraṇya as a great yogin that revived Vijayanagara city, created a shower of gold in Hampe and wrote a commentary on the three Vedas, lord of the Karnāṭaka throne, anointer of Bukka as king, writer of commentaries on all the Upaniṣads and the obtainer of birudas including the cross palankin (Avadhani's Vidyāraṇya, Telugu work, pp. 180-83).

Thus we can see that from the inspirer of Vedabhāṣya, Vidyāraṇya began to be looked upon as its sole author and all the works of Sāyaṇa and Mādhava were pointed out as written by them under his instructions or composed by him in their name. The creation of the city of Vijayanagara, the establishment of the kingdom of Vijayanagara with the rain of gold obtained by his mystic power and the setting up of Harihara I and of Bukka I on the throne were also attributed to him but he was kept quite distinct from Mādhava.

Once this glorification of Vidyāraṇya began, not only were the

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1 See the Introduction to Guruvaṃśa published in Srirangam Series.

works of Mādhavācārya and his brother Sāyaṇācārya fathered upon him (against the internal evidence of the works themselves), but he was also identified with Mādhavācārya, the elder of the brothers. Thus Maṇimañjarībhedinī, a sanskrit poem of modern times written to extol the Sringeri Mutt and Vidyāraṇya and as a rejoinder to the hostile attacks of the Mādhva sect (the founder of which is called in the work an incarnation of anger and for which belief it quotes Kedārakhaṇḍa) identifies Mādhavācārya with Vidyāraṇya before he became an ascetic. In this work Mādhava is described as a poor man unable to marry on account of his indigence. He prayed to goddess Lakṣmī for wealth and was promised that he would get it in his next birth. This was interpreted to mean sannyāsa. Mādhava took sannyāsa from Bhāratīkṛṣṇatīrtha and was named Vidyāraṇya. After becoming a sannyāsin he composed the commentaries on all the Vedas. Before this he had written a treatise on Dharmaśāstra, two vṛttis on all the sūtras, Saṅgatiratnamālā and others not named (VI, 10). The story of the raining of gold and setting up the king (whom it wrongly calls Acyuta (VI, 50 & 53) on the throne of Karṇāṭaka and the building of Vidyānagarī city are next described. Then comes the disputation between Vidyāraṇya and Akṣobhyatīrtha, a guru of the Mādhva sect, Vedāntadeśika of the Rāmānuja sect acting as arbitrator. Vidyāraṇya is described as victorious. No date is given in the work nor is the genealogy of the author described. The author calls himself a Paramahaṃsa-parivrājakācārya and is named Rāmayogin. Because of the ignorance and confusion displayed in the work as regards king Acyuta whom it calls the founder of the Karṇāṭakarājya, the work seems to have been written long after the Vijayanagar empire came to an end and the author's attacks on the Mādhva sect tend to show that he was writing at a time when that sect was all-powerful in Karnāṭaka. It is probable that it was composed at the time of Pūrṇaiya, the Dewan of Mysore State (1799-1812), who was a follower of Mādhva sect.

The confusion of Mādhavācārya with Vidyāraṇya is clearly seen in the work Maṇimañjarībhedinī ; but in his attempt to glorify Vidyāraṇya the writer states that Vedabhāṣya was composed by Mādhavācārya after he became a sannyāsī under the new name Vidyāraṇya, though the other works, namely, Dharmaśāstra, evidently, Parāśarasmṛtivyākhyā etc., are said to have been written by him after sannyāsa ; but the statement is directly opposed to the evidence of the vedic commentaries where Sāyaṇa appears as the author and the name Vidyā-

raṇya does not occur and Mādhava appears as a minister or scholar at the bidding of king Bukka. We must also note that Mādhavācārya is described in the work as one who never entered the married state while he is shown as a performer of sacrifices in the works of his brother and of himself[1], which is only possible in the case of a married man. Further, Agrahāra Bāceyahaḷḷi plates (published in Mys. Arch. Rep. 1915 p. 42) of 1377 refer to Māyaṇṇa, son of Mādhavācārya. Śivatattvaratnākara too describes Mādhava as having several sons and grandsons. Hence the statements made in Maṇimañjarībhedinī are opposed both to the evidence furnished by inscriptions and literary works and even tradition, and the work deserves to be rejected as entirely worthless.

This process of ascribing to Vidyāraṇya not only the establishment of the Vijayanagara kingdom but the authorship of all the works of Mādhava reaches its culmination in the Anegondi Bakhire, purporting to be a history of Vijayanagara (Ānegondi) kings, in the possession of the *purohita* of the late Rājā of Ānegondi and noticed in p. 16 of the Telugu work Vidyāraṇyacaritramu by Avadhāni. Here Vidyāraṇya is said to have built the city of Vijayanagara named Vidyānagara in Ś. 1258 and to have sat on the throne and ruled the kingdom for 26 years and left in Ś. 1284 (1362 A.D.) placing Bukka on the throne and died in the year Yuva. Vidyāraṇya is described as Mādhavabhaṭṭa before he became an ascetic in Ś. 1244 and as having composed the works Parāśaramādhavīya, Kālamādhavīya, Vidyāmādhavīya, Nidānamādhavīya and a commentary on the three Vedas. Thus Vidyāraṇya is not only identified with Mādhavācārya, brother of Sāyaṇa, but also with other Mādhavas, among whom is Vidyāmādhava, son of Nārāyaṇapūjyapāda of Vasiṣṭhagotra who composed Vidyāmādhavīya (an astronomical work published in the Mysore Oriental Library Series) and also Mādhava, son of Indukara, the author of the medical work Mādhavanidāna of the 16th century A.D. Evidently the Bakhire is a modern production embodying conflicting traditions of doubtful value.

Some of the modern writers and editors have gone one step further still in confusing Vidyāraṇya with Mādhava, author of Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha and Mādhavāmātya, author of Tātparyadīpikā without even a traditional basis. In the introductory stanzas of the first

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1 *Op. cit.*

of these viz., Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha we find it distinctly stated that its author Sāyaṇa-Mādhava is a Kaustubha jewel to the Milky ocean, Sāyaṇa and can never be confused with the elder Mādhavācārya, brother of Sāyaṇa. Nor is there any evidence traditional or literary[1] to identify him with Vidyāraṇya. As regards Mādhavāmātya we know from inscriptions that he was the governor of Candragutti and Banavase from 1347 (Ep. Carn. VIII Sorab 375) to 1391 A.D. and that he captured Goa from the Turks. Now Vidyāraṇya was already an ascetic and the head of the Sringeri Mutt in 1377-78 (E.C. VI Koppa 19 & 31) and could not therefore have been governing Candragutti and fighting with the Turks during the period. Further Vidyāraṇya was dead in 1386 A.D. according to the second Sringeri Mutt copper-plate (Mys. Arch. Rep., 1916, page 59). Mādhavāmātya was of Āṅgirasa-gotra and son of the Brahmin Chāvuṇḍa and a staunch Śaiva, being a disciple of the Śaiva priest Kriyāśakti (E.C. VII Shikarpur 281), while Mādhavācārya was of Bhāradvājagotra and son of Māyaṇa and a disciple of Vidyātīrtha and of Bhāratītīrtha as acknowledged in his works. Further the Śṛṅgeri Kaḍita and Guruvaṃśa distinctly describe Mādhavāmātya as distinct from Vidyāraṇya (Mys. Arch. Rep., 1916, p. 58; Guruvaṃśa, VII, 23). The question has been very ably discussed by Mr. Narasimhachar in his article in the Indian Antiquary for 1916 and he has proved convincingly that Mādhavāmātya is quite different from Vidyāraṇya.

We may also notice here the tradition regarding the Śaṅkarācārya Mat or Kañcha Kāmakoṭi pīṭha now located in Kumbakonam, Tanjore District in the south. The earliest work giving an account of its gurus is a Sanskrit poem Puṇyaślokamañjarī by Sarvajanasadāśivabodha, 56th pontiff of the mutt (1524 to 1539). Here we are told that the yati Vidyātīrtha, disciple of Candracūḍa, ruled in Kāñcī mutt for 73 years from 1297 to 1370 and retired to the Himālayas with his disciple Śaṅkarānanda, where he died in 1385 A.D. He is said to have been surrounded and revered by Mādhava, Bukka and Bhāratītīrtha and to have set up 8 gurus to look after his mutt during the absence of Śaṅkarānanda and himself in the Himālayas.[2] No mention is made of Vidyāraṇya. The name given to Vidyātīrtha before he be-

1 The only exception is the commentary Suṣamā of 1720 A.D. to be noticed later in this paper.

2 श्रीमन्माधवबुक्कभारतियतिप्रष्ठैर्मंहिष्ठैर्वृतः ॥ ८९

came a sannyāsin is Sarvajñaviṣṇu, son of Śāraṅgapāṇi of Bilvāraṇya and his guru Candracūḍa is called Gaṅgeśa before sannyāsa. The next work of the mutt regarding the subject is Gururatnamālikā by Sadāśivabrahmendra, co-disciple of Ātmabodhendra (1586 to 1638), 58th pontiff of the mutt. From this we learn that Vidyātīrtha was the teacher of Sāyaṇa and Mādhava and was skilled in disputations.[1] No mention is made of Vidyāraṇya here also ; nor is he identified with Mādhavācārya.

But a later production regarding the gurus of the Kañcī mutt named Suṣamā composed in 1720 as a commentary to the above Gururatnamālikā speaks of Sāyaṇa and Mādhava as the composer (kartṛ) and the reviser (pariṣkartṛ) of Vedabhāṣya and Vidyātīrtha as their guru praised in Vedabhāṣya and in Jaiminīyanyāyamālāvistara respectively. As regards Bhāratītīrtha, it is stated that he was also a disciple of Vidyātīrtha and in his work Vaiyāsikanyāyamālā Vidyātīrtha is invoked in the opening verse. Bhāratītīrtha is represented in Suṣamā as also a guru of Mādhava, the order of seniority among his gurus being Jāhnavītīrtha (Gaṅgeśa alias Candracūḍa), Vidyātīrtha and Bhāratītīrtha as stated in the opening stanza of Parāśaravyākhyā. With regard to Sāyaṇa-Mādhava, the author of Sarvadarśana-saṅgraha who invokes Sarvajñaviṣṇu in the introductory verses of his work, the commentator (the author of Suṣamā) tries to explain the name Sāyaṇa as the name of a family and Sāyaṇa-Mādhava as Mādhava born in the family of Sāyaṇa. The praise of Śaṅkarānanda by Vidyāraṇya in Pañcadaśī and Vivaraṇaprameyasaṅgraha is explained by saying that Śaṅkarānanda, disciple of Vidyātīrtha, was a senior class-mate and a junior guru of Mādhavācārya who is here identified with Vidyāraṇya, the chief guru being Vidyātīrtha. It is further stated that Mādhava was given the name Vidyāraṇya by Śaṅkarānanda and that with eight of his co-disciples including Saccidānanda he set up eight mutts and himself stopped at the mutt near Virūpākṣeśvara on the banks of the Tuṅgabhadrā to stem the growing tide of the Mādhva religion (see the commentary under stanza 76).

In the next stanza giving the names of the co-disciples of Vidyāraṇya, viz., Saccidānanda, Advaita Brahmānanda etc., the commentator tells that one of the disciples of Vidyātīrtha who was placed

1 हृदि सायणमाधवोपदेष्टॄन् मदिनां वादविधौ श्रमप्रदेष्टॄन् । नमत श्रुतिशीलनादतन्द्रान्विद्याधिकतीर्थदेशिकेन्द्रान् ॥ ८५ ॥

in charge of Sringeri mutt was Advaita Brahmānanda alias Ānandātman also called Bhāratītīrtha and quotes a stanza from Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣaddīpikā of Śaṅkarānanda in which he praises after Vidyātīrtha, his disciple Advayabrahmānanda calling him also Bhāratyānanda stating that he lived at Virūpākṣa (Hampe) and set up eight mutts appointing as their heads Mādhava and others to combat the Dvaita religion. We next learn from the commentary Suṣamā that seeing the Sringeri mutt in ruins for 800 years after the 11th guru beginning from Śaṅkara, and the Śaiva and Mādhva religions growing powerful, Vidyāraṇya is stated to have defeated Akṣobhya and receiving sannyāsa from Vidyātīrtha and Śaṅkarānanda, set up his co-disciples Saccidānanda and others in eight places in the Karṇāṭaka including Sringeri in newly established mutts and himself stopped at a mutt in Virūpākṣakṣetra (Hampe) where he remained as minister and that he issued bulls with the seal of Vidyāśaṅkara (combined name of Vidyātīrtha and Śaṅkarānanda) and that king Vīrabukka and the succeeding kings of Vijayanagara, respected in spite of the proximity of the newly set up mutt in their own capital, the pontiffs of Kāñcī mutt as *jagadgurus* (world teachers) and granted them lands as mentioned in copper-plate śāsanas of Vīra-Narasiṃha Kṛṣṇarāya etc. in that mutt (see also Venkataraman's Śaṅkarācārya and his successors in Kāñcī).

It will be seen from a study of the above that the early tradition of Kāñcī mutt refers to Mādhavācārya, Sāyaṇa, Bukka and Bhāratītīrtha as disciples of Vidyātīrtha, a fact which is already known to us from the works and inscriptions relating to them. It is to be observed that no mention is made here of Vidyāraṇya or of his mistaken identity with Mādhavācārya. The later tradition of the mutt represented by the commentary Suṣamā of the 18th century tells us that Sringeri mutt was in ruins for a long time until it was revived by Bhāratītīrtha and Vidyāraṇya under the orders of their guru Vidyātīrtha, pontiff of the Kāñcī mutt and of Śaṅkarānanda and that eight other branch mutts of Kāñcī were also set up with the disciples of Vidyātīrtha presiding over them, including the mutt at Hampe where Vidyāraṇya is said to have resided. But the Kāñcī tradition cannot be relied upon except for contemporary events. It is no doubt true that there is no inscriptional evidence to prove the existence of Sringeri mutt before the 14th century A.D. But the same can be said of the Kāñcī mutt. There is no proof that Vidyātīrtha belonged to the Kāñcī mutt. The Vāgīśvarī Gaṇapati temple

inscription at Sringeri of 1356 A.D. (Mys. Arch. Rep. 1916, p. 56) refers to the visit of king Bukka to Sringeri to pay his respects to Vidyātīrtha and to the gift of some lands for the expenses of his mutt. The other copper-plate grants that eulogise Vidyātīrtha and his intimate relations with Bukka are found to belong to Sringeri or places not far from Sringeri. Neither Kāñcī nor its neighbourhood has produced so far any inscription on stone or copper relating to Vidyātīrtha. The list of the pontiffs of this mutt prior to Vidyātīrtha given in Puṇyaślokamañjarī and other records of the mutt appears to contain the names of many of the rulers or ministers of Kashmir taken from Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī (12th century). It is too much to believe that the pontiffs of the mutt were connected with the rulers of Kashmir or that their influence extended so far off. As for Suṣamā, it merely reproduces the mistaken tradition of the identity of Vidyāraṇya with Mādhava and exaggerates the importance of the Kāñcī mutt at the expense of Sringeri and other mutts in Southern India. Naturally the writer's statements are full of inconsistencies and errors. Thus he tells us in one place that the statement made in some works that Vidyāśaṅkara is the same as Vidyātīrtha praised by Sāyaṇa etc., is quite wrong as Sāyaṇa was not wanting in vocabulary.[1] But elsewhere while trying to attribute to Vidyātīrtha, the connection with the seal of Vidyāśaṅkara found in the Sringeri mutt (in honour of god Vidyāśaṅkara, the liṅga set up in memory of Vidyātīrtha in the samādhi-temple at Sringeri known as Vidyāśaṅkara temple) he is ready to say that Vidyāśaṅkara, Vidyātīrtha and Vidyānātha are one and the same.[2] Similarly in trying to identify Vidyāraṇya with the author of Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha he says that the name of the author Sāyaṇa-Mādhava simply means Mādhava born of Sāyaṇa family.[3] Now we know that this work

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1 यदुच्यते विद्याशंकरविजयकारादिभिर्विद्याशंकरकैर्विद्याशंकर एव विद्यातीर्थशब्दवाच्य इति तत्साहसमात्रं विद्यातीर्थपदेनैव सर्वत्र सायणमाधवेन व्यवहृतत्वात् वेदभाष्यपरिष्कर्तुरनर्गलवाग्विलासस्य चतस्य वाग्दारिद्र्यकल्पनानौचित्याच्च ॥

2 ग्रन्थान्तरेष्वपि विद्येशविद्यानाथविद्यातीर्थसर्वज्ञविष्णुविद्याशंकरादिपदानि प्रवृत्तिनिमित्यैक्यमस्मिन्नेवाश्रुत इत्यलमतिमहतोपन्यासेन ॥

3 प्रभाविमर्शिनीकारास्तु सायण इति सद्वंशनाम तदुक्तं तेनैव माधवेन स्वकृतौ सर्वदर्शनसंग्रहे यथा "श्रीमत्सायणदुग्धाब्धिकौस्तुभेन विपश्चिता। क्रियते माधवार्येण सर्वदर्शनसङ्ग्रहः ॥" इति सायणमाधवस्य सायणकुलोद्भूतमाधवाभिधानस्य इति व्याचख्युः ॥ Elsewhere in the same page Suṣamā explains the phrase as meaning Sāyaṇa and Mādhava,

was composed very late in the reign of Bukka II as it refers to the work of Jayatīrtha (circa 1365-88). How could the author (if he is to be equated with Vidyāraṇya) call himself in his old age by the name he had before sannyāsa and call his guru Vidyātīrtha also in the same way by the name he had before sannyāsa ? Neither Mādhavācārya nor Sāyaṇācārya ever refers to Sāyaṇa as a family name in any one of their works. Surely such an important detail could not have been left out by Sāyaṇa in his Alaṅkārasudhānidhi nor has any writer referred to Mādhavācārya the elder as Sāyaṇa-Mādhava. What were the 8 mutts established by Vidyāraṇya (or Bhāratītīrtha ?) under Śaṅkarānanda's orders and when did they ever acknowledge the Kāñcī pontiff as their founder ? The Kāñcī mutt has not a single record of the Vijayanagara kings till the reign of Vīra Narasiṃha, more than 150 years after the establishment of the kingdom. Moreover, the statement that Vidyāraṇya received sannyāsa from Vidyātīrtha and not from Bhāratītīrtha is opposed to what is given in Maṇimañjarībhedinī. Neither the Sringeri nor Keḷadi tradition nor Maṇimañjarībhedinī ever refers to any connection between Vidyāraṇya or Vidyātīrtha with Kāñcī mutt. We may therefore dismiss this later tradition of Kāñcī mutt as a mere glorification of Vidyāraṇya in such a manner as to bring greater glory to Kāñcī mutt whose pontiff Vidyātīrtha is represented as his guru.

It is thus clear that in trying to eulogise Vidyāraṇya and his work, political and literary, his admirers naturally gave him the credit for the authorship of some of the best literary works of his period which were composed by Sāyaṇācārya and his elder brother Mādhavācārya. Most of such narratives were composed towards the close of the 17th century. Some of the writers of the 18th and 19th centuries have gone one step further and boldly identified him with Mādhavācārya.[1] Modern editors and writers have in many cases ascribed the writings of other Mādhavas of the period to Vidyāraṇya and identified him with them all.

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1 Thus Keḷadinṛpavijaya by Liṅgaṇṇa written towards the close of the 18th century and Bhuvanapradīpikā of 1808 of Rāmakṛṣṇa, both of Mysore State, speak of Mādhavabhaṭṭa or Mādhavārya becoming a sannyāsin under the name of Vidyāraṇya.

Arguments for the identification of Vidyāraṇya with Mādhavācārya answered

What then are the reasons advanced by scholars in support of the identification assumed between Mādhava and Vidyāraṇya ?

(1) In a copper-plate grant (Inam office copper-plate grant noticed in Mys. Arch. Rep. 1908, p. 14) dated 1386 A.D. (Ś. 1308 Kṣaya Sam. Dvitīyāṣāḍha śu 2 Tuesday, Karkaṭakasaṅkrānti day) a grant of lands is recorded to have been made by Harihara II in lieu of a money grant bestowed previously in the year Durmati by the prince Cikkarāya of Āraga to Nārāyaṇa-vājapeyāyājin, Narahari-somayājin and Paṇḍari-Dīkṣita, promoters of the commentary on the four vedas (Catur-veda-bhāṣya-pravartaka). The new grant is stated to have been made by the king in the presence of Paramahaṃsa-parivrājakācārya Vidyāraṇya. From this it is argued that "Mādhavācārya had a great deal to do with the composition of the commentaries on the Vedas and it is likely that the grant was made at his instance to the above scholars for their co-operation in writing these monumental works. If Vidyāraṇya had been a different person altogether, there would have been no necessity to make the grant in his presence. This inscription makes it quite clear that Mādhavācārya was a sannyāsin under the name of Vidyāraṇya in A.D. 1386" (Indian Antiquary, 1916, p. 19).

Unfortunately for the above argument the dating of the grant is irregular as the tithi quoted falls on a Thursday (June 28, 1386 A.D.) and not on Tuesday as stated in the grant and moreover we find that in another copper-plate grant of 1386 (noticed in Mys. Arch. Rep., 1916, p. 59) Vidyāraṇya is said to have died previous to that date, viz., in Ś. 1309 Kṣaya sam. Jyesh. ba. 13th Saturday corresponding to May 26, 1386 A.D. (a Saturday if we take the year Kṣaya, Ś. 1308, as correct). Thus the genuineness of the grant is doubtful. Further, the mere mention of a grant made to certain vedic scholars (who might have helped in the interpretation of certain passages and been thus called promoters of the vedic commentaries) in the presence of Vidyāraṇya does not prove that he was the author or promoter of the vedic commentaries. The presence of the guru was availed of to give additional sanctity to the gift made by the king. Moreover the grant recorded in the śāsana was not a new one but merely consisted of a gift of lands in lieu of a grant of money made

previously by a scion of the royal family. There are also several other inscriptions (E. C. VI Koppa 19 of 1378 ? E. C. VI Koppa 30 of 1378). in which lands are recorded to have been granted to certain individuals or temples in the presence of or under the orders of Vidyāraṇya. In these cases a similar identity or motive should have to be accepted. It is quite possible that the donees in the Inam office grant were the disciples of Vidyāraṇya and a grant of land was made to them in appreciation of their services in the cause of Vedic learning by the king in the presence of their guru. This seems to be the most natural interpretation. Anyway there is no ground for concluding from the evidence of the above grant that Vidyāraṇya and Mādhavācārya were one and the same person.

2. The second argument used to support the theory of identity rests upon the evidence of a work on Telugu grammar known as Ahobalīya by Ahobalapaṇḍita said to be a nephew of a Mādhavācārya. Now in this work we find a stanza in which Vidyāraṇya is praised as the author of the Veda-bhāṣya, and Dhātuvṛtti, and the bestower of kingship on Harihara in Vidyānagarī and master of the goddesses of learning and of wealth. From this it is concluded that Mādhavācārya is Vidyāraṇya. (Ind. Ant., 1916, p. 18).

But it has been distinctly stated in the works Vedabhāṣya and Dhātuvṛtti that Sāyaṇa was their author and Mādhavīya was a name given by him to these works (see also p. 711, vol. VI, I.H.Q.). Hence on the authority of this stanza it is Sāyaṇa that has to be identified with Vidyāraṇya. The testimony of the work, however, has to be rejected as worthless as it belongs to a recent date, and is based on a legend which glorifies Vidyāraṇya by fathering on him the achievements and writings of others. Ahobalapaṇḍita was not a relation of the famous Mādhavācārya, because his work purports to be a review of Kākanūri Appakavi's Telugu commentary on grammar called Appakavīyam the date of which is Ś. 1578 (gaja-śaila-śara-sudhākara) or A.D. 1656 and hence could not be a contemporary or relation of our Mādhavācārya.[1] His work may have been composed in about 1700 A.D. and cannot therefore carry any authority for its statements regarding Vidyāraṇya.

3. Similarly two more works are cited to prove the identity of Mādhavācārya with Vidyāraṇya, viz. Tithipradīpikā by Nṛsiṃhasūri,

1 For this information I am indebted to Mr. Jayanti Ramayya Pantalu.

and Vyāsasūtravṛtti by Raṅganātha. The first of these has introductory stanzas which mean that the author deals briefly with the subject of *Kālanirṇaya*, or determining of proper moments for ceremonies, which had been dealt with but not exhausted by the previous writers, Anantācārya, Mancigallu-mantri, Vidyāraṇya-yati and others. Now it is well known that Kālanirṇaya, which treats of the above subject, was a work of Mādhavācārya and hence it is argued that he must be the same as Vidyāraṇya. But it may be answered that there was at least one other treatise on the same subject in the reign of Bukka I, viz. Vidyāmādhavīya (known as Muhūrtadarśana) written by a Śaiva Brāhmin of the village Gunavati near Goa and son of Nārāyaṇa-Pūjyapāda of Vaśiṣṭha-gotra. We do not see why there should not be another work on the same subject by Vidyāraṇya during the period. If so it would be unnecessary to identify him with Mādhavācārya, author of the Kālanirṇaya. Moreover, the work Tithipradīpikā by Narasiṃhasūri seems to be a modern work since it refers to Saṅgrahakālanirṇaya, Jayantīkalpa, and Tithidarpaṇa of Mañcibhaṭṭa, Karmapradīpikā, Kanakagṛhya and Puṣkarapurāṇa etc. He calls himself a disciple of Śivarāmānanda, a sanyāsī. The testimony of this work is of little value since it is not dated and appears to be of later times.

The next work quoted in support of the theory of identity of Mādhavācārya and Vidyāraṇya is Raṅganātha's Vyāsasūtravṛtti. In an introductory stanza of this work it is stated that the meaning of Vyāsasūtras (Vedānta sūtras) had been explained according to the Bhāṣya (of Śaṅkarācārya) in the verses of Vidyāraṇya and the writings of Nṛsiṃhāśramin. From this it is contended that the reference here (regarding the verses of Vidyāraṇya) is clearly to Mādhavācārya's work Vaiyāsika-nyāya-mālā. But Vaiyāsikanyāyamālā is the composition of Bhāratītīrtha and no manuscript or printed edition ever shows Vidyāraṇya as its author. Any resemblance that is seen between a few of the stanzas at the beginning of this work and those of Mādhavācārya's Jaiminīya-nyāyamālāvistara is evidently due to the fact that Mādhavācārya was a disciple of Bhāratītīrtha and copied down the verses found in his guru's work in his own treatise as he distinctly says in his introductory stanzas that he was highly favoured by Bhāratītīrtha. Moreover, Raṅganātha too is a modern writer since he refers to Nṛsiṃhāśrāmī, author of Advaitadīpikā, who was a contemporary of Appayadīkṣita (c. 1554-1626) who flourished at the end of 16th century (see the Introduction to Yādavābhyudaya, vol. II,

Vanivilas Press, Srirangam) and his work does not indicate the relation between Mādhavācārya and Vidyāraṇya who lived several centuries earlier.

4. One more argument advanced to prove the identity between Mādhavācārya and Vidyāraṇya may be noticed here. "It is said that Pañcadaśīprakaraṇa was composed partly by Bhāratītīrtha and partly by Mādhavācārya. Rāmakṛṣṇa who has written a commentary on the work begins and ends his commentary with obeisance to Bhāratītīrtha and Vidyāraṇya (in order). We may therefore presume that Mādhavācārya and Vidyāraṇya are identical......Bhāratītīrtha was one of the gurus of Mādhavācārya and the juxtaposition of his and Vidyāraṇya's name may be taken to strengthen the above presumption." (Ind. Ant., 1916, p. 18).

But Mādhavācārya had nothing to do with the composition of Pañcadaśī. No edition of the work ever ascribed to him the authorship of the treatise nor is there any other authority for calling Mādhavācārya its author. The only difference of opinion that so far exists about the composition of the work lies in determining which portions were written by Vidyāraṇya and which by Bhāratītīrtha. In his edition of the work, Pītāmbarasvāmin mentions Rāmakṛṣṇa as his authority for assigning the first six chapters to Vidyāraṇyasvāmin and the remaining nine to Bhāratītīrtha. Rāmakṛṣṇa's reference is to be found in the opening lines of his gloss to the seventh chapter Tṛptidīpa "Tṛptidīpākhyam prakaraṇam ārabhamāṇaḥ Śrī Bhāratītīrtha-guruḥ" etc. Niścalasvāmī, on the other hand, in his Vṛttiprabhākara, gives it as undoubted *parampara* that Vidyāraṇya was the author of the first ten and Bhāratītīrtha of the other five chapters. (See Pandit of the Benares college : New series, vol. VIII, 1886, p. 505, note). As regards the relation between Bhāratītīrtha and Vidyāraṇya, the copper-plate grants of the mutt and kaḍita seem to show the latter as the senior (So also Vidyāraṇya Kālajñāna series). But Maṇimañjarībhedinī and Ānegondi Bakhire would have us believe that Vidyāraṇya was the direct disciple of Bhāratītīrtha and the stone inscription of Śṛṅgerī (E.C. VI Śṛṅgerī 1) would also support such a belief. Anyway Rāmakṛṣṇa might have held the same idea. Moreover we must remember that beyond a verse in that work addressed in praise of Śaṅkarānanda there is no indication to determine its date. There are several gurus of the name of Vidyāraṇya. One such svāmī of the Śṛṅgerī Mutt who lived in 1515 A.D. is referred to in p. 18 of Mys. Arch. Rep. 1916. There is also a

svāmī of the Kuḍali Mutt of Ś. 1591 whose guru is named Vidyāraṇya[1] and there are several gurus of the Āvani Mutt who are called by the name of Vidyāraṇya. It is not possible to determine who this Vidyāraṇya was that composed Pañcadaśī. But nothing however is to be found in the work of Pañcadaśī to support the identity of Vidyāraṇya with Mādhavācārya.

Conclusion

It is now clear that Vidyāraṇya, the ascetic head of Śṛṅgerī Mutt, could not be the same person as Mādhavācārya, the minister of Bukka, and the writer of works on Dharmaśāstra and allied subjects. There is not a single inscription or literary work of the period which ever tries to connect the two. The tradition of the Śṛṅgerī mutt distinctly shows him to be different from Mādhavācārya. The only narratives or works which seem to point to a connection between the two are of later times which make hopeless confusion between Vidyāraṇya, Mādhavācārya, and Sāyaṇa. Their unreliability is patent from the gross ignorance of the colophons of the works and of the political history of the period displayed in them. Even these do not explicitly state that Vidyāraṇya's father was Māyaṇa or his brother was Sāyaṇa as is the case with Mādhavācārya. Modern writers have fallen into the same error and try somehow or other to show Vidyāraṇya as the author of all the works of Sāyaṇa, his brother Mādhava and other Mādhavas (one writer has even identified him with Madhvācārya, the founder of the Dvaita school of thought in southern India).[2] The rejection of the theory of identity between Mādhavācārya and Vidyāraṇya and distinguishing the achievements of the great scholars who wrote under the early Vijayanagar kings, from those of each other would greatly help the proper understanding of the history of the period.

R. RAMA RAO

1 E.C. VII, Shimoga, 81.

2 See History of India by Prothero and Satīśa Candra Vidyābhūṣaṇa.

Early Viṣṇuism and Nārāyaṇīya Worship

Our enquiry in the previous articles has indicated[1] that theistic tendencies, bordering on the devout, manifest themselves more or less throughout the whole course of Upaniṣadic speculation; but they emerge in a clear and definite form in some texts of the younger group of major Upaniṣads. This gradual evolution of the theistic sense resulted ultimately in the vivid conception of a personal god; and all the elements of the devotional attitude, which one of these Upaniṣads directly characterises as *bhakti*, centre round a somewhat inchoate sectarianism, which does not indeed reject the impersonal Ātman but identifies it with new great gods like Rudra-Śiva, derived partially from Brāhmaṇism and created partially by popular faith. This presumably indicates a compromise between the high speculation of the Upaniṣads which was never discredited and the popular faiths which now demanded recognition. It is indeed difficult to ascertain whether the beliefs and observances of the Brāhmaṇic and Upaniṣadic religion was a matter of actual practice beyond a restricted circle. They must have, to a certain extent, filtered down to the common people; for their undoubted influence on the comparatively modern developments of Hinduism, as well as upon sects and cults, precludes any hypothesis of their having been the exclusive possession of a particular class or caste. But the common people must have had their peculiar faiths and practices, originating from independent sources and profoundly varied and modified by the cultural ideas of the Non-Aryan people in the Gangetic plain. We have as yet no means to determine the exact nature and extent of the influence which contact with Non-Aryan people exerted on the Aryan world; but it is now generally

Development of theistic devotionalism and inchoate sectarianism in the younger group of major Upaniṣads

as a result of a compromise between high speculation and popular faiths.

Fusion of races and cultures as a factor of popular faiths.

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1 See *IHQ*, vol. vi, 1930, pp. 496f. In the writing of this article I must renew my grateful acknowledgments to my Professor, Dr. S. K. De, who has taken the trouble not only of supervising and revising it but also of enriching it with some notes of his own. But the opinions expressed in the essay are my own.

recognised that the fusion or absorption of races and cultures, which was apparently going on from Vedic times, must have been a potent factor in determining the general current of Indian thought and belief. The ancient popular records are lost or have not been preserved ; but there can be no doubt, as recent research has amply established, that the so-called popular element, as distinguished from the hieratic, must have been a strange fusion of polygenous ideas. In course of time, however, a mutual reaction between the two, the popular and hieratic, was inevitable, and the barrier slowly broke down. An exclusive ritual and a highly philosophical creed had to be relaxed so far, even for their own self-existence, as to adopt deities and countenance practices to which heterodox popular religion inclined ; while the mass of the people, having little time or interest in elaborate ritual and philosophical abstraction, allowed their larger religious emotions and sentiments to be recognised and re-interpreted by the intellectual aristocracy, and thereby obtain the stamp of orthodox authority.

Thus, about the time when the formal heresies, which came to a head in Buddhism and Jainism, were assailing the very core of the Śrauta religion, the orthodox ritual and creed were faced with the no less difficult task of remodelling themselves by assimilating and moulding the current beliefs and widespread religious practices of their new environment. These popular faiths, centring round the worship of Rudra-Śiva, Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa, or Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, were strongly marked by a tendency towards devotionalism which must have had a disintegrating and even disruptive effect on the older ceremonial or theosophic religion. All this led, on the one hand, to a practical codification of older tradition and stricter regulation of daily life and conduct in the Śrauta-, Gṛhya-, and Dharma-Sūtras ; on the other hand, it resulted in a renewed and systematic philosophical activity, sometimes keeping more faithfully to the old Upaniṣadic spirit (Vedānta), but sometimes starting from a different point and diverging more widely (Sāṃkhya). But all this did not prove enough for preventing an entire reshaping of the older religion. Sectarian popular faiths had been gradually gaining ground, and they must have been more in rapport with ordinary life than the mystic ritual of the priest or the profound specula-

Disruptive effect of popular faiths on orthodox creed and ritual.

Readjustment and reshaping of the older Śrauta religion, and enewal and re-interpretation of popurlar faiths.

tion of the philosopher. It is true that some of the Upaniṣads, if not the Brāhamaṇas, were in a way popular, or intended for a wider public ; but the inherited ritual and creed could be accepted only by the initiated, and generally speaking, they never seemed to have formed the actual faith of the people. The elasticity of orthodox philosophy, however, admitted a whole world of gods as a temporary reality into its idealistic scheme ; and the older placid theology, already disturbed by the newer worship of sectaries, had to readjust itself, even for its own prestige and continuance, to the changing order of things. A new (and yet not entirely new) feeling, the spirit of emotional religious devotion or *bhakti* as it came to be called, was gradually developing round new personal gods or old gods conceived anew as wielding power of love and grace ; and this, having already found its way into the heart, had to be justified also in the intellect. All this may not have been accomplished by any deliberate theological attempt, but the result of ultimate compromise is seen not only in the fully developed sectarianism of the *Mahābhārata* in general, but also in particular in the syncretic theism of the *Bhagavadgītā*, which cannot be satisfactorily explained as an isolated phenomenon. If there was a strain, original or developed, of theism in the Upaniṣads, it is only natural that it could in the end easily, if not perfectly, mingle with the best theistic elements of the popular cults. If the one was predominantly reflective and the other essentially emotional, both the theistic streams had their source in the same hopes and longings of the human heart ; and this fact could partially reconcile, if not fully obliterate, the incongruities of an alliance between philosophy and devotional faith.

The result of the compromise in the developed sectarianism of the Mahābhārata and in the syncretic philosophy of the Bhagavadgītā.

Our sources of information about these obscure religious movements are, however, scanty and unsatisfactory. The problem of the origin and development of a religious movement is in itself a difficult one, but the difficulty is enhanced in this particular case by a hopeless insufficiency of historical data. Here and there we come across isolated facts or ideas, but the connecting links, sometimes stretching over centuries, have to be supplied by inferences from such meagre premises. We have to depend almost entirely on what is contained in the epic poetry, supplemented to a certain extent, by additional information from inscriptions and doubtful literary sources. It

Difficulties and defects of historical record.

would be highly interesting indeed if it were possible to trace historically and consecutively the train of ideas whereby a formal or philosophical religion, living by ordinance and dogma, could adapt itself to the freedom and unconventionality of popular beliefs, which in their turn allowed themselves to be renewed and transformed. Apart from the general failure of sober historical material in India, the fact that sectarian religions, handed down by floating and indefinite tradition, were originally the possession of the people dissociated them from the sympathy of the orthodox creed[1]; and

Sectarian religions as the possession of people left no early records.

1 These popular faiths could not have been "anti-Brāhmaṇist" in the sense in which Grierson takes the term (*Ind. Ant.*, 1908, p. 252 and elsewhere); at best we can call them non-Brāhmaṇist or rather non-orthodox. There could not have been any sense of sharp antithesis, and their easy ultimate "Brāhmaṇisation" would in itself be a proof of their freedom from any direct antithetical attitude. Even Grierson's dubious theory of the Kṣatriya origin of one of these cults, if admitted, can hardly be adduced as a proof of its alleged anti-Brāhmaṇist tendency. There are passages indeed in the *Mahābhārata* (e.g. xii, 269, 9) which may be taken to indicate that the doctrine of Bhāgavatism was recognised as opposed to the pure teaching of the Vedas, but these probably bear testimony to the non-orthodox and popular character of the faith or its independent origin, and nothing more. It may be conceded that Bhāgavatism was not strictly Brāhmaṇic, and could not have been evolved within the fold of orthodoxy which clung to Vedic rites and Vedic gods. But, as Hopkins (*Ethics of India*, 1924, p. 172) rightly points out, it was also not anti-Brāhmaṇic, for it did not reject Brāhmaṇic authority and institution, as the Buddhists did. There is no open denunciation of the orthodox religion, but there is, on the other hand, a distinct anxiety for as much reconciliation as possible. The trend of the *Bhagavadgītā* itself would shew this. In the Nārāyaṇīya section also, the orthodoxy of the Nārāyaṇīya or Pañcarātra theology is insisted upon by the legend that the supreme scripture of this religion was uttered by the seven Citraśikhaṇḍin sages (Marīci, Atri etc.) and Manu Svāyambhuva, and was approved by Nārāyaṇa himself as according well with the four Vedas. There is also the legend of Nārada receiving at Śvetadvīpa the doctrine directly from Nārāyaṇa; while its conservatism is expressed

they received, until they could not be safely ignored, little recognition and justice, even if they swayed the lives of a larger population and had been of greater living force.

The worship of Viṣṇu in the Epic.

One of the most important sectarian movements referred to above is what is known as the cult of Viṣṇu, to which we shall confine our attention in this enquiry. H. Ray Choudhuri[1] is undoubtedly right in characterising Viṣṇuism, in its general acceptation, as a great federation of religions bound together by certain fundamental doctrines ; but the earliest and the most important of its many phases is the worship of Viṣṇu as Nārāyaṇa-Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, which forms the leading motive of the *Mahābhārata* in general and of the *Bhagavadgītā* in particular. But it is a long step indeed from the theistic speculation of the Upaniṣads to the full-blooded sectarianism of the great Epic.

Strictly speaking, this cult, as we find it developed in the Epic, is hardly yet known by the special appellation of Vaiṣṇavism,[2] but

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by its belief in *yajña*, *tapas* and other traits of the Śrauta religion. It would be a hasty generalisation also to state that certain characteristic features of the faith, like the Ahiṃsā doctrine, are proofs (as H. Ray Choudhuri in *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect*, Calcutta, 1920, p. vii, presumes) that "Bhāgavatism, like the religions of Mahāvīra and Buddha, was the expression of a natural reaction from the sacrifice-ridden religion of the Brāhmaṇic period". The superficial analogy suggested to Buddhism and Jainism (which though heterodox or heretical, can scarcely be described as popular) is misleading for more reasons than one ; and Ray Choudhuri seems to have overlooked the fact that there was an intervening Upaniṣadic period in which the formal sacrificial religion of the Brāhmaṇas was being gradually replaced by a more intellectual theosophy, and that within this intellectual theosophy not only theistic but devotional tendencies were developing.

1 *Op. cit.*, p. vii.

2 The word attaches itself peculiarly and prominently to the cult in the later phase of its history, but probably not so in its earlier ; and there is scarcely any evidence of a Vaiṣṇava cult in early times. [The sectarian name Vaiṣṇava as a worshipper of Viṣṇu is to be found nearly at the end in the latest portion of the epic, but that only three times. In *Mbh.*, xviii, 6, 97, for instance, we are told :

is characterised by various names, not intrinsically connected with each other. This fact can be satisfactorily explained only by the supposition that sources of these names and therefore of the cult itself were many and varied. Although it identifies its deity apparently with the Vedic Viṣṇu, it is seldom directly called Vaiṣṇava; and the Vedic Viṣṇu can hardly be recognised in the deity it worships. It is sometimes called the religion of the Bhāgavatas, the worshippers of Bhagavat, the Lord, the Blessed or the Adorable One,[1] its earliest religious text-book being the *Bhagavadgītā*. In

Its different appellations, indicating many and varied sources.

aṣṭādaśa purāṇānāṃ śravaṇād yat phalaṃ bhavet /
tat phalaṃ samavāpnoti vaiṣṇavo nātra saṃśayaḥ //

The mention of the eighteen *purāṇas* raises a doubt as to the earliness of the passage. The other two passages occur in the same context and speak of *vaiṣṇavaṃ padam* (xviii, 6, 98; 6, 103) and *vaiṣṇavaṃ yaśaḥ* (xviii, 6, 98) in the same strain. In some other passages the word is used more in the sense of "relating to or belonging to Viṣṇu" than "worshipping Viṣṇu". Thus, Duryodhana in one passage (iii, 254, 15-20) is advised to perform a *vaiṣṇava yajña* or sacrifice to Viṣṇu as a substitute for the Rājasūya. In the same way, Nārāyaṇa as Mahāpuruṣa advises the gods to perform a *vaiṣṇava kratu* (xii, 340, 55). Phrases like *vaiṣṇava astra*, *vaiṣṇava tejas*, or *vaiṣṇava sthāna* are common enough, but they have apparently no sectarian significance.—S. K. D.].

1 Grierson (*JRAS*, 1910, pp. 159-162; "Bhakti-mārga" in *ERE.*, p. 539; also cf. A. Govindācārya Svāmin, *JRAS*, 1910, pp. 861-62) derives the term *bhagavat* from root *bhaj* (to which the sense "to adore" is given) and connects it with *bhakti*, which is also derived from the same verbal root. The word *bhagavat*, in his opinion, mean "the Adorable One." V. V. Sovani (*JRAS*, 1910, pp. 863 f.) would derive the term (more accurately) from root *bhaj*, "to divide," "to share," but give to it the sense of "the possessor of all merit or quality," so that the word, in his opinion, could be best translated by the expression "the Perfect." F. Otto Schrader (*JRAS*, 1911, p. 194) would prefer the phrase "the Holy One." Hopkins, after an elaborate review of the Vedic and Epic use of the term, would conclude (*JRAS*, 1911, pp. 727-38) that it would be best to retain the expression "the Blessed One," indicating the deity who is blessed with all good attributes and by implication blesses his devotee.

the somewhat mythical Nārāyaṇīya section (ch. 334-351) of the Śāntiparvan, again, the supreme god is named Nārāyaṇa or Hari, and

From the point of view of the faith itself the etymological discussion is rather futile; for, to the devotee, the word expresses much more than its mere radical or historical meaning, and it is therefore untranslatable. It must be noted that the word is applied in the Epic, as elsewhere, to various gods and demi-gods, to priests, saints, and sages, possessing high merit, especially religious merit, as well as to the Supreme Being. It is also a familiar designation of the Buddha. Sometimes a mere form of polite address ("venerable sir"), the word has also the restricted connotation of reverence to the possessor of attributes, holy or divine; while in the derivative word *bhāgavata* its denotation is still more restricted to a particular divinity, whose name obviously (like that of the Buddha) was originally an epithet. Whether the word *bhagavat* has a direct connexion to the still earlier *bhaga*, the name of a Vedic deity, of which there are corresponding words in other Indo-European languages (see Schrader, *Reallexicon d. Indo-German. Alterth.* 2nd Ed. i, p. 406; *JRAS*, 1911, p. 194) is extremely doubtful; but it is most likely that the Vedic Bhaga was conceived, as his name would indicate, as the apportioner of good luck or giver of good things—a sense which apparently survives, probably through the radical connexion, in the word *bhagavat.* There is no justification for Macnicol's opinion (*Indian Theism*, p. 32) that the Bhagavat "traces his descent from the ancient Sun-god Bhaga, one of the Ādityas" except the accidental similarity of the name due to derivation from the same verbal root. Hopkins (*loc. cit.*) is perhaps right in suggesting that the word *bhaga* itself (apart from its being a proper name) means in Vedic "fortune" or "good luck" (root *bhaj*, to share), so that the original Vedic significance of the word *bhagavat* would be "one who is fortunate or blessed," without any strong religious implication. [The Vedic 'bhaga' is interpreted in the sense of *bhāgadheya* or 'good fortune' in *Nirukta* ix, 31, (cf. xii, 3; iii, 16 in the sense of sexual enjoyment); and the word is apparently derived from the root *bhaj*, 'to distribute,' 'to apportion' (i, 7), which is also implied in the name of the deity Bhaga as the distributor or the apportioner. The word *subhaga* in the sense of 'auspicious' is a common enough epithet of Vedic deities. The root does not occur in the list of 44 roots in *Nighaṇṭu* iii, 14, signifying Vedic worship, and it could not have meant 'to adore.' But it is noteworthy that the word is

his unceremonious worship appears to be still bearing traces of the older sacrificial religion. The so-called Nārāyaṇīya system, though connected with Bhagavat and Vāsudeva, is said to have originated from Nārāyaṇa, who is indeed identified here with Hari, Viṣṇu, Hara and Kṛṣṇa (besides other gods), but to whom we have the earliest reference in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* as Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa in connexion with the mythical performance of a *pañcarātra sattra* or series of sacrifices lasting over five days. Hence this system is sometimes known as the religion of the Nārāyaṇīyas (i.e. followers of Nārāyaṇa), and is also called the Pañca-rātra (or Pāñca-rātra) system, about the origin and meaning of which term, however, there is considerable uncertainty. The religious system, again, connects itself prominently with Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, whose name can be split up and traced separately back to Vedic literature, but who, spoken of as Bhagavat, figures as its promulgator in the *Bhagavadgītā*, thus lending his name to the worship. His tribal name Sātvata (or less correctly Sāttvata), to which fanciful etymologies are given[1] but which has been taken as conterminous with the family name Vṛṣṇi, occurs in the Śāntiparvan as a synonym of Bhāgavata (as well as of Bhagavat himself) without any ethnic significance. It is also a designation of the religion itself. From the monotheistic character of the faith, moreover, the devotee is called *Ekāntin or Ekāntika*, and the religion is often designated as Ekānta- (or Ekāntika-) dharma.[2] Each of

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apparently used in the sense of (sexual) enjoyment in *Nirukta* iii, 16 in connexion with the word *jāra*.—S. K. D.]

1 See *JRAS*, 1911, p. 939, f. n. 1 ; also *Mbh.*, xii, 342, 77f.

2 All the four designations, Bhāgavata, Sātvata, Ekāntin and Pañcarātra occur in the Nārāyaṇīya section (*Mbh*, xii, 337, 1 ; xii, 335, 19 ; xii, 348, 1-4 ; xii, 235, 25). [The term 'Ekāyana' ('The Way of the One,' or 'Fixing one's thought on one object' = Monotheism) is applied to the system in later Pañcarātra Āgamas (e.g. *Padma-tantra*, I, 18) : but the word is not found in the Nārāyaṇīya. An Ekāyana doctrine (śl. 30) is taught in *Mbh.*, xii, 217, but it appears to be a variation of the Brahma-doctrine (so Nīlakaṇṭha) ; although Nārāyaṇa (śl. 2) is associated with it, it has nothing to do with the Ekānta-dharma of the Nārāyaṇīya. In *Śrī-Praśna Saṃhitā* (quoted in *JRAS*, 1911, p. 937, n. 1) the word is vaguely used to denote a Veda, possibly a Upaniṣad, or the crown of all Upaniṣads, of which the whole of later Pañcarātra literature is supposed to be a vast com-

these terms possesses a history behind it, and the ultimate Bhāgavata religion, as revealed in the Epic, appears to be the final meeting place of many currents of ideas and sentiments. The original records of the school are now lost, and how the different currents met is a puzzle; but an historical examination of the terms, so far as available materials permit, would form a profitable preliminary to the understanding of the main lines of the conjectural development of the religious system and of the *bhakti-vāda* it expounds.

History behind these appellations.

Viṣṇu possesses a fairly long history, which gives him, as a deity, different values for mythology, ritualism, philosophy and religion. Judged by the number of hymns addressed to him in the *Ṛg-veda*, he does not appear to possess as much importance as his subsequent position in Indian religious history would indicate. We have only five entire hymns addressed to him, but in the somewhat puzzling character given to him by these hymns one can hardly recognise the Viṣṇu who became the centre of worship of the *bhakti* religion which goes by his name.[1]

The origin and history of Viṣṇu.

mentary. Is it in this sense (i.e. Upaniṣad) that the word is used in *Chāndogya Up.*, vii, 1, 2, where Nārada gives Sanatkumāra a list of śāstras he has studied, though he makes it clear that he is a *mantravit* and not an *ātmavit* (or Aupaniṣada)? Colebrooke (*Essays*, i, p. 414, Madras ed. 1871), however, expresses his legitimate doubt about the meaning of Ekāyana as a śākhā of the Veda. Or, does it really refer to a traditional early Pañcarātra system, with which Nārada's name is associated in the Epic? Different explanations of the word in *Ch. Up.* have been suggested, e.g., Nītiśāstra (Śaṅkara), Ethics (Max Müller) etc.; but none is satisfactory. The word is also used in *Chāndogya Up.*, vii, 5, 2 (*cittaṃ hy evaiṣām ekāyanaṃ*) apparently in the same sense as employed in *Bṛhad-Ār. Up.* ii, 4, 11 and iv, 5, 12, viz. 'the sole object,' 'the centre of union,' 'the meeting place'; but this obvious connotation does net help us in fixing its denotation of a particular *śāstra*.—S. K. D.],

1 The main features of Viṣṇu's character have already been fully analysed and discussed by writers on Vedic mythology and religion, and we need not give detailed references here. Most of the relevant Ṛg-vedic texts in original and in translation will be found conveniently collected together in Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts* (London, 1863), vol. iv, ch. 2, pp. 54-83.

Conceived as a beneficent young giant[1] of unknown parentage,[2] his characteristic attributes are his close association with Indra[3] and his three mystic strides.[4] The first of these attributes naturally resulted in a transference to him of some of the titles and heroic deeds of Indra, as well as giving him even in Ṛg-vedic times a certain reality and importance among the great gods; but it also tended to obscure his distinctive character. All his greatness, however, was not due to Indra, even if he does shine in Indra's reflected glory.[5] He has his own definite and famous feat which elicits enthusiastic praise, and this consists of the three mighty strides with which he measures the universe. The first two strides are earthly, discernible to men, but the third, the highest (*parama pada*) is inscrutable, known only to the wise. In the highest step of the wide-strider, which is also called his highest abode or domain, those devoted to the gods (*devayu*), as well as the gods themselves, rejoice;[6] it is like an eye

Viṣṇu in the Ṛg-veda his mythological alliance with Indra.

and his three mighty strides.

His highest step or parama pada.

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1 *Bṛhaccharīra, yuvan, kumāra*, i, 155, 6.

2 He is not one of the Ādityas in the Ṛg-veda. But he is already becoming an Āditya in *Śatapatha Br.*, xiv, 1, 1, 6. It is in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* that we find him established in this role, his original solar character probably suggesting this new relation.

3 The references are numerous. One entire hymn (i, 155) is devoted to the pair. He is Indra's worthy or intimate friend (*indrasya yujyaḥ sakhā* i, 22, 19) and is addressed as friend or colleague by Indra himself in many a hymn, the friendship arising from Viṣṇu's aid to Indra in his heroic deeds. In his supreme feat of slaying Vṛtra, Indra implores Viṣṇu to step out more widely (viii, 89, 12; iv, 18, 11; see also 1, 156, 5; vi, 20, 2; vi, 69; vii, 99, 4 f.).

4 Referred to in almost every hymn to Viṣṇu.

5 Inspite of one of the hymns (viii, 12, 27) which tells us that it was by Indra's power that Viṣṇu took his three strides. On the contrary, the myth seems to be established enough that Indra is powerless without Viṣṇu's mystic aid.

6 Hopkins' interpretation (*Religions of India*, p. 56 followed by Griswold, *Religion of the Ṛg-veda*, p. 194 and Ray Chaudhuri, *op. cit.* p. 7) based chiefly on i, 154, that it is the abode of the departed spirits is hardly borne out by the passage itself. The stanza referred

fixed shiningly in heaven, and in it there is a well of mead. Although the origin and etymology of the name Viṣṇu are puzzling,[1] both ancient and modern scholars[2] agree in assigning an original solar character to this deity, his leading attribute of the three strides symbolising the passage of the swiftly moving luminary through the three divisions of the universe (earth, air and heaven), or (a view which is less likely) representing its rise, clumination and setting. Inspite of the fact that Viṣṇu, in one of the hymns (i, 156, 3), is called the ancient germ of *ṛta*[3]

Ṛg-vedic Viṣṇu—a solar god,

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to only speaks poetically of the seer's wish to attain that path or domain (*pāthas*) of Viṣṇu, where men devoted to the gods rejoice, referring to the *parama pada* or the highest step where there is a well of mead, although in the immediately preceding stanza all the three steps are described as unfailing, filled with mead and rejoicing in bliss. There is no reference here or elsewhere to any "realm of departed spirits". Neither the funeral hymns nor the hymns to the fathers contain any alluston to Viṣṇu. The *Ṛg-veda*, x, 15, 3 cited by Hopkins (*op. cit.*, p. 144) does not appear to be conclusive on this point. At least, such frankly uncertain and meagre data should not be made the basis of such generalisation of Viṣṇu's connexion with the spirits of the dead as Macnicol (*op. cit.*, p. 31) indulges in; nor is there any definite idea of a "sun-home of souls" such as Griswold imagines. Oldenberg (*Religion des Veda*, p. 232) and Keith (*Philosophy and Religion of the Veda*, p. 109, note 6) appear to negative the idea of Viṣṇu's connexion with the spirits of the dead.

1 Various etymologies are suggested. Besides the orthodox ones of √viṣ, to pervade (*Dhātu-pāṭha*, iii, 13), vi+√aś, to attain (*Dh.* iii, 18 or ix, 81), √viś to enter (*Dh.* iv, 130), vi+√si to let loose, (*Dh.* v, 2, or ix, 5), we have also the generally accepted derivation √viṣ, 'to be active' (Böhtlingk and Roth, Macdonell, Keith etc.), or 'to stimulate' or 'inspire' (Barnett), vi+snu (akin to *sānu*) 'crossing the back of the earth' (Bloomfield), vi (bird)+affix snu, designating the Sun-bird (Bloch), and vi (fly)+snu (on the analogy of *jiṣṇu*) "the heavenly bird" (Hopkins).

2 With the notable exception of Oldenberg (*op. cit.* p. 229f.) who thinks that there is no definite trace of solar character in Viṣṇu, that he represents an abstract conception merely as a traverser of wide space, and that nothing concerete corresponds to his three steps.

3 *Ṛta* here may or may not mean sacrificial order; it probably

(*pūrvyam ṛtasya garbham*), there is nothing to warrant the view ingeniously maintained by Barnett[1] that this solar interpretation is an after-thought or a subsequent mythologisation, that the Vedic Viṣṇu is not the Sun, and that we must emphasise those passages of the younger Vedas and Brāhmaṇas which present Viṣṇu as the spirit of Brāhmaṇic sacrifice.

and not the god of sacrifice.

Even leaving open the question whether there is in the *Ṛg-veda* any advanced ritualistic theory which would make such a suggestion plausible, it is difficult to accept Barnett's contention as applying to Ṛg-vedic Viṣṇu. It is not enough to explain all the Ṛg-vedic mythological characteristics and epithets of Viṣṇu and displace the generally accepted theory of solar origin, of which traces persist throughout the history of the deity ; but the point is important for understanding the process of Viṣṇu's elevation in subsquent literature. Following R. G. Bhandarkar[2] the general opinion has been that Viṣṇu's later popularity and rise in importance were chiefly due to the reverence for the third step, the mysterious highest abode where he dwells. This is probably true, but it cannot be the whole explanation. The passages from the younger Vedas and Brāhmaṇas emphasised by Barnett establish without doubt that in the Brāhmaṇic period, if not in the Ṛg-vedic times, Viṣṇu was connceived more or less as the embodied spirit of sacrifice, whose inspiring power was an aid to Indra ; and that his three steps embracing the earth, air and sky were perhaps expressed symbolically in the common ritual formula *bhūr bhuvaḥ svaḥ* (earth, air and sky),[3] which apparently refers to the all-pervading power of sacrifice. It is not clear by

refers to cosmic order. This word indicates no connexion with Varuṇa and his *Ṛta*, and Keith is undoubtedly right (*op, cit.*, p. 112, note) in stating that Viṣṇu's connexion with Varuṇa is slight and artificial.

1 *Hindu Gods and Heroes* (London, 1922), pp. 38f.

2 *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and other Minor Religious Systems* (Strassburg 1913), pp. 33f.

3 This is Barnett's explanation ; but the ritual formula, which may conceivably refer to the three forms or three abodes of the preeminently ritualistic god Agni, need not be directly connected with Viṣṇu. The sacrificers taking three strides in the ritual in imitation of the three strides of Viṣṇu (*Śatapatha Br.*, i, 9, 3, 9-10 and 15) is, however, more significant (Keith, *Taitt. Saṃ.*, i. p. cxxvii).

what train of thought this conception of Viṣṇu as sacrifice was reached in the Brāhmaṇas, but it is clear that by this identification, beginning from the time of the Yajur-Veda, Viṣṇu came to possess an added importance in Brāhmaṇic theory and ritual, even if he was not yet the supreme god nor the god of a devotional faith. He was perhaps already a great god in Ṛg-vedic times, but this constant identification with sacrifice, as Keith points out,[1] probably increased that greatness and made it permanent and abiding.

Another Ṛg-vedic attribute, which Viṣṇu shares with Varuṇa and other gods but which must have moulded his character in epic times as a sectarian god, is his good thought or benevolence (*sumati*), which embraces all mankind and through which he traverses the universe with his wide steps (I, 156, 3; vii, 100, 2). Among the motives variously given for the three strides are mentioned Viṣṇu's concern for men in distress (iv, 49, 13) and his desire to bestow the earth as dwelling for man (vii, 69, 5-6; vii, 100, 4). It was Viṣṇu who made fast the earth, propped up the lofty sky, enveloped the world in light, and by his three steps maintained the steadfast ordinances; hence he is called the Protector, *gopā* (I, 22, 18-19; I, 154, 1-2; vi, 69, 5; vii, 99, 2-4; etc). No doubt, some of these cosmic acts and attributes Viṣṇu possesses in common with other gods; and his mythological alliance with Indra may be partially responsible for his magnanimous and munificent qualities; but benevolence is one of the traits which is unmistakeable and which, surviving in the mythological conception of the Epic, must have helped the process of his later elevation in popular sectarianism.

Viṣṇu's benevolence and his exertions on man's behalf in Ṛg-veda.

Whatever may have been the process of his translation and elevation in epic times, there can be no doubt that Viṣṇu, is already a more important deity in Ṛg-vedic times than the comparative paucity of references in the hymns would seem to indicate.[2] He comes to figure more prominently and definitely as the persona-

Viṣṇu as the personation of sacrifice in the younger Vedas and Brāhmaṇas.

1 *Philosophy and Religion of the Veda*, p. 111.

2 See Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 109. Although only five entire hymns are addressed to Viṣṇu in the *Ṛg-veda*, he is referred to about a little over hundred times; and *Ṛg-veda* i, 22, 16f., i, 154-6, vii, 99, 1, vii, 100 would, inspite of the usual tendency to henotheism, show that he was not such an insignificant god in the Vedic pantheon as he is

tion of sacrifice in the younger Vedas and Brāhmaṇas.[1] In the *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā* (i, 7, 4) we are told that "Viṣṇu is verily the sacrifice"— a sentiment which is accepted implicitly in the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā* i, 4, 14 and seems to be fairly well established in post-Vedic literature. In the *Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā* (ii, 25 and xii, 5), Viṣṇu, presumably as '*yajña*' or sacrifice (as commentators explain) is mentioned as dispelling evil-minded enemies, and the three strides are now definitely located in the earth, air and space.One significant passage of the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (i, 9, 3, 9) relates the details of the legend regarding the three steps and furnishes a symbolical meaning to it in terms of the ritual.[2] The miraculous power of Vāmana-Viṣṇu, the Sacrifice, of enlarging himself (in his artifice to defeat the Asuras) to such an extent as to encompass the whole universe,[3] is referred to in another passage of the same Brāhmaṇa (i, 2, 5, 1 f.), which gives perhaps the germs of the later myth of the dwarf incarnation ; while yet another passage of the same text (xiv, i, i, 1 f.) contains the legend of a contention among the gods at a sacrificial session, in which Viṣṇu, the Sacrifice itself, comes off victorious and is therefore dubbed "the most excellent (*śreṣṭha*) of the gods". The sentiment is anticipated

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often thought to be. His name occurs 59 and 66 times in the Yajur and Atharva-Veda respectively. That he was an old deity even in *Ṛg-veda* seems probable from the reference to him as *pūrva.*

1 Some of the Brāhmaṇa passages in original and in translation will be found collected together in Muir, *op. cit.*, iv, pp. 107-114.

2 We are told in this passage that Viṣṇu by his strides obtained for the gods all pervading power (*vikrānti*), and that the same pervading power Viṣṇu, as sacrifice, obtains by his strides for the sacrificer. For this reason the sacrificer strides the Viṣṇu strides, referring to the three strides which the sacrificer takes in the ritual in imitation of Viṣṇu himself. Identification with sacrifice also occurs in *Śatapatha Br.*, i, 1, 1, 2 ; xiv, 1, 1, 6 ; *Ait. Br.* i, 15 ; *Taitt. Br.* i, 2, 5, 1, etc. It is noteworthy that 'yajña' or sacrifice is an "incarnation" of Viṣṇu in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (i, 3, 1 f.).

3 In this passage the three strides are not mentioned. Cf. *Ṛg-veda*, i, 155, 6 where Viṣṇu's gigantic form (*bṛhaccharīra*) is mentioned. On an explanation of the origin of the myth of the dwarf form, see Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 111, which also refers to the Brāhmaṇa and Saṃhitā passages relating to the cosmogonic Boar and Fish forms (see Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, Strassburg 1897, p. 41).

in the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* (i, 1) which calls Viṣṇu, as a ritualistic deity, *paramadeva*, in contradistinction to Agni, who is called *avama deva*,[1] although the same Brāhmaṇa elsewhere (i, 30) gives to Viṣṇu the doubtful compliment of making him the door-keeper of the gods (*devānāṃ dvārapālaḥ*)[2] A curious legend is also told in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (xiv, 1, 1, 7-10)[3] of the accidental severing of Viṣṇu's head from his body and of the head being transformed into the Sun—a recollection perhaps of his original solar character.

Viṣṇu as the mythological protector from Asuras.

On the mythological side, as distinguised from the merely ritualistic,[4] the three strides of Viṣṇu become important in the Brāhmaṇas for the part they play in the protection of the world from the Asuras, who are now conceived definitely as evil beings perpetually hostile to the gods. Thus, in the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* (vi, 15) the Asuras having agreed to assign to the gods so much as could be covered by Viṣṇu with three strides, he is said to have appropriated by his famous strides the world, the Vedas and speech.

In the earlier Upaniṣads, Viṣṇu does not figure much[5]; but the

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1 This apparently refers to their respective order of invocation in the Soma sacrifice (Agni being invoked first and Viṣṇu last), and not, as Max Müller pointed out, proves anything as to their relative dignity or place in the hierarchy of gods. Keith suggests that the passage may refer to the physical situation of the gods, viz. the celestial Sun and the terrestrial Fire.

2 Quoting *Ṛg-veda* (i, 156, 4) (*vrajáṃ ca viṣṇuḥ sakhivāṃ aporṇuté*), where Viṣṇu with his friends is described as opening the enclosure (of Vṛtra ?).

3 The story is repeated in *Taitt. Āraṇyaka*, v, 1, 1-7. In *Pañcaviṃśa Br.*, vii, 5, 6 f. the same tale is told of Makha (=sacrifice ?). See Weber, *Hist. of Ind. Lit.*, English Trs., 4th ed. (London 1904), pp. 126-7.

4 It is important to note, as R. G. Bhandarkar points out (*op. cit.*, p. 34), that not only in the sacrificial ceremony, but also in the ritual of domestic life, specially in the marriage ritual, Viṣṇu came to play a part. Viṣṇu as the protector of the embryo and promoter of conception is already a Ṛg-vedic idea (viii, 36, 9 ; x, 184).

5 Viṣṇu is mentioned in *Bṛhad-Ār. Up.*, iv, 4, 21 (*viṣṇur yoniṃ kalpayatu*) in the course of a symbolical description of the sexual rite ; but the passage hardly signifies much, unless one supposes that

Viṣṇu in the Upaniṣads.

Kaṭha Upaniṣad, in a well-known passage (i, 3, 9) gives a philosophical significance to Viṣṇu's *parama pada* as the end of the path which man traverses, the final goal of existence. With an undoubted reference to the older Ṛg-vedic myth, the highest step of Viṣṇu is used (as the preceding stanzas show) almost synonymously with the state of Brahma (*tatpada*), so that Viṣṇu is apparently mentioned here as an empirical manifestation or form of Brahman. It must be borne in mind that in the Ṛg-vedic scheme the upper heaven, which is spoken of as the highest step and abode of Viṣṇu, is not his exclusive dwelling, but belongs to all celestial (*dyu-sthāna*) deities, as well as to the terrestrial Agni and Soma; but when it became peculiar to Viṣṇu as his *parama pada*, this expression presumably helped in raising the deity to his higher post-Vedic dignity.

No intrinsic connexion of the Vedic and Brāhmaṇic Viṣṇu with bhakti religion.

It is clear from the brief sketch given above that the Vedic and Brāhmaṇic Viṣṇu has little inner connexion with the Nārāyaṇīya or Bhāgavata religion, which apperently did not owe its origin to Vedic literature, and that early Viṣṇuism, if it ever independently existed, was neither Nārāyaṇa-Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva worship, nor the *bhakti*-religion which came to be known under the generic name of Vaiṣṇavism. No doubt, Viṣṇu's benevolence is a characteristic trait, but it has

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Viṣṇu here symbolises the source of fertility, in accordance with the Ṛg-vedic idea of Viṣṇu as the promoter of conception. In *Taitt. Up.* i, 1, 1 Viṣṇu is apparently nothing more than the wide-striding (*viṣṇur urukramaḥ*) Vedic deity. Among later Upaniṣads the *Maitrāyaṇī* distinctly brings in sectarian ideas and refers to the three aspects of the Supreme Being as Brahmā, Rudra and Viṣṇu (iv, 5; vi, 5). It is not necessary to refer here to the much later neo-Upaniṣads where Viṣṇu figures abundantly as the Supreme Being, for these must have been composed under professedly Vaiṣṇavite influence. Barnett's statement (*JRAS*, 1929, p. 129) that the chief doctrines of a *Viṣṇuite Church* are preserved in *Chāndogya Up.* iii, 17, 6 is not supported by anything in the text itself, unless of course one presumes the identity of Kṛṣṇa-Devakīputra of this passage with Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa of the epic (which question may now be left out of discussion). Still less are any Viṣṇuite doctrines preserved, as he alleges, in certain parts of the *Kaṭha Up.*

little direct relation to the idea of a god of grace,[1] which s fundamental to the later faiths ; and the cosmic and ritualistic attributes fade away in the later vivid and devout conception of a personal and loveable god. The process whereby the comparatively inferior Vedic Viṣṇu was in post-Vedic literature transformed into the supreme Epic Viṣṇu is not altogether difficult to understand, for the latter still retains some of the characteristics of his earlier prototype ; but it is not clear how Viṣṇu, whether Vedic or Brāhmaṇic, could be connected with an entirely new system of theistic devotion for a personal god and identified with Nārāyaṇa or Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva. One may presume that this was due merely to the fortuitous circumstance that Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa were inde-

How he was connected and identified with popular devotionalism.

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1 Macnicol's statements (*op. cit.*, p. 39) that Viṣṇu from Vedic times "was recognised as a god of grace" or that he was "too highly personalised a deity" are too hasty generalisations. It is also alleged (*op. cit.*, p. 34) that Viṣṇu "was connected from earliest Vedic times with a work of deliverance for mankind" and that this was one of the elements which inspired the thought of "salvation" and elevated Viṣṇu to the highest place in Indian theistic devotion. But *Ṛg-veda*, vi, 49, 13, which is cited in support, only speaks in general terms of Viṣṇu's feat of measuring the universe by his three strides for the good of mankind and praises his bountifulness. The verse cannot be specifically construed as giving any idea of a god of grace connected with the work of deliverance or salvation, but it merely refers, generally, to his benevolence and munificence, of which we have spoken above. If deeds of deliverance were any test, then Indra, more than Viṣṇu, should have claimed more attention. If, in the Brāhmaṇa, Viṣṇu is associated with protection of the world from the Asuras, it must have been due to his alliance with Indra and the Vṛtra-myth or to his new rôle as the personification of sacrifice. Macnicol's further generalisation (p. 30) that the Brāhmaṇa identification of Viṣṇu with sacrifice is an indication that Viṣṇu was "already on his way to his place as the god of the worship of men's hearts" is not only unwarranted but betrays an entire misunderstanding of the Brāhmaṇa notion of sacrifice. See Keith's effective criticism of this point in *JRAS*, 1915, p. 839.

pendently raised to the supreme dignity and were (despite their difference as types) as a matter of course equalised by a mysterious process of religious syncretism. Mutual compromise may be suggested. But all this cannot be the whole explanation. The connecting links are unfortunately missing ; only surmise but no definite solution of the problem is possible.

The different stages of Viṣṇu's history.

In the obscurity of the early ages it is not easy to discern the causes which set Viṣṇu apart for this particular rôle and raised him to the place of eminence which he came to occupy in post-Vedic religious literature ; but from the account given above the different stages can be dimly distinguished. When we find that the Brāhmaṇas already identify Viṣṇu with the sacrifice and exalt him as an excellent deity, we can guess that he is already on the way of becoming one of the central figures of the sacrificial religion. This is the first stage : but how this was accomplished is not clear. There is no evidence to support Barnett's thesis that this was the natural working out of an older hieratic tradition which regarded Viṣṇu not as a solar character but from the beginning, as the personification of sacrifice. It appears more plausible, on the other hand, to regard Viṣṇu's inspiring mythological connexion with Indra in the latter's heroic deeds as one of the factors working towards this identification with sacrifice, especially if we bear in mind the Vedic theory of the inspiring power of sacrifice, which is supposed to strengthen the gods in the performance of their divine functions. Indra is declared in mythology to gain in power by Viṣṇu's mystic aid, in the same way as Indra is said in ritual theory to acquire divine energy by the mystic aid of sacrifice. An original mythological trait, of which an analogy was found in the ritual dogma, might have led to the ultimate mystical equalisation ; but we must not press the analogy so far as to suppose with Barnett that in Viṣṇu's three all-embracing strides was found the symbol of the power of sacrifice to pervade the three worlds.

His identification with sacrifice—its cause and effect.

Viṣṇu as a temporary philosophical personification of Brahman.

At any rate, in one of the younger Upaniṣads we find not only a confirmation of Viṣṇu's rising significance in Brāhmaṇical circle, but also the hint of a temporary philosophical personification of Viṣṇu as Brahman. In the declaration that the end of man's long journey, the goal of wisdom, is the highest place of Viṣṇu, we mark a further definite stage in the process of Viṣṇu's elevation.

There is some probability in R. G. Bhandarkar's suggestion that the obscurity surrounding Viṣṇu's inscrutable third step[1] helped to give him an association of divine mystery necessary for a supreme god. This sentiment finds expression even in the heightened statement of one hymn (vii, 99, 2) in which the seer declares that Viṣṇu, more than any other god, is beyond mortal comprehension. Viṣṇu's intimate alliance with the great Indra whose quality he absorbs to himself, and the trait of benevolence in his character must also be emphasised, for here we have a transference to him of the vivid reality of Indra's character, as well as the Vedic germs of Viṣṇu's love for man and his exertions on the world's behalf. To all this must be added the fact that Viṣṇu was originally a sun-god with the sun-god's tremendous cosmic attributes, as well as his association of light and life and blessedness,[2] especially as a study of comparative religion assures us that this has been a potent factor in elevating some deities of other nations to a place of eminence.

Factors which helped his elevation in later times.

Reverence for his mysterious highest step,

His intimate association with the great Indra and the trait of benevolence in his character.

His original solar character and association of light and life.

It is not difficult to understand that as Viṣṇu was originally a kindly yet active sun-god, the source of life and light, he was found to be the best possible god to identify with the loveable yet energetic supreme deity of a popular cult. But in this connexion the question naturally arises as to why Viṣṇu, and not the other solar deities, Mitra, Pūṣan, Sūrya and Savitṛ, should be found to possess the enduring theogonic capacity of attracting the special devotion of worshippers and becoming later the centre of a devotional faith. To this question there is no precise solution. Perhaps Mitra, surviving from a much earlier period, had already lost his individuality or merged it in that of Varuṇa, and could not attain the eminence which his Iranian double Mithra did ; perhaps Pūṣan, who almost disappears in later Vedic and post-Vedic literature, was too much of an insignificant pastoral god ; perhaps Sūrya, symbolising the luminary itself, was too obvious and concrete a

1 Reverence for the wide steps appears especially in *Ṛg-veda*, i, 22, 16-21 ; 1, 154.

2 Macnicol, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-32, 34.

deity[1]; but it is somewhat surprising that the golden deity Savitṛ, the stimulator, should be brushed aside in favour of Viṣṇu. The only plausible explanation of the ignoring of Savitṛ appears to be the comparative lack of heroic traditions and legends and a certain want of reality, the presence of which might be demanded in the central figure of a popular cult.

All these explain his elevation to the dignity of a supreme deity; but his connexion and identification with popular cults—how to be explained.

All these conjectures may be hazarded and they may be justly pronounced problematical; but it does not follow that these ideas were not at present all in the history of the transformation of Viṣṇu. They are, however, not sufficient to explain the last step by which a vivid personal god was moulded out of uncertain figures of mythology or speculation. The springs of religious devotion are always obscure, and it is difficult to explain why some gods, more than the others, can specially attract the intimate devotion of his worshippers; but there can be no doubt that obscure sectarian sentiments of love and reverence for a real and personal god had the ultimate influence in affecting the older pantheon and completing the transformation of Viṣṇu, as also Rudra and Prajāpati. It betrays as much willingness on the part of orthodoxy (for Viṣṇu until now was an orthodox deity) to lend its not-insignificant god, as an eagerness on the part of sectarianism to borrow, remodel and identify him with its own loveable gods or demi-gods; and the procedure, even if not deliberate, must have been for mutual benefit.[2] By this process the semi-divine character of popular

1 [The Saura sect is an exception difficult to explain. Foreign influence has been conjectured, but the antiquity and indigenous form of the worship cannot be denied. This is perhaps a survival of the ancient worship of a sun-god as a sun-god, conceived also as a symbol of the supreme deity. In the Epic cult Viṣṇu is no longer an obvious sun-god.—S. K. D.]

2 Barth's suggestion (*Religions of India*, Eng. Tr., p. 166) of the foisting of a sectarian god (Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa) upon a dummy Viṣṇu, and Hopkins' view (*Religions of India*, p. 388) that it was "an attempt to foist upon Vedic believers a sectarian god by identifying the latter with a Vedic divinity," are really one-sided generalisations. The Brāhmaṇisation of Bhāgavatism, on which Grierson puts so much emphasis, must be understood in the sense that it was the result of a compromise on both sides. If the non-Brāhmaṇic popular cult

heroes and demi-gods of tradition, was on the one hand, enhanced by their identification with an old deity of orthodox mythology and speculation ; while on the other hand, the latter became heir to the regard and affection in which the popular heroes and demi-gods were traditionally held. The process is still traceable in a vague way in the Epic,[1] but by what precise train of thought the ultimate identifications were reached will remain uncertain.

The many-sidedness of Viṣṇu's character in the Epic is remarkable, and as a figure of popular devotion he is strangely elusive.

Viṣṇu in the Epic.

Mythology and philosophy, superstition and the practice of piety combine to give him ever-changing forms and mystical identifications. But in the midst of the extraordinary variety of deities in the Epic, Viṣṇu's vivid personality cannot be mistaken. In the Epic[2] Viṣṇu figures pre-eminently as an independent full-blooded supreme deity, or is conceived in the philosophical term of All-Soul, or identified with All-god, as well as with Nārāyaṇa, Vāsudeva or Kṛṣṇa ; but he retains through all the multifarious mythological, theological or legendary embellishment a shadow of the older Ṛg-vedic traditions. There is indeed hardly any obvious trace in the Epic of the older views regarding Viṣṇu ; but his solar origin is not altogether obliterated. It reappears in his direct identification with the sun[3] in some passages, as well as in the many solar epithets

Traces of his solar origin.

was Brāhmanised, the Brāhmanic religion in its turn was entirely transformed by the popular cult, so that in the end what remained is as much Brāhmanic as popular. It is in this character that we find the religion in the Epic.

1 See Hopkins' *Epic Mythology*, p. 77.

2 All the references to relevant epic passages will be found in Hopkins' *op. cit.* sections 143-157 ; Sörensen, *Index of the Names in the Mahābhārata* (London 1904), as well as in Muir, *op. cit.*, iv, pp. 114 f., 131 f. Detailed references, therefore, are not given here. Our references to the Mahābhārata throughout are to the Calcutta edition (Bangabāsī Press, 1908, with Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary), which substantially agrees with the Bombay edition, unless otherwise indicated.

3 This point can hardly be made the ground of the hypothesis of the solar origin of Vaiṣṇavism such as Grierson wants to make out in his article on "The Nārāyaṇīya and the Bhāgavatas," in *Ind.*

he bears and adventures he accomplishes. He is golden-coloured (*suvarṇa-varṇa*), the shining (*rocamāna*) sun-bird (*suparṇa*), who traverses the sky, or rises like a mare's head (*haya-grīva, aśva-śiras*, etc.) from the sea[1] ; he is thousand-rayed (*sahasrārcis*), possesses the seven steeds of the sun (*saptāśva*) and his disc (*cakra*), having the sun itself for his eye and the diadem of solar glory (*kirīṭin*) ; he is *govinda*, *gohita*, *gopati* and *goptṛ* like the sun, and has the bird Garuḍa (who must be traced to a different Ṛg-vedic myth) as his sign (*suparṇa-ketu, garuḍa-dhvaja*) and his vehicle ; he is tawny-haired (*hari-śmaśru*) and connected with spring-time (*mādhava*) ; he is the golden germ (*hiraṇya-garbha, vasu-retas*) ; and his three strides (*tri-vikrama*) encompasses the three worlds. The original mythological subordination and association with Indra is scarcely concealed. The three steps and Viṣṇu's connexion with Vṛtra-myth are expressly stated in the epic story of Indra's fight with the demon Vṛtra in iii, 10, where Viṣṇu promises to aid Indra by entering into his thunderbolt. He is the youngest of the Ādityas, last in birth, we are told, but best in excellence ; but even if he is younger than Indra (Upendra) he soon rises above him (Atīndra) ; and Indra's titles and fighting character, passing into this junior Āditya, he typifies prowess and and becomes pre-eminently the lord of hosts (*gaṇeśvara*) and the slayer of demons (*daityāri*). If grandeur is sometimes imparted to his appearance by giving him a terrible form (*ghorā tanu*), he is conceived as fair, beautiful and lovely, not dark, but white ; and his benevolence, love for man and munificence are not forgotten.

But new characteristics and new legends, which we need not catalogue here in detail, gather round Viṣṇu and transform him into a new mythological being,[2] conceived as the supreme personal god. He is no longer a sun-god, nor is the religion of which he is the

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Ant., Sept. 1908, as well as in his article "Bhakti-Mārga" in *ERE*, p. 540. The solar origin of Viṣṇu does not indicate the origin of Vaiṣṇavism as sun-worship. See S. K. De in *BSOS*, vi (1930).

1 A mythical story of the *haya-śiras* form is told, with philosophical explanations, in xii, 347, and this form with the horse's head is said to be the primeval (*purāṇa*) form.

2 This in itself would show the implausibility of any suggestion that the epic sectarian faith connected with Viṣṇu is a form of solar worship, or had any original connexion with such worship.

centre connected in any way to sun-worship. He is also not the impersonal Brāhmaṇic principle of sacrifice, although traces of this idea linger in his connexion with sacrifice. Nor again is he the temporary Upaniṣadic embodiment of the metaphysical Brahman, although philosophically his unmanifest and unconditioned being is acknowledged. In spite of the divergent sectarian zeal, which sometimes exalts Brahmā and Śiva, with whom also he is identified as one of the Trinity, Viṣṇu in the Epic is undoubtedly the dominating and supreme god of a personal faith, either in his own vivid form or as identified with Nārāyaṇa-Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva. The curious syncretism involved in the Indian theory of Incarnation, as well as the convenient philosophical doctrine which believed in one supreme reality but admitted temporary personifications of the same, is responsible for attracting to him old myths attributed to Prajāpati and other gods, and giving him a new, but living, mythological personality. He is soon identified, as the supreme deity, with many other gods, orthodox and sectarian, or with deified beings claiming that honour, especially with Nārāyaṇa, an independent Brāhmaṇic as well as legendary conception, whose titles and attributes are also absorbed. Viṣṇu's four forms (*caturmūrti*), four arms (*caturbhuja*), four lights (*caturbhānu*), guardianship of the four quarters (*caturmahārājika*),[1] all seems to be the mythological result of the theological *vyūha* doctrine of the Pañcarātra worshippers of Nārāyaṇa, which speaks of four successive presentations or emanations (*caturvyūha*) of the supreme deity, as Vāsudeva (or Kṣetrajña = the pure knowing self), Saṃkarṣaṇa (jīva), Pradyumna (mind) and Aniruddha (self-consciousness)[2],—who are also

His transformation into a new mythological character as a supreme sectarian god in the Epic.

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1 Cf. the Mahārājas of the Buddhists, who were also Lokapālas.

2 Nārāyaṇa, we are told (xii, 344, 15 f.), remains mystically in the disc of the Sun, and cleansed souls enter the sun-door into him, thence pass into Aniruddha, and thence becoming pure mind go to Pradyumna, thence to Saṃkarṣaṇa and finally into Vāsudeva or Kṣetrajña. This mystical *vyūha* doctrine, to which we shall return later, plays an important part in the later development of the cult; but its anticipations are to be found in the Epic itself. The doctrine in its philosophical aspect is discussed in the commentaries on *Brahma-*

mythologically conceived as belonging to the same family! Apart from this, Viṣṇu as the supreme god is also conceived as the supreme philosophical principle, the highest Ātman or Brahman or Puruṣa of philosophical speculation.[1] He is, however, not a mere philosophical abstraction, but a living, powerful and real god, who is the lord and ruler as well as the creator and the destroyer. From our point of view, however, the most interesting points are his absorption of Nārāyaṇa and his identification with Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, to which we should now turn our enquiry.

His identification with sectarian deities of independent origin, esp. with Nārāyaṇa and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa.

(*To be continued*)

MRINAL DAS GUPTA

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sūtra, ii, 2, 42. It is to be noted that this theory of *vyūhas* or emanations is absent in the *Bhagavadgītā*, but is developed in the Nārāyaṇīya episode of the Epic.

1 It is not clear what Hopkins (*Religions of India*, p. 461) means by the remark that "it is with the philosophical (and not the ritualistic) Viṣṇu that Kṛṣṇa is identified," unless he has the philosophical *Bhagavadgītā* especially in view; for, the epic Viṣṇu is more a mythological than a philosophical creation. Philosophy does not appear to have done much for Viṣṇu, philosophy in the epic conception being more an outward accretion than an inward principle. The above remark of Hopkins is also hard to reconcile with another which he makes in his *Epic Mythology* (p. 203, note), where he says: "Viṣṇu is first a philosopher's god," which he further explains by the qualification "i.e., priestly god." And yet he would not admit 'ritualistic" Viṣṇu, who was also presumably "priestly."

The Chronology of the Western Kṣatrapas and the Andhras

II

The Nasik cave inscriptions have been studied very carefully by Bühler (A.S.W.I., vol. iv) and Senart (E.I., vol. viii, p. 59 ff.). We shall first of all examine the panegyric of Queen Balaśrī. We have observed before that the first epigraphic record of Gautamīputra at Nasik is dated in the year 18. It is generally believed by scholars that Gautamīputra extended his territories after this date and probably exterminated the Kṣaharātas in that year. I cannot understand exactly what Sir R. G. Bhandarkar meant by conjoint rule. My impression after a study of his Early History of the Deccan is that according to him Pulumāyi was associated with his father even from the start. If this impression is correct, it would appear that Gautamīputra had already conquered all those extensive territories by the 18th year of his reign, as they have been mentioned in the inscription of the 19th year of Pulumāyi (19th year of Gautamīputra, according to those who maintain the theory of conjoint rule). In any case the recounting of the exploits of Gautamīputra in Balaśrī's inscription was made soon after the conquests of Gautamīputra. But then the style of the language of the inscription leaves the impression that these conquests took place some time ago and was not certainly recent. As a matter of fact, all the translators always use the past tense. This significant fact shows that Pulumāyi and Gautamīputra cannot have ruled together. Again, towards the end of the same inscription, we find that Pulumāyi makes over "the merit of the gift to his father". This making over of the merit implies that the donee is dead. M. Senart too expresses this view though with much hesitation. Another fact strongly militates against the theory of joint rule, viz., that Queen Bala-śrī who so elaborately extols the exploits of her son should fail to date the record in the regnal years of her son even though her son was alive. Besides, it is certainly very astonishing that kings who were supposed to be ruling together should never have been mentioned together. The relevant inscriptions come from the same place and are even found in the same cave. If the

kings were really reigning conjointly, certainly their names would have been mentioned together. Again, the solicitude of Pulumāyi for the maintenance of the ascetics living in the Queen's cave also point to the fact that the latter was ruling alone (E.I., VIII, p. 65).

We may for the present leave the Sātavāhanas alone and turn our attention to Nahapāṇa whose dates, as we have shown, cannot be referred to the Śaka era. When could he have reigned? Here, however, some of the scholars refer his date to the Vikrama era, a suggestion made long ago by Cunningham (vide also Śāstrī, J. R. A. S., 1926, p. 655), while R. D. Banerji suggests that the dates of Nahapāṇa are to be referred to his regnal years. If we refer the dates of Nahapāṇa to the Vikrama era, we find that he must have been ruling about 7 to 12 B.C. But this ascription of the dates of Nahapāṇa to the Vikrama era presents insuperable difficulties which cannot be removed on any hypothesis. The Periplus is our authority for this period. Unfortunately we cannot ascertain the date of the Periplus with precision. McCrindle dates it between A. D. 80 and 89. Kennedy considers it to have been written c. 70 A.D. (J. R. A. S., 1918 p. 112). Schoff originally thought the date of the work to have been 60 A.D., but later on changed his view. But we can find out its terminus *ante quem* with certainty. The author of the Periplus speaks of contemporary king Malichas, the king of the Nabateans. We know that this kingdom was annexed by Trajan in 106 A.D. to the Roman empire. So the book must have been written before 106 A.D. But the king mentioned seems to be Maliku III who flourished between 39 and 70 A.D. The series of Nabatean inscriptions too abruptly end at about 95 A.D. As a matter of fact, we cannot be far from wrong if we hold that the work was finished before 90 A. D. Now in the Periplus (Art. 41) we find a reference to a king Mambaros (McCrindle) or Nambanus (Schoff). The careful study of Abbe Boyer and other scholars make it certain (vide Journal Asiatique, 1897. Nahapāṇa et l'era Śaka) that Mambaros-Nambanus of the Periplus is to be identified with the great Kṣaharāta satrap Nahapāṇa. So it is apparent that Nahapāṇa was ruling before the Periplus was written. We cannot definitely say when he came to the throne and how long he was on it. All that can legitimately be inferred is that he must have been on the throne some time before 90 A.D. About the territories of Nahāpāṇa, the Periplus furnishes us with the particulars that they included

Barygaza, and Minnagar (? Mandasor), near Ujjain. But how far did it extend towards Konkan and Mahārāṣṭra? The surmise of Boyer that the territory next to his was that of Keprobotes, king of Limurike, is probably correct. What the Periplus actually tells us is contained in Art. 50. From Barugaza the coast immediately adjoining stretches from the north directly to the south, and the country is therefore called Dakhinabades (51). Among the marts in the south country there are two of more importance, Paiṭhāna, which lies south from Barugaza a distance of twenty days, and Tagara ten days east of Paiṭhāna, the greatest city in the country (52). The local marts which occur in order along the coast after Barugaza are Akabarou, Souppara, and Kalliena, a city which was raised to the rank of a regular mart in the time of the elder Saraganes, but after Sandanes became its master its regular trade was put under the severest restrictions; for if Greek vessels, even by accident, entered its ports, a guard was put on board and they were taken to Barugaza (53). After Kalliena other local marts are mentioned. Then follows Naoura and Tundis, the first marts of the Limurike, and after these Mouziris and Nelkunda, the seats of Government. So from this account of the Periplus it would appear that the kingdom of Nahapāṇa stretched for some length below Kalliena (Kalyan). The powerful elder Saraganes and the weak Sandanes may or may not be Sātavāhana. The context and the language of the Greek passage show that they were not contemporary rulers. Now this is exactly the territories of Nahapāṇa, as we find from the place-names in the inscriptions of Uṣavadāta and Ayama. The Nasik region, however, is not included. But from the way in which Paiṭhāna and Tagara (? Junnar) has been mentioned in the Periplus it can be inferred that they too lay within Nahapāṇa's dominions. And this would show the inclusion of N. Mahāraṣṭra within his territories. Thus it is clear that some time before 90 A.D. Nahapāṇa's territories included those regions which scholars generally place under his sway about the year 46 (Ayama's Junnar inscription), which they also consider to be the closing year of his reign. This is important and strongly supports our date of Gautamīputra on entirely different grounds. According to our chronological arrangement the defeat of the Kṣaharātas took place in c. 96 A.D. But Nahapāṇa himself might have reigned a few years earlier and closed his reign at about 70 A.D. There is nothing in the Periplus to contradict it, while there is much to be said in favour of this date. I would refer to Kennedy's article in J. R. A. S., 1918, and to Schoff's introduction

to his translation of the Periplus. This explains the wear and tear in the coins of Nahapāṇa, both before and after their being restruck by Gautamīputra (noticed by Rev. Scott).

There is an interesting note on Ujjain in the Periplus which throws some light on the vexed history of this period. The Periplus informs (Art 45) that "in the same region eastward is a city called Ozene, formerly the capital wherein the king resided". The context and the language of the Greek passage leave the impression that Ozene was the capital of Nahapāṇa, but who for reasons not known to us transferred it to Minnagar (Mandasor), near Ujjain. About the period described by the Periplus, Ujjain was included in Nahapāṇa's dominions. Would not this change of his capital from such a famous place to a city comparatively unknown mean that he had lost hold of Ujjain? This is possible and would show that about the time of the Periplus the power of Nahapāṇa was on decline. And this probably was due to the attack of the other line of the Kṣatrapas and of the Sātavāhanas.

That Nahapāṇa was defeated by Gautamīputra seems *a priori* possible on account of the fact that in the great Joghaltembhi hoard there is not a single coin of any other king after Nahapāṇa. But on other considerations this view seems to be incorrect. We have already given the arguments of Rev. Scott. A careful study of Queen Balaśrī's inscription too confirms this impression. There the great king Gautamīputra is described as "one who destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas and Palhavas; who rooted out the Khaharāta race; who restored the glory of the Sātavāhanas......". Now the main argument in favour of the theory of the defeat of Nahapāṇa by Gautamīputra is based on the fact that in this inscription he is described as having rooted out the Khaharāta race coupled with a doubtful passage in a Nasik inscription (No. 4, E.I., VIII, p. 71) which is translated differently by Bühler and Senart. Bühler took the passage to mean "the field which has been possessed by Ṛṣabhadatta up to the present time", while Senart took the crucial word "Ajakalakiyam" to be the name of the field. The interpretation of Senart is quite plausible. So this inscription cannot definitely be taken to imply that the field came to Gautamīputra's possession immediately after Ṛṣabhadatta's. Again, is it not very strange that the name of so great a king as Nahapāṇa (who it is alleged was defeated and killed by Gautamīputra) should not be mentioned in an eulogistic praśasti? This reticence should have led scholars to conclude

otherwise. But it is rather strange that scholars who have built their theories on the strength of the phrase *khakharatavasaniravasesakarasa*, should have utterly neglected the preceding phrase *sakayavana palhavanisudanasa*. It is rather unfortunate that we do not know exactly the extent of the dominions of Nahapāṇa. The place-names in the inscriptions of Uṣavadāta and Ayama show that his sway extended over a large territory from Prabhāsa in S. Gujrat, from Broach to Surparaka, the Nasik district, Puṣkara near Ajmer, Ujjain region, Karle and Junnar. This is what we find from the inscriptions. But Prof. Rapson assures us without giving any weighty reason that "Nahapāṇa's territory must have extended much farther north. The place-names in the inscription of Queen Bala-śrī seem undoubtedly to indicate the provinces which her son Gautamīputra wrested from the Kṣaharātas, and these included Surāṣṭra (Kathiawar), Kukura (probably some portion of Rajputana), Ākara (East Malwa), and Avanti (West Malwa)." There is nothing whatsoever in the praśasti of Bala-śrī which can show that all the provinces mentioned there (unless specifically mentioned as belonging to others) should be taken to mean to have been wrested from the Kṣaharātas. On the other hand, we are told in the praśasti that Gautamīputra destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas and Palhavas. Now should we not seek, in some of these territories which the inscriptions of Uṣavadāta and Ayama indicate to have been in the possession of Nahapāṇa, the names of the territories of the Śakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas? Another statement of Prof. Rapson is still more open to criticism. It has been held by scholars that Gautamīputra exterminated the Kṣaharātas and annexed their territories. Prof. Rapson endorses this view, but again he observes: "Even after these provinces had been conquered by the Andhras, the districts still further north may have remained, since Puṣkara in Ajmer, the place of pilgrimage to which Ṛṣabhadatta resorted for consecration (abhiṣeka) after his victory over the Malayas, may be supposed to have lain within the dominions of his lord (bhaṭṭāraka)." Thus we find that the current hypothesis of complete extermination of the Kṣaharātas is negatived even in the very record which is regarded to prove it. As a matter of fact, such expressions have to be taken in a qualified sense.

In view of these facts we can legitimately hold that Nahapāṇa himself was not defeated by Gautamīputra. He must have been a successor, may be his son in-law Uṣavadāta. In any way the

interval between his death and the complete defeat of the Kṣaharātas is small. The explicit mention of Nahapāṇa as a reigning monarch in the Periplus does not allow us to formulate any theory which would take him towards the very beginning of the Christian era or even before it.

To close this account of Kṣatrapa and Andhra chronology one more knotty point has to be tackled. Who is really Śātakarṇi, the lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha, who was twice defeated in fair fight by Rudradāman and yet was not exterminated by him because of the *non-remoteness* of their connection.

According to Prof. Rapson and others this Śātakarṇi must be Pulumāyi himself and in support of this view a Kanheri inscription is cited. We quote in extenso Prof. Rapson's remarks : "This inscription is fragmentary, and its exact purport is uncertain. The queen's name is missing, but she is described as 'the queen of Vāsiṣṭhī-putra Śrī-Sātakarṇi, descended from the family of Kārdamaka kings. She was almost certainly described as (the daughter) of the Mahākṣatrapa Rudra." There can be little doubt that the Vāsiṣṭhī-putra here mentioned is Pulumāyi, and that the Mahākṣatrapa Rudra is Rudradāman. This donation was recorded by the minister Sateraka." In the inscription, however, only Mahākṣatrapa- Ru * putrya (h) is found. Bühler thought that the name of the great kṣatrapa was Rudra (Indian Antiquary, 1883, p. 272). This suggestion of Bühler may after all be correct. But the two important inferences that Prof. Rapson makes from the inscription, viz., that the Vāsiṣṭhīputra here mentioned is Pulumāyi, and that the mahākṣatrapa Rudra is Rudradāman himself is purely conjectural. There is nothing in the record to sustain it and as a matter of fact Prof. Rapson himself confesses the record to be uncertain in purport. Again is it not rather surprising that *one should call his son-in-law as being non-remote in connection* ? As a matter of fact, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar thought that the reading is not correct, and translated the passage as 'remoteness of connection.' His translation has much to commend itself. It is in accordance with Sanskrit idiom and usage. *The one singular passage cited in the lexicon of Roth and Bohtlingk is not sufficient to outweigh common construction.* But even conceding that the expression means what Bühler understood by it, the premise will not certainly hold the weight of Prof. Rapson's inference. The expression in the Kanheri inscription may stand for Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman and Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasiṃha. So here is a difficulty at

the outset. But again there is the difficulty in identifying Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī-Sātakarṇi with Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī-Pulumāyi. The metronymic is doubtless the same in both. But in the inscriptions of Pulumāyi nowhere else we have got the form Sātakarṇi. This is rather strange. Moreover we have to remember that the inscription was set up by the queen with the help of the confidential minister who, it can be conceded, must have known the name of his royal master. The suggestion of Prof. Rapson is not, however, impossible. *It will be methodologically wrong to make a statement like that.* But if because it might not be impossible, we hold that it is likely, then at this rate we can build any historical edifice we like. The new chronological order proposed by us raises no such difficulty. We cannot, however, in view of the vagueness and meagreness of the data at our disposal definitely say who was the husband of the daughter of the mahākṣatrapa Rudra who is called Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi in the inscription of his queen. That he is not Śrī Yajña is certain, but from the peculiar way in which their relationship is expressed it is probable that he was in some way connected with Śrī Yajña and may possibly be his brother and connected in his rule. It is tempting, however, to identify him with Vāsiṣṭhīputra Catarapana Śātakarṇi, of whom we have an inscription at Nanaghat dated in his 13th year. Pandit Bhagavanlal supposed this king to be the father of Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña. But Prof. Rapson is almost certain that this cannot be. He however, observes, "The Pandit was, no doubt, correct in his estimate of the period to which the inscriptional characters belong ; but it is impossible to determine whether this king Vāsiṣṭhīputra Catarapana Śātakarṇi is a member of a dynasty otherwise unknown......"

Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña seems to be the last great king of the Sātavāhana family. The reverses which he suffered at the hands of the W. Kṣatrapas prove fatal to them and they could not any more recover from the shock fully. His inscriptions are found in Andhradeśa, at China (Cīna), in the Kistna district (year 27), in Mahārāṣṭra, at Nasik (year 7), and at Kanheri (undated and year 16). It is not open to question that he ruled over both Mahārāṣṭra and the Andhra country. It is noteworthy that he issued coins in imitation of the Śakas of Ujjain. This fact, according to Vincent Smith, probably points to his victories over the latter and this inference of Smith is further, strengthened by the fact that his coins are found in Gujrat, Kathiawar, East Malwa, Aparānta, the Central Provinces and the Kṛṣṇa district.

But it should be noted that the large distribution of his coins does not conclusively prove any territorial sovereignty. The find-places of his inscriptions should alone be regarded as the regions over which he certainly held sway.

I should like to notice here one fact which had inadvertently been omitted in course of my discussion. This fact is cited to prove that the dates of Nahapāṇa should be referred to the Śaka era. Dr. H. C. Raichaudhuri sums up the argument thus : "The theory of those who refer Nahapāṇa's dates to the Śaka era, is confirmed by the fact pointed out by Prof. Bhandarkar and others that a Nasik inscription of Nahapāṇa refers to the gold currency of the Kuṣāṇas who could not have ruled in India before the first century A.D." This interpretation of the word 'kuṣāṇa' occurring in the Nasik inscription is exceedingly doubtful. M. Senart and others deny that the word can mean the Kuśāṇas. And even if it be taken to refer to the Kuṣāṇa coinage, it certainly does not affect the date of Nahapāṇa which we have proposed. It is well known that Vima Kadphises issued an extensive gold coinage and if Kaniṣka's dates be referred to the Śaka era, there can be no difficulty in assigning Nahapāṇa to the period c. 60 A.D.

HARI CHARAN GHOSH

The Lokāyatikas and the Kāpālikas

In old works the Lokāyatikas are mentioned as a sect distinct from the Kāpālikas. Guṇaratna, a fourteenth century commentator, however, identifies the Kāpālikas with the Lokāyatikas. We shall see how these two sects were gradually amalgamated.

The Viṣṇupurāṇa refers to a class of people of ancient origin who were free to live wherever they liked unworried by conventions, pure at heart and blameless in action. Virtue or vice they had none. They lived in an atmosphere of perfect freedom in which man can move without the fear of conventional dogmas of religion and social usage.[1] These people were probably the forefathers of the Lokāyatikas. The vedicists were the unquestioning followers of the vedic injunctions. These two extreme schools of thought flourished side by side, one always opposing the other. Along with these two we find another sect which was neither avowedly religious like the vedicists nor absolutely non-religious like the free men. The followers of this sect observed religious practices not for the purification of the self as a step to Mokṣa but for attaining objects of the senses—enjoyment being their sole end. They were the Śiśnadevas and the Vāmadevas. We cannot say with certainty who these Śiśnadevas or the Vāmadevas originally were. Some maintain that they owe their origin to the barbarous tribes of the non-Aryan group. We can, however, go so far as to say that they did not possess the spirit of the true Aryans. They adopted the religious practices of the vedicists as a means to the realisation of their end—sensualism, which was all that they stood for. The Aryan spirit on the other hand was bold and direct.

The Śiśnadevas were those who worshipped the Phallus. Being

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1 यथेच्छावासनिरता: सर्वबाधाविवर्जिता: ।
शुद्धान्त:करणा: शुद्धा: सर्वानुष्ठाननिर्मला: ।
धर्माधर्मौं न तेष्वास्तां नोत्तमाधममध्यमा: ॥

Viṣṇupurāṇa, I, 6, 12 & II, 1, 26.

fond of sensual enjoyment alone they had no real faith in the Vedas.[1] The Chāndogyopaniṣad mentions a particular form of worship, the Vāmadevavrata, according to which the devotee could enter into sex-relationship with any woman and with any number of them.[2] He who is initiated into the Vāmadeva Sāman need have no restraint in the matter of sexual intercourse. These Vāmadevavratins, if not the Śiśnadevas, were probably the forefathers of the Kāpālikas. Sensualism in connection with religious rites was the main characteristic of this school, which later on came to be known as a sect of the Śaivas of the left hand order. Much as their names and practices resemble one another we are not sure if the Śiśnadevas and the worshippers of the Liṅga had any distinct connection with each other. Nor are we quite sure if any such connection actually existed between the Vāmadevas and the Vāmācārins who indulged in sexual pleasure under cover of religion.

There is evidence to show that the non-religionists passed through five distinct stages of development in the course of their evolution. In the initial stage they were pure at heart, blameless in action and free from all conventions, having neither virtue nor vice. In the second stage they developed a spirit of intolerance and opposition accepting the authority of none, yet having no positive problem of their own to solve.[3] The third stage revealed some positive theories—Svabhāvavāda,[4] recognition of perception as a source of knowledge[5] and the

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1 शिश्नेन दीव्यन्ति क्रीड़न्ति इति शिश्नदेवाः अब्रह्मचर्य्या इत्यर्थः—सायणः
शिश्नेन नित्यमेव प्रकीर्णाभिः स्त्रीभिः साकं क्रीड़न्त आसते श्रौतानि कर्माणि उत्सृज्य—दुर्गा०.

2 न काञ्चन परिहरेत् तद्व्रतम्—II. 13, 1, 2.

3 Sammatitarkaprakaraṇa—सर्वत्र पर्यनुयोगपराण्येव सूत्राणि बृहस्पतेः ।
Nyāyamañjarī—

न हि लोकायते किञ्चित् कर्त्तव्यमुपदिश्यते ।
वैतण्डिककथैवासौ न पुनः कश्चिदागमः ॥

4 अपरे लोकायतिकाः स्वभावं जगतः कारणमाहुः स्वभावादेव जगद् विचित्रमुत्पद्यते स्वभावतो विल' याति तथाच तद्वाक्यं—

कः कण्टकानां प्रकरोति तैक्ष्ण्यं विचित्रभावं मृगपक्षिणाञ्च ।
माधुर्य्यमिक्षोः कटुताञ्च निम्बे स्वभावतः सर्वमिदं प्रवृत्तम् ॥

Bhaṭṭa Utpala's com. on *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, I, 7.

5 Sammatitarkaprakaraṇa—प्रत्यक्षमेवैकं प्रमाणम् ।

theory of Dehātmavāda.[1] It was at this stage that they came to be known as the Lokāyatas. In the fourth stage an extreme form of hedonism which was due perhaps to the corruption brought about by their unchartered freedom formed the most important feature of this school. Gross sensual pleasure superseded pure bliss which the Lokāyatikas enjoyed so long. License replaced liberty. It was now that they got the designation of Cārvāka and preached the gospel of—"Eat, drink and be merry, for to-morrow we may die".[2] From this time forward the non-religionists leaned gradually towards spiritualism. Being severely attacked by the spiritualists, they developed the theory of Dehātma-vāda and tried gradually to identify the sense-organs, breath, and the organ of thought as well with the self.[3] At this stage they even accepted inference, though in a restricted sense, as a source of knowledge,[4] and did not deny

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1 शरीरमात्मा—शाबरभाष्ये।

देह एवात्मा—

चैतन्यविशिष्टः कायः पुरुषः—श्रीधरनीलकण्ठमधुसूदनादयः गीताव्याख्यानावसरे।

2 काम एवैकः पुरुषार्थः—नीलकण्ठः।

यावज्जीवेत् सुखं जीवेत् etc.

3 Advaitabrahmasiddhi—

केचित् शृणोमि जिघ्रामि स्वादयामि स्पृशाम्यहम्।
इतीन्द्रियाणामात्मत्वं प्रतीयन्ते ततोऽधिकाः॥
केचिच्छ्वसामि जीवामि क्षुधितोऽस्मि पिपासितः।
इत्यादि प्रत्ययबलात् प्राणमात्मेति मन्वते॥

4 Nyāyamañjarī—सुशिक्षिततराः प्राहुः द्विविधमनुमानम्। किञ्चिदुत्पन्नप्रतीति किञ्चिदुत्पाद्यप्रतीतीति। ईश्वराद्यनुमानम् उत्पाद्यप्रतीति।

तत्र धूमानुमानादेः प्रामाण्यं केन नेष्यते।
यस्त्वात्मेश्वरसर्वज्ञपरलोकादिगोचरम्।
अनुमानं न तस्येष्टं प्रामाण्यं तत्त्वदर्शिभिः॥

Purandara—लोकप्रसिद्धमनुमानं चार्वाकैरपीष्यत एव। यत्तु कैश्चिल्लौकिकं मार्गमतिक्रम्यानुमानमुच्यते तन्निषिध्यत इति।

Sarvamatasaṃgraha —इदमन्नं क्षुन्निवर्त्तकमन्नत्वात् पूर्वभुक्तान्नवत् इत्याद्यनुमानस्य तत्र वाल्लभ्यं भवति प्रत्यक्षमूलत्वाविशेषात्। लोकयात्रानिर्वाहणप्रवणं धूमाद्यनुमानमिष्यते न पुनः स्वर्गादृष्टादिप्रसाधकमलौकिकमनुमानमिति।

the existence of Ākāśa or ether as the fifth element.[1] In the fifth stage they came to be at one with the Buddhists and the Jains in opposing the vedicists and got the common designation of Nāstika. At this last stage all anti-vedic schools came under one head—the Lokāyata.

The sect which allowed enjoyment of women for religious purposes introduced gradually the drinking of spirituous liquor and eating of meat, into their religious rites. In course of time the advocates of this school became the worshippers of Rudra, the terrible god, and began to carry one half of a human skull as a cup from which to eat food and drink wine. A garland of skulls formed an invariable decoration of the members of this sect. They used to dance about with a long chain of the bones of the dead flung round their neck and thus assumed a fierce appearance.

The earliest references to the Kapālins, or the skull-bearers, are to be found in the Maitrāyaṇī Upaniṣad.[2] Here the vedicists use freely such abusive epithets as thieves with regard to them. They are called—'Taskaras'. This is due, most probably, to the fact that the real purpose of the Kāpālins was not to practise religion but to enjoy sensual pleasure under the mask of religion. They are mentioned here along with the Bārhaspatyas who also are similarly condemned.

Next we meet them as the Śaivas,[3] worshipping Bhairava and Cāmuṇḍā in their terrific forms wearing a garland of human skulls and requiring human sacrifices and offerings of wine for their propitiation;[4] or as the Buddhists worshipping Buddhakapāla (a

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1 Guṇaratna—केचित्तु चार्वाकैकदेशीया आकाशं पञ्चमं भूतमभिमन्यमान्याः पञ्चभूतात्मकं जगदिति निगदन्ति ।

2 अथ ये चान्ये वृथाकषायकुण्डलिनः कापालिनः......तैः सह न संवसेत् । प्रकाशभूता वैते तस्करा अस्वर्ग्या इत्येवं ह्याह । Maitrī Upaniṣad, VII, 8.

3 शैवाः कापालिकाः परे—*Śiva Purāṇa Vāyavīyasaṃhitā*, II, 24. 177.
शैवाः कापालिकाश्चेति—*Brahmasūtra*, II, 2. 37.
Vācaspati Miśra, Govindānanda, Ānandagiri, etc.

4 Prabodhacandrodaya, II, 12, 13.—
नरास्थिमालाकृतचारुभूषणः
श्मशानवासी नृकपालभाजनः । etc.

Buddhist deity) associated with his śakti, Citrasena, held in close embrace. The figure of Buddhakapāla presents a fierce appearance with three blood-shot-eyes rolling in anger, a distorted face, canine teeth, ornaments made of bones, a garland of severed heads and in an attitude of menacing dance. The hair on his head rises upwards like flames of fire. The god is four-armed. In his hands are shown the Kartrī, the Kapāla, the Damaru, and the Khaṭṭāṅga.[1] At this stage we meet another Kāpālika leader named Kapāla-pāda who was a Śūdra by caste and whose followers were all yogins bearing skulls.

The images of the deities are the creation of their devotees, and the devotees imitate their deities as closely as they can. Thus there is a close agreement between the characteristics of the deities and their devotees. The Kāpālikas bear skulls as their deities do.

Huen Tsang, Mahendravikrama, Bhavabhūti, Śaṅkara, Kṛṣna Miśra, Mādhavācāryya and Ānandagiri, have all left accounts of Kāpālikas as a horrible and demoniacal sect feared by all. Being condemned and feared by the villagers, the members of this sect preferred to renounce the world, bear matted hair, use tiger's skin as garment and bed, besmear their bodies with the ashes of burnt up corpses and live in caves or rocky places. After fasting they

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मस्तिष्कान्त्रवसाभिघारितमहामांसाहुतिर्जुह्वताम्
वह्नौ ब्रह्मकपालकल्पितसुरापानेन नः पारणा ।
सद्यः कृत्तकठोरकण्ठविगलत्कीलालधारोज्ज्वलै-
रर्च्यो नः पुरुषोपहारबलिभिर्देवो महाभैरवः ॥

Mattavilāsa—

पेया सुरा प्रियतमामुखमीक्षितव्यं
ग्राह्यः स्वभावललितो विकृतश्च वेशः ।
येनेदमीदृशमदृश्यत मोक्षवर्त्म
दीर्घायुरस्तु भगवान् स पिनाकपाणिः ॥

Śaṅkaravijaya of Mādhava—

शूली त्रिपुण्ड्री पुरतोऽवलोकी कङ्कालमालाकृतगात्रभूषः ।
संरक्तनेत्रो मदघूर्णिताक्षः etc.

1 चितिभस्मपूर्णकलेवरः नरकपालमालावृतगलः भालदेशरचितकज्जलरेखः । सकलकेशरचितजटापारिः व्याघ्रचर्मरचितकटिसूत्रकौपीनः कपालशोभितवामकरः शम्भो भैरव अहो कालीश इति मुहुर्मुहुर्जपन् ।

Śaṅkaravijaya of Ānandagiri

drank liquor from the skulls of Brahmans. Their sacrificial fires were fed with the brains of human beings; and the lungs of human victims covered with fresh blood gushing out of the deadly wounds in their throats were the offerings by which they appeased the terrible god Mahābhairava. They practised yoga and were supposed to possess supernatural powers. For example, they could control Harihara and the other great and ancient gods, stop the course of the planets in the heavens, submerge in water the earth with its mountains and cities, and drink up the waters of the oceans in a moment. They had the power to move about in the air.[1] They possessed also the eight siddhis.[2]

The Kāpālikas strive to attain various supernatural powers as their aim is to attain sensuous pleasure. According to some philosophers the state of salvation is no better than that of a piece of inanimate and insensible stone. The Kāpālikas in opposition to this view maintain that a state of salvation in which there is no sense of pleasure should not be aimed at.[3] Exactly the same view is attributed to the Cārvākas by the author of the Naiṣadha Kāvya.[4] The difference between the Lokāyatikas and the Kāpālikas lies in the means and not in the end. The Kāpālikas suggest some religious rites for attaining pleasure. They hold that pleasure exists in the objects of desire. The founder of the Kāpālika school assures that a devotee having attained salvation, becomes a Śiva and enjoys

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1 हरिहरसुरज्येष्ठश्रेष्ठान् सुरानहमाहरे वियति वहतां नक्षत्राणां रुणध्मि गतीरपि।
सनगनगरीमम्भः पूर्णां विधाय महीमिमां कलय सकलं भूयस्तोयं क्षणेन पिबामि तत्॥

Prabodhacandrodaya, III, 14.

2 अणिमा लघिमा व्याप्तिः ईशित्वं वशित्वं कामावसायिता प्राकाम्यं महिमा।

3 Prabodhacandrodaya, III, 16:

दृष्टं क्वापि सुखं विना न विषयैरानन्दबोधोज्झिता जीवस्य स्थितिरेव मुक्तिरुपलावस्था कथं प्रार्थ्यते।
पार्वत्याः प्रतिरूपया दयितया सानन्दमालिङ्गितो मुक्तः क्रीडति चन्द्रचूडवपुरित्यूचे मृडानीपतिः॥

4 Naiṣadhacarita, XVII, 75.

मुक्तये यः शिलात्वाय शास्त्रमूचे सचेतसाम्।
गोतमं तमवेत्यैव यथा वित्थ तथैव सः॥

The man who has prescribed the Śāstras to show the way to salvation as one calculated to make animate beings inanimate and insensible like stones is surely Gotama—the most bovine.

the pleasure arising from the company of excellent beauties like Pārvatī. Their aim is Kāmasādhana—they are the hedonists.[1]

Next we come across in the Śrībhāṣya of Rāmānuja a peculiar class of Kāpālikas bearing no Kapāla. Probably as a reaction against the cruelty and ugliness of their own practices, the Kāpālikas, through the influence of the Vedicists became divided into two sections. One section stepped back and brought a more healthy tone to their school. They gave up the horrible and demoniacal aspects of their rituals, and discarded the very Kapāla, from which the term Kāpālika is derived. In Rāmānuja's account we find that a man who knows the essence of the six marks and who is skilful in the use thereof attains the highest bliss by concentrating his mind on the soul as seated on the female organ. These Kāpālikas, according to Rāmānuja, are an anti-vedic sect.[2] They differed from the skull-bearers only in the means. They still agreed as regards the end, viz., Kāmasādhana.

The other section of the Kāpālikas who did not approve of this retrograde step continued to bear skulls with their horrible and demoniacal practices. But they were no longer called the Kāpālikas. They got by this time a more hated name Kālāmukha or Kālavadana. The Kāpālikas lost their Kapālas but continued to hold the old designation. The Kālāmukhas continued to hold the skull but lost their old designation of Kāpālika.[3]

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1 Bṛhaspati Sūtra, II, 6. कापालिकमिव कामसाधने ।

2 Śrībhāṣya, II, 2. 35-38.

सर्वे चैते वेदविरुद्धां तत्त्वप्रक्रियामैहिकामुष्मिकश्रेयःसाधनकल्पाश्च कल्पयन्ति । निमित्तोपादानयोर्भेदं निमित्तकारणञ्च पशुपतिमाचक्षते । तथा निश्रेयससाधनमपि मुद्रिकाषट्कधारणादिकं यथाहुः कापालाः—

मुद्रिका षट्कतत्त्वज्ञः परमुद्राविशारदः ।
भगासनस्थमात्मानं ध्यात्वा निर्वाणमृच्छति ॥
कण्ठिका रुचकञ्चैव कुण्डलञ्च शिखामणिः ।
भस्म यज्ञोपवीतञ्च मुद्राषट्कं प्रचक्षते ॥
आभिर्मुद्रितदेहस्तु न भूय इह जायते ।

3 Śrībhāṣya, II, 2. 35-38 :

तथा कालमुखा अपि कपालपात्रभोजनशवभस्मस्नानतत्प्राशनलगुड़धारणसुराकुम्भस्थापनतदाधारदेवपूजादिकमैहिकामुष्मिकसकलफलसाधनमभिदधति । रुद्राक्षकङ्कनं हस्ते जटा चैका च मस्तके । कपालं

We have seen that in the fourth and the fifth stages of development of the Lokāyatikas, the Lokāyatika or non-religionist sect became very licentious. They lost their purity of heart and an anti-vedic attitude became their main characteristic. All oppositionists of the Vedas were known as the Nāstikas, and the Nāstikas were identified with the Lokāyatikas.[1] They were against vedic sacrifices of animals but they lost strength gradually and leaned towards spiritualism.

The new dispensation mentioned by Rāmānuja avoided all cruel and abominable rites. It is, therefore, an anti-vedic sect with sensual pleasure as the end of life. The members of the sect used to meet like the Lokāyatikas once a year at a particular place and to enjoy to their heart's content all sorts of pleasures without any let or hindrance. Like the Vāmdevavratins of old the Kāpālikas of this stage used to come in sensual contact with any woman irrespective of rank and nearness of kin. The Lokāyatikas who were in their primitive stages pure at heart and blameless in action now became degraded. Thus with the degradation of the Lokāyatikas and the partial purification of the Kāpālikas these two sects were brought almost to the same level and identified themselves with each other. Guṇaratna, the

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भस्मना स्नानमित्यादि च प्रसिद्धं शैवागमेषु। तथा केनचित् क्रियाविशेषेण विजातीयानामपि ब्राह्मण्यप्राप्ति-सुत्तमाश्रमप्राप्तिश्चाहुः। दीक्षाप्रवेशमात्रेण ब्राह्मणो भवति क्षणात्। कापालं व्रतमास्थाय यतिर्भवति मानवः॥
Vāmanapūrāṇa—तृतीयं कालवदनम्।

1 Manu II, 11—नास्तिको वेदनिन्दकः।

Darśanāñkura—

नास्ति वेदोदितो लोक इति येषां मतिः स्थिरा। नास्तिकास्ते............॥
अवैदिकप्रमाणानां सिद्धान्तानां प्रदर्शकाः।
चार्वाकाद्याः षड्विधास्ते ख्याता लोकेषु नास्तिकाः॥

Vidvanmodataraṅgiṇī—

अहिंसा परमो धर्मः पापमात्मप्रपीड़नम्। अपराधीनता मुक्तिः स्वर्गोऽभिलषिताशनम्॥ स्वदारपरदारेषु यथेच्छं विहरेत् सदा। गुरुशिष्यप्रणालीञ्च त्यजेत् स्वहितमाचरन्।

Ślokavārtika—

प्रायेणैव हि मीमांसा लोके लोकायतीकृता। तामास्तिकपथे कर्त्तुमयं यत्नः कृतो मया॥

commentator of the Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya, refers to this identification.[1]

In the time of Bṛhaspati of Arthaśāstra fame these two sects were clearly distinct. The Lokāyatikas were Ahetuvādins or Akriyavādins[2] the followers of the doctrine of non-causation. According to this doctrine which was propounded by Brahmaṇaspati or Bṛhaspati, something comes out of nothing—the caused comes out of the uncaused—असत: सदजायत. This leads to the supposition that the self is Niṣkriya, or passive, and therefore remains unaffected by actions, good or bad—Nāsti sukṛtaduṣkṛtakarmaṇāṃ phalaṃ vipākaḥ,[3] the universe is self caused and self generated, and there is no retribution of action.

But the Kāpālikas are not so. They are not the Akriyavādins. They practise religion as a means to an end. According to them Śiva is free from stain and is the supreme agent. No action however repugnant to the moral standard of the world or of the Vedas really clings to Him. The besmearing of His body with the ashes of burnt up corpses together with similar other practices is certainly antivedic. But inspite of this he is free from demerit. On those who have discovered the actual presence of Śiva, the divine spirit, in themselves, the god Śiva confers the power to move in the sky and to have other miraculous powers. According to them Prakṛti is Upādāna kāraṇa and Śiva is Nimitta kāraṇa. This view of the Kāpālikas shows that they were not Ahetuvādins. Religious practices were no end in themselves but merely means. When they gave up Kriyā and became engaged in sensualism they became at one with the Lokāyatikas.

The ugly side of the Kālāmukhas when further developed took a distinct shape and came to be called the Aghorins, the Aghora-panthis or the Kerāris, to whom the human brain was the most delicious morsel and who were considered as Epicurean cannibals. Their predecessors, the skull-bearing Kāpālikas were not apparently as

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1 प्रथमं नास्तिकस्वरूपमुच्यते—कापालिका भस्मोद्धूलनपरा योगिनो ब्राह्मणाद्यन्त्यजाताश्च केचन नास्तिका भवन्ति। ते च जीवपुण्यपापादिकं न मन्यन्ते। चतुर्भूतात्मकं जगदाचक्षते।......ते च मद्यमांसे भुञ्जते मात्राद्यगम्यागमनमपि कुर्वते। वर्षे वर्षे कस्मिन्नपि दिवसे सर्वे संभूय यथाकामनिर्गमं स्त्रीभिरभिरमन्ते। धर्मं कामादपरं न मन्वते तन्नामानि चार्वाका लोकायता इत्यादीनि।

2 Sūtrakṛtāṅga—

क्रियाजीवादिपदार्थोऽस्तीत्यादिकं वदितुं शीलं येषां ते क्रियावादिन:। एतद्विपर्यस्ता अक्रियावादिन: लोकायतिका: शाक्यादयश्च—तेषामात्मैव नास्ति। कुतस्तत्क्रिया तज्जनितो वा कर्मबन्ध इति।

3 Jātakamālā.

shameless and abominable as these Aghorins. The skull-bearers used to eat flesh and drink wine but always refrained from eating dead carcasses. The Aghorins on the other hand used to take delight in eating dead carcasses and surrounding themselves with filth and foul things of the most ugly and revolting nature.

On the basis of these antivedic practices of the school which is indifferent to Varṇāśramadharma and is looked down upon by the members of the Brāhmaṇical schools in all the stages of its career as Śiśnadevas, Kāpālikas, Śaivas, and Aghorins, some are very much inclined to infer that the sect sprang from the uncivilised people of the non-Aryan group.

It was possibly due to the influence of the Buddhists and the Jains that the skull-less Kāpālikas became more and more refined and gave up wine and meat, but still continued in their original habit of sensualism. This sensualism, too, in course of time, either through the influence of the primitive Bauddhas or the Vaiṣṇavas, was purged of its grosser aspect so prevalent among the skull-bearers and took a more refined shape, the end of which was much higher than mere sexual pleasures. The refined body utilised Kāma as a means to some higher end. These people did not care for the temporary and incomplete pleasure mixed with pain as did their predecessors or the Cārvākas. They aimed at the pleasure which is eternal, supreme and pure. These people were the Sahajiyās. They sacrificed Kāma for Prema. They agree with the Lokāyatikas in this that their end is pleasure, that they are antivedics, and that they believe that the material human body is all that should be cared for.[1] They agree with the skull-bearers in this that they employ women for religious purposes. Love for a woman with whom one is not bound by the tie of wedlock is their essential feature. Here

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1 देहेर साधन हय सर्व्वतत्त्वसार—

Nigūḍhārthaprakāśāvali.

भजनेर मूल एइ नरवपु देह—

Amṛtarasāvali.

अक्खि डहा विश्व कड़ु एथुमे मिति

Bauddha Gān O Dohā.

तदा च वस्तुन वस्तु। कथमीश्वर इष्यते सिद्धत्वाच्च—

Bauddha Gān O Dohā.

they agree with the Vāmadevas, the Vāmācārins and the Kāpālikas.

The Tāntrikas, who are according to some a very modern sect, came into being as a class probably as the result of an effort to modify the Kāpālika mould of thought. They are perhaps a class of people of the Brāhmaṇical school who with a view to counteracting the evils of Kāpālikism sanctioned and adopted the popular doctrines regarding indulgence, paying no heed to Varṇāśramadharma, and were thus able to influence the vedic doctrines to some extent. Thus, although the enjoyment of the senses may be recommended by the Tantrikas along with the skull-bearers and the non-religionists, the Tantrikas differ from them in their end. The end of the Kāpālikas and the Lokāyatikas is Kāma or gross sensual pleasures, but the end of Tantrikism is to become Vīra, to attain full control over one's passions and to attain final liberation of the soul. It accepts Kāma as a means to an end which is much higher than sensual pleasures.

Buddha by his 'Pañcakāma-guṇā-diṭṭha-dhammanibbānavāda' refers almost to the same doctrine. Vātsyāyana of Kāmaśāstra fame also differs from the Lokāyatikas and the Kāpālikas as regards the end. The ultimate aim of his work according to him is to teach the subjugation of senses.

Thus it appears that the Lokāyatikas, the Vāmadevas, the Śiśnadevas, the Kāpālikas, the Kālāmukhas, the Aghorins, the Vāmācārins, the Sahajiyās and the Tantrikas all walk along the same track with slight differences.

Bright joy of everlasting sunshine was the creed perpetually present before the eyes of the Lokāyatikas, The year to them was a busy round of gay and pleasant festivals. In course of time through the influence of the vedicists who were chiefly pessimists the Lokāyatikas made it a rule to meet only twice a year for enjoying all sorts of pleasures with full freedom without any restrictions whatsoever. The Lokāyatikas being the organisers there was no touch of religion in these festivals. The festivals were known as the spring festival or वसन्तोत्सव[1] and the autumnal festival or कौमुदीमहोत्सव.[2]

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1 Ratnāvalī of Srīharṣa, Abhijñānaśakuntala etc.

2 Mudrārākṣasa, Kaumudīmahotsava nāṭaka (recently published in the Dakṣiṇabhāratī Sanskrit Series) etc.

In course of time, however, there was a further reduction of their festivals and the entertainment in spring alone survived. In this festival dance and song, flower and the red ochre, swimming and playing contributed to the creation of an atmosphere of gaiety and frivolity from which all sterner laws of sexual ethics were banished for the time being and men and women mixed together indiscriminately. In the next stage the vedicists tried to avail themselves of this festival in their own way. They introduced the worship of Madana and began to call it *Madanotsava* in which a mere touch of religion was introduced. As soon as the worship of Madana was introduced, the Lokāyatikas, who were the non-religionists, ceased to join this festival. Enjoyment they did want. But freedom was the thing which they loved. They did not like to be circumscribed by any religious feeling. The vedicists in their turn gradually transformed this festival into a religious observance. The Bhaviṣya-purāṇa mentions a like observance in which Śiva and Pārvatī are concerned. Later on the Vaiṣṇavas gave it a new shape and a name. They placed Madanamohana in place of Madana. This is the *Dolotsava* of the Vaiṣṇavas.

The Lokāyatikas, however, did not join any religious festival but pursued their own course undeterred by all obstacles. They became at one with the Kāpālikas and continued to meet once a year at a place where extreme forms of lincentiousness prevailed. This idea of licentiousness, as we have already seen, does not owe its origin to the Lokāyatikas. It was the peculiar possession of the Kāpālikas. Similarly the circles or the Cakras of the Tantrikas, particularly of the lefthand order, and the Maṇḍalas of the Sahajiyās, owe their origin most probably to the annual meetings of the Kāpālikas with whom the Lokāyatikas joined later on. In Guṇaratna's time these annual meetings of the Kāpālikas became the common festivals of both the sects—the Lokāyatikas and the Kāpālikas.

Now let us conclude this topic. We have seen that the Kāpālikas agreed with the Lokāyatikas in anti-vedic practices ; they agreed in lincentiousness. They had common annual festivals. They gave more importance to प्रत्यत्त than to अनुमान[1]. They were the heretics

1 Lokāyata—नानुमानं प्रमाणं, प्रत्यक्षमेवैकं प्रमाणम् etc.
Kāpalika—प्रत्यक्षेहेतुवचनं निरर्थकम्, Mattavilāsa.

or Pāṣaṇḍas condemned by the orthodox schools.[1] And for these reasons these two schools were identified with each other.

DAKSHINA RANJAN SHASTRI

A Short Chronology of Indian Astronomy

The ancient Indian astronomy had for its basis the religious ceremonies of the Hindus. In the early Vedic period each heavenly body represented a Divinity and so the study of Astronomy originated in the doctrine that the Supreme Being had assigned to the heavenly bodies some duties by which they became rulers of the affairs of the world, and that a knowledge of the Divine Will could be had by observing the order of their motions and the recurrence of times and seasons. The Hindus therefore watched with care all the phenomena of the heavens in order to perfect their calendar of festivals, etc. The Vedic sacrificial rites had a close connection with astronomical calculations, and so some amount of astronomical knowledge was obtained in India at the time when the Vedas and the Brāhmaṇas were composed. It is from astronomical premises that scholars like

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1 Bṛhaspati Sūtra—

यदा चाण्डाल उदारसुरामांसादिकामिच्छु स्तदा कापालिकाभिधानपाषण्डी—II, 13.

लौकायतिकाभिधानपाषण्डी—II, 12.

लौकायतिकमसेनार्थं चिप्रं नश्यति तत्—II, 8.

कापालिकार्हतबौद्धाद्य—II, 9.

कापाली स्वग्रामस्थगृहस्वजनैः परित्यक्तः सर्वलोकनिन्दितो नारकी भवति—II, 31.

एवं पाषण्डि संसर्गं मनसापि न कुर्य्यात्—II, 35.

लौकायतं कुतर्कञ्च प्राकृतं म्लेच्छभाषितम्। न श्रोतव्यं द्विजेनैतदधो नयति तद्द्विजम्।

Garuḍa Purāṇa, Pūrva Khaṇḍa, 98. 17.

कपालभस्मास्थिधरा ये ह्यवैदिकलिङ्गिनः।
ऋते वनस्थाश्रमाद्य जटावल्कलधारिणः।
अवैदिक क्रियोपेतास्ते वै पाषण्डिनस्तथा॥

Tilak, Dikṣit and Jacobi argue a great antiquity for the vedic writings.

The vedic year was twelve months of 30 days each, with an occasional intercalary month, "the thirteenth month fabricated of days and nights, having thirty members." (Atharva Veda xiii, 3, 8). There is no indication of any definite cycle, the five year cycle having appeared later. The year was also divided into two equal courses or ayanas, a northern course or Uttarāyaṇa beginning at the winter solstice and a southern course or Dakṣiṇāyana beginning at the summer solstice. In the Ṛg-veda two asterisms only are mentioned, viz., Maghā and Phālgunī; but in later vedic texts (A. V. xix, 7, 1-5) a complete list of the twenty-eight nakṣatras or asterisms is given. The list is headed by Kṛttikās or the Pleiades, which marked the vernal equinox of the vedic year. Jacobi proved that the vedic year commenced with the summer solstice. His arguments are based on the following rendering of a verse of the "Frog Hymn":—

"Those leaders of rites observe the institutes of the gods, and disregard not the season of the twelfth month as the year revolves and the rains return, then scorched and heated they obtain freedom."

Dikṣit,[1] from a passage of the Brāhmaṇas,[2] fixes the age of the Vedas at 3000 B.C. The words "they (the Kṛttikās) do not move from the eastern quarter while the other asterisms do move from the eastern quarter" are taken by him to mean, definitely, that the asterism Kṛttikās (Pleiades), and no other asterism, was on the equator. He writes, "in my opinion the statement conclusively proves that the passage was composed not later than 3000 B.C." In vedic texts no definite mention is made of the planets, but some oriental scholars hold that the people of the Vedic age[3] had knowledge of the planets. Vedic astronomical facts are not accurate as it was not the intention of the Vedic writers to deal with astronomy directly and that it was only when religious rites demanded it, that they referred to astronomical facts.

The earliest formal Hindu astronomical work was the Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga. It is the name of certain works or classes of works, regard-

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1 Indian Antiquary, 1895, xxiv, p. 245.

2 Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, II, 1. 2. 2-4.

3 Bhāratiya Jyotiḥ Śāstra by S. B. Dikṣit; Our Astronomy and Astronomers by Jogesh Chandra Roy.

ed as an auxiliary to the Vedas. The Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga[1] is a small metrical treatise containing a statement regarding the place of the winter solstice at some ancient date which gave rise to a good deal of comment and speculation. Its author intended to propound the doctrine of the cycle consisting of five years of 1830 apparent solar days. The year was tropical and began with the white half of the month Māgha and terminated with the dark half of the month Pauṣa (verse 5). The year which is the fifth part of the yuga contains three hundred and sixty-six days, six seasons, two ayanas (the northern and southern progress of the sun), twelve solar months (verse 28); while the sun accomplishes five tropical revolutions, the moon accomplishes sixty-two synodical and sixty seven periodical revolutions and the whole period comprises sixty-one sāvana months of 30 natural days each (verse 31); the yuga begins with the winter solstice at the new moon of Māgha, the new moon taking place in the first point of Śraviṣṭhā. This indicates that the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa was composed in the twelfth century B.C., a conclusion which has also been confirmed by the internal evidence from Bodhāyana Śrauta sūtra. The Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa does not teach much of astronomy and it does not claim to do so. Max Müller remarks in this connection that "the object of this small tract is not to teach astronomy. It has a practical object which is to convey such knowledge of the heavenly bodies as is necessary for fixing the days and hours of the Vedic sacrifice."[2]

Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga is followed by the astronomy of the Jainas. The only work on Jaina astronomy, now available, is Sūryaprajñapti. There is however evidence that two more works on Jaina astronomy were written, one called Candraprajñapti and the other Bhadrabāhavīya Saṃhitā of Bhadrabāhu. These two works are mainly known from quotations by later astronomers. Jacobi in his preface to the translation of the Kalpasūtra, remarks that the Bhadrabāhavīya Saṃhitā was mainly an astrological work. Bhadrabāhu was the religious preceptor of Candragupta and died in 298 B.C. Bhadrabāhu also wrote a commentary on Sūryaprajñapti and this is believed to be the first commentary on the work. The exact date of com-

1 The text is given in Thibaut's article on Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga (J.A.S.B., 1877); Yājuṣa Jyotiṣa by Dvivedi and Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga by Lala Chotelal.

2 Asiatic Researches, vol. ix, p. 321.

position of Sūryaprajñapti is not known. Thibaut says that this book must have been written before the Greeks came to India, as there is no trace of Greek influence in this work. Its authorship is attributed to Mahāvīra. The traditional date of Mahāvīra's death is 527 B. C., but Jacobi says that Mahāvīra died in 462 B.C. Therefore, it is certain that Sūryaprajñapti must have been written in about 500 B.C. Weber points out that the doctrine propounded in the Sūryaprajñapti shows in many points an unmistakable resemblance with that contained in the Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga and it thus became manifest that the astronomical books of the Jainas do not only furnish information about the opinions held by a religious sect, but may, if rightly interrogated, yield valuable material for the general history of Indian ideas. According to the Sūryaprajñapti, the *yuga* begins with the summer solstice, at the moment when the moon is full in the beginning of Abhijit and the sun consequently stands at Puṣyā. The distinctive doctrine of the Jainas is the assumption of two different suns, two moons and two sets of constellations. In this connection, Colebrooke remarks,[1] "they (the Jainas) conceive the setting and rising of stars and planets to be caused by the mountain Sumeru and suppose three times the period of a planet's appearance to be requisite for it to pass round Sumeru and return to the place wherefrom it emerges. Accordingly they allot two suns, as many moons, and an equal number of each planet, star and constellation to Jambudvīpa ; and imagine that these appear on alternate days, south and north of Meru." This doctrine has been controverted by all later astronomers. Here also the yuga comprises five years of 360 days each, each year in its turn being divided into twelve months of 30 days each; in the Sūryaprajñapti this kind of year—commonly known as the sāvana year—is called the karma year or ṛtu year. The six days by which this year is shorter than the solar year are called atirātras. The one important point in which Sūryaprajñapti differs from the statement in the Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga is this that according to the Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga the yuga begins with the winter solstice, at the moment when it is new moon, sun and moon being in conjunction in the beginning of the nakṣatra Dhaniṣṭhā, while according to the Sūryaprajñapti the yuga begins with the summer solstice, at the moment when the moon is full in the beginning of Abhijit and the sun conse-

1 Max Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature.

quently stands at Puṣyā. In his paper on Sūryaprajñapti, Thibaut in conclusion draws attention to the striking resemblance which the cosmological and astronomical conceptions of an old Chinese book called Tcheon-Pei (of which a complete translation was published by E. Biot in the Journal Asiatique, 1841, pp. 592-639) bear to the ideas on the same subject as expounded in the Sūryaprajñapti.

The history of Hindu Astronomy of the period from 500 B.C. (i.e., the approximate date of composition of Sūryaprajñapti) to 500 A.C. (i.e. the approximate date of Āryabhaṭa's writing) is generally called the dark age of Hindu Astronomy. Any work written during this period of 1000 years is not available to us. But it is not probable that this period was barren of any astronomical improvement and this science remained in a static condition in this country. References of astronomical knowledge prevailing in this period are found here and there in literary and philosophical works of that period. During this period of 1000 years probably the astronomical Saṃhitās and the older Siddhāntas were composed. Astronomy was stated to be one of the principal accomplishments of the Jaina priest in the Bhagavatī sūtra.[1] The date of the Bhagavatī sūtra is about 300 B.C. It is noteworthy that the knowledge of astronomy is considered necesssary for the Jaina priest for exactly the same purpose as it was for the Vedic priest, viz., to find the right time and place for the religious ceremonies. It is also observed by Śānticandra gaṇa (1595 A. C.) in the preface to his commentary on the Jambudvīpa prajñapti. The Buddhist monks were at first advised to refrain trom the study of astronomy[2] which was condemned as a low art (tiracchāna vijjā) as far as bhikṣus were concerned. Later on Buddha relaxed his opinion and made it a rule of conduct of the bhikṣus living in the woods that they must learn elementary astronomy. The incident which compelled him to change his mind is this: Once upon a time some robbers approached certain bhikṣus living in the forest and asked them, "with what constellation is the moon now in conjunction?" The bhikṣus could give no reply as they were ignorant of astronomy, being forbidden by religious injunction to learn astronomy. This incensed the robbers who beat the bhikṣus and went away. When Buddha came to know of this unfortunate incident, he made the following rule: "They (the bhikṣus living in

1 Bhagavatī-sūtra, 90; Uttarādhyāyana sūtra, xxv, 7, 8, 38.

2 Rhys Davids, Dialogues of the Buddha, vol. II, pp. 20ff.

forests) should learn the stations of the constellations, either in whole or in parts, and they should know the directions of the sky."[1] These instances prove beyond doubt that the science of astronomy was not in a static condition but was progressive during the period of 1000 years from 500 B.C. to 500 A.C. This is the period, therefore, when the astronomical Saṃhitās and the older Siddhāntas were written. The Jyotiṣa Saṃhitās are no longer extant, though Dr. Kern was known to have possessed a fragmentary manuscript of Garga Saṃhitā They are mainly known from citations by later astronomers. The authors of the two Saṃhitās, generally mentioned in the writings of later Hindu astronomers, are Parāśara and Garga. The precise period in which they lived is a vexed question. Paraśara's sayings have been quoted by Varāhamihira in his Bṛhat Saṃhitā and also by his commentator Bhaṭṭotpala. According to the Nirukta, Parāśara was the son of Vasiṣṭha and according to the Mahābhārata and the Viṣṇupurāṇa Parāśara was the grandson of Vasiṣṭha, and Parāśara, was the father of Vyāsa, the compiler of the Mahābhārata. Parāśara, therefore, must have lived just before the Mahābhārata was composed. Dikṣit and Jacobi from astronomical evidence have fixed the date of the Mahābhārata as 450 B. C. It has, for this reason, been asserted that Parāśara lived about 500 B.C. Garga, the writer of Garga Saṃhitā whose sayings have been cited by Varāhamihira in his Bṛhat saṃhitā is mentioned in the Mahābhārata[2] as a well-known astronomer. The description, which is given in the Mahābhārata of astronomer Garga, leaves no doubt as to the identification of the writer of Garga Saṃhitā with the Garga mentioned in the Mahābhārata.[3] Therefore, Garga also lived about 500 B.C. There is mention of two other Saṃhitās by Devala and Kāśyapa in the Śukrācārādhyāya of Bṛhat Saṃhitā, but these works seem to have been written much later than the Saṃhitās of Parāśara and Garga. Next comes the works on the Siddhāntas. Of the eighteen or twenty ancient astronomical works referred to by ancient Hindu writers, under the name of Siddhāntas, or "Established conclusions" nine are mentioned by Abul Fazel in the Institutes of Akbar, namely :—(1) Brahma Siddhānta, (2) Sūrya Siddhānta, (3) Soma Siddhānta, (4) Bṛhaspati Siddhānta, (5) Garga Siddhānta, (6) Nārada Siddhānta, (7) Parāśara Siddhānta, (8) Pulastya

1 Cullavagga, viii, 6, 3, in Vinaya Texts. Sacred Books of the East, xx, pp. 292-4.

2 Gadāparva, 8, 14. 3 Śalva parva, 38.

Siddhānta and (9) Vasiṣṭha Siddhānta. Other Siddhāntas mentioned are the works of (10) Vyāsa, (11) Atri, (12) Kāśyapa, (13) Marīci, (14) Manu, (15) Aṅgiras, (16) Lomasa, (17) Puliśa, (18) Yavana (19) Bhṛgu and (20) Cyavana. The first is supposed to have been revealed by Brahmā the second by the sun, the third by the moon and the fourth by Bṛhaspati (Jupiter). All the other texts are supposed to have been composed by mortals, and of these few are now extant, they being principally known from citations of mathematical writers of later date. It is impossible to say with certainty which of the two principal astronomical works, the Brahma Siddhānta or the Sūryasiddhānta (Saurasiddhānta), is the more ancient, though the former is supposed to have been the earlier. Both of these works have undergone revision at different periods. Brahmagupta based his Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta (628 A.C.) on a revised edition of Brahmasiddhānta. Nṛsiṃha, the commentator of the Sūrya Siddhānta, affirms that Brahmagupta's rules are framed from the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa, in which the Brahmasiddhānta is contained. Various other works of the same name are referred to as being anterior to the work of Brahmagupta ; such as the Brahma Siddhānta of Śākalya, which is regarded as one of the five systems from which Varāhamihira compiled his Pañcasiddhāntikā. The five Siddhāntas forming Varāhamihira's Pañcasiddhāntikā are the Paitāmaha (Brāhma), Vasiṣṭha, Romaka, Pauliśa, and Saura Siddhāntas. Varāhamihira there also states his view as to their order in importance and accuracy, assigning the first place to the Sūrya Siddhānta, placing next the Romaka and Pauliśa Siddhāntas as about equally correct, and declaring the two remaining works to be greatly inferior to the three mentioned. In no case Varāhamihira has obliterated the characteristic features of the Siddhāntas he had to deal with, and that whatever distinguishes those works from one another in the text of the Pañcasiddhāntikā actually distinguished them also in their original form. The Sūrya Siddhānta of Varāhamihira is the only one of the five Siddhāntas, which has come down to our time, and therefore allows us to compare it with what Varāhamihira tells us about the Sūrya Siddhānta as known to him. A cursory survey of those chapters of the Pañchasiddhāntikā, which treat of the Sūrya Siddhānta, shows at once that the treatise of that name known to Varāhamihira agreed with the modern Sūryasiddhānta in its fundamental features. The methods of the two treatises are essentially

the same and on the other hand, sufficiently different from those of the other Siddhāntas summarised by Varāhamihira, to ensure to the Sūryasiddhānta in its two-fold form a distinct position of its own.[1] Of the Paitāmaha Siddhānta Thibaut says,[2] "that the Paitāmaha Siddhānta, known to Varāhamihira, represents Hindu astronomy as not yet affected by Greek influences, and thus belongs to the same category as the Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga, the Garga Saṃhitā, the Sūryaprajñapti and similar works. From what Varāhamihira says about its contents it might be identified with the Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga." The Romaka Siddhānta, as the name suggests, must have been an adapation from some Greek or Roman astronomical work. The author of the Romaka borrowed his fundamental period from the west ; the year of the Romaka, down to seconds, is the tropical year of Hipparchus or of Ptolemy who accepted the determination by his great predecessor. Thibaut has proved that there were issued several recasts of the original Romaka Siddhānta epitomised by Varāhamihira.[3] It, therefore, continued to be held in esteem which prompted its remodelling in order to make it harmonize with the altered state of opinion. But the Romaka Siddhānta was referred to by Brahmagupta in a decrying spirit and its followers were censured by him. The Pauliśa Siddhānta resembles in many respects the current Siddhāntas of the Hindus. Some European scholars believe that the Pauliśa Siddhānta is an adaptation of some work of Paulus Alexandrinus. Dr. Kern in his preface to the Bṛhat Saṃhitā says, "We have no right, whatever, to infer that Paulus Alexandrinus and Pauliśa are one and the same, for identity of name is too slender a ground specially when the name happens to be a common one." Further, the Pauliśa Siddhānta is an astronomical work based on mathematical calculations, whereas the work of Paulus Alexandrinus is mainly an astrological one. Thibaut says that it appears that the Pauliśa Siddhānta was a work following the same general methods as the Sūrya Siddhānta, Āryabhaṭa and all the later astronomers ; at any rate it agreed with the great majority of Hindu astronomical works in establishing a mahāyuga which contains an integral number of Sāvana days, etc. and of revolution of the planets.[4] He further

1 Thibaut, Introduction to Pañcasiddhāntikā, p. xii.
2 Ibid., p. xx.
3 Ibid., p. xxv ff.
4 Ibid., p. xxxviii.

says that in this work the new knowledge imported from the west was embodied. About the Vasiṣṭha Siddhānta the Pañcasiddhāntikā gives only very scanty information. Varāhamihira places the Vasiṣṭha Siddhānta, together with the Paitāmaha Siddhānta, in the lowest rank of the works whose tenets he reproduces. Thibaut says "that the methods in the Vasiṣṭha Siddhānta are so crude and they so completely omit to distinguish between mean and true astronomical quantities that the Vasiṣṭha Siddhānta can hardly be included within scientific Hindu astronomy."

The last and the most important period of Hindu astronomy beginning with Āryabhaṭa (b. 476 A.C.) was a real advance in mathematical astronomy. Āryabhaṭa wrote two works on astronomy of which one—Āryabhaṭīya is now available. He based his work on the main principles laid down in the old Sūrya Siddhānta. He was profusely quoted by Brahmagupta and other subsequent astronomers. Āryabhaṭa believed in the diurnal motion of the earth. He was also the first among Hindu astronomers to explain thoroughly the planetary motions by means of epicycles. The father of Indian epicyclic astronomy,[1] as he is called, ascribed to the epicycles, by which motion of a planet was represented, a form varying from the circle to nearly an eclipse. Next came Varāhamihira who lived in the sixth contury A.C. He is mainly known as a compiler His astronomical works now in existence are Bṛhat Saṃhitā and Pañcasiddhāntikā. Bṛhat Saṃhitā is an astronomical as well as an astrological work and is supposed to be based on some ancient Saṃhitā. Pañcasiddhāntikā belongs to the class of the so-called Karaṇagranthas i.e. compendious astronomical treatises which do not set forth the theory of the subject at a comparative length as the Siddhāntas do, but merely supply a set of concise and often only approximately correct rules which suffice for the speedy performance of all the more important astronomical calculations.[2] Varāhamihira was the only one among Hindu writers on astronomy who thought it worth while to give an exposition of all the more important forms of astronomical doctrines current at his time and he gave them in

1 P. C. Sen Gupta, Āryabhaṭa—the father of Indian Epicyclic Astronomy, Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University, vol. xviii.

2 Thibaut, Introduction to Pañcasiddhāntikā, p. viii.

the order of importance the five Siddhāntas whose teaching he summarizes are to be arranged. In the Pañcasiddhāntikā Varāhamihira remarks, "when the return of the sun took place in the middle of Aśleṣā, the tropic was then correct. It now takes place from Punarvasu". The Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa made the year begin with the Winter solstice and this was in vogue at the time of Varāhamihira. He introduced a change in the year-beginning and made the list of Nakṣatras commence with Aśvinī. This modified year-beginning has since then been current in India. Another astronomer was Lalla who was probably a contemporary of Varāhamihira.[1] He wrote Śiṣyadhīvṛddhida, an astronomical work based on the writings of Āryabhaṭa. Though he declares himself to be a disciple of Āryabhaṭa, he did not subscribe to his master's theory of earth's rotation and in its refutation he said, "If the earth is moving at a very rapid speed, why does not an arrow projected upwards fall on the western side of the projection? Why do not the clouds appear to move only towards the west? You cannot say that the earth is moving at a less speed, as it has to complete one revolution round its axis in 24 hours". Almost contemporary with Varāhamihira was an astronomer called Bhāskara. He was not the great astronomer Bhāskarācārya, the writer of Siddhānta Śiromaṇi. This Bhāskara wrote two astronomical works, called Bṛhat Bhāskarīya and Laghu Bhāskarīya, based on the teachings of Āryabhaṭa. He took 444 Śaka year for the karaṇa year and must have, therefore, lived about 500 Śaka or about 578 A.C. He was at least anterior to Brahmagupta who censures Āryabhaṭa for some of the omissions in the latter's methods. Pṛthūdakasvāmin, the commentator of Brahmagupta, remarks in this connection that Brahmagupta was not just in censuring Āryabhaṭa as it was not his omission, but an omission of his disciples, Bhāskara and others (Bhāskarādīnām bhavatu).[2] The great Bhāskarācārya also mentions some Āryabhaṭa's disciples, naming Prabhākara and others (Āryabhaṭaśiṣyāḥ Prabhākarādayaḥ). This Prabhākara is no other than the above named Bhāskara. The second Bhāskara did not call the first one Bhāskara as that might lead to confusion and therefore gave

1 Lalla took 420 Śaka as his karaṇa year and as such he must have lived within 500 Śaka at the latest. But Dikshit says that Lalla was born in 638 A.C. or 560 Śaka; his argument are not convincing.

2 Vide a paper by Dr. B. B. Datta on the two Bhāskaras, Indian Historical Quarterly, Dec. 1930.

the synonym Prabhākara for Bhāskara. This was also a common practice in Sanskrit works. The next astronomer who came into prominence was Brahmagupta who wrote his famous work, Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta in 550 Śaka or 628 A.C., when he was thirty years old. Nṛsiṃha, the commentator of Sūrya Siddhānta, affirms that Brahmagupta's rules are framed from the Viṣṇudharmottra Purāṇa, in which the Brahmasiddhānta is contained. The above assertion is also confirmed by Pṛthūdakasvāmin, Brahmagupta's commentator, and Alberūnī. Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta was translated into Arabic by Mohammed Ibn Ibrahim Al-Fazari in 773 A.C. and the translation was known by the name of Sindhind. Another work of Brahmagupta, a Karaṇagrantha of the name of Khaṇḍakhādyaka, was translated into Arabic and goes by the name of Alarkand. It is necessary to mention in this connection that Brahmagupta maintained his karaṇa to be founded on Āryabhaṭa, or at any rate to give results equal to those to be derived from Āryabhaṭa; but it is curious that the dimensions of the epicycles and the positions of the apogees assumed in the Khaṇḍakhādyaka differ, all of them more or less, from those recorded in the Āryabhaṭīya. It is hence probable that the Āryabhaṭa whom Brahmagupta is supposed to have followed is a person entirely different from the famous Āryabhaṭa. He cannot be Āryabhaṭa II, the writer of Mahāsiddhānta, who was much posterior to Brahmagupta. Therefore it is probable that this Āryabhaṭa whom Brahmagupta followed must have been a third Āryabhaṭa anterior to Brahmagupta and posterior to Āryabhaṭa I. Brahmagupta refuted the theory of earth's rotation of Āryabhaṭa I and put forward as an argument that "if the earth moves a minute in a prāṇa, then whence and in what route does it proceed? If it revolves, then why do not lofty objects fall?" After Brahmagupta there was for some time dearth of eminent astronomers. The next astronomer of importance was Muñjāla living in the beginning of the tenth century A.C. He wrote his Karaṇagrantha, Laghu-mānasa in 932 A.C. He must have been a very celebrated astronomer as he was mentioned by name and even in some points (specially in his methods of finding the precessional rate) followed by the great astronomer and mathematician Bhāskara. In the Laghu-mānasa Muñjāla states that the annual precession was 59·9007 seconds of arc. The next astronomer was Śrīpati. He also wrote an astrological treatise. His astronomical works are Dhīkoṭi, a Karṇagrantha, and a siddhānta called Siddhāntaśekhara. His exact date is not

yet known, but this much is known that he was anterior to Bhāskarācārya and wrote his Siddhāntaśekhara about 962 Śaka or 1040 A.C. He gave an account of the peculiar doctrine of the Jaina astronomers who assumed two suns, two moons, two sets of stars and planets and the Meru to be of pyramidial shape. Just following Śrīpati was Bhojarāja, another astronomer not very much known. Dr. Bhaudaji says that Bhojarāja wrote a Karaṇagrantha called Rājamṛgāṅka, from which it is known that Bhojarāja who was the king of Dhāra, was born in 964 Śaka or 1042 A. C. The next astronomer was Śatānanda, who was prominent and popular with the Indian calendar makers. His work, Bhāsvatī based on the Sūryasiddhānta of Varāhamihira is a karaṇa grantha, a compendium, and is made much use of by the calendar makers. Its popularity with them is known by the saying "Bhāsvatīgrahaṇe dhanyāḥ." Bhāsvati was written in 1021 Śaka or 1099 A.C. But the most celebrated among Indian astronomers was Bhāskara who lived in the twelfth century A.C., having been born in 1114 A.C. At the age of 36 he wrote his great work, Siddhānta Śiromaṇi, divided into two parts, Golādhyāya and Grahagaṇitādhyāya. Besides this, he wrote at a much later period a Karaṇagrantha called Karaṇakutūhala, when he was 69 years old. Recently an astronomical work, a short treatise on the corrections of the moon's place called Bījopanaya[2] has been stated as a distinct astronomical work of Bhāskara. But from a perusal of the contents one may doubt if the work can at all be attributed to Bhāskara. There are passages in the Vāsanābhāṣya of the work which lead to this doubt. If this work is at all written by Bhāskara, it was never meant to be a separate treatise. It must be an appendix to Bhāskara's Siddhānta Śiromaṇi to which his well known Bījagaṇita and Pāṭīgaṇita are also appendices. Pandit Bāpudeva Śāstrī has given a brief account of Bhāskara's genius in J.A.S.B. of 1893. About Bhāskara Spottiswoode remarks—"That the penetration shown by Bhāskara in his analysis is in the highest degree remarkable ; that the formula which he establishes and his method of establishing it, bear more than a mere resemblance to the corresponding process in modern mathematical astronomy ; and that the majority of scientific persons will learn with surprise the existence of such a method in the writings of so distant a period and so remote a region."

In conclusion, a few words are necessary to deal with the question of the foreign influence on Indian astronomy. This is a long disputed

question and has been discussed thread-bare by the oriental scholars. Many scholars tacitly assume à Greek basis for the Hindu scientific astronomy. Thibaut in his Introduction to the Pañca Siddhāntikā has discussed this question at a considerable length and concludes that "the later Siddhāntas fall under one category, all of them, however much they differ in details, representing the modern phase of Hindu astronomy which is completely under the influence of Greek teaching." Alberūnī, Rodest, Weber, Colebrooke, Whitney and various Arab scholars have also dealt with this question from different points of view. The general hypothesis is the dependence of Hindu scientific astronomy on Greek teachings. Various facts have since then been found against this pre-conceived hypothesis and discussed at a great length. But the fundamental belief of the pro-Greek school has not yet been shaken. Some of the Arab writers, especially Al Fazari, the writer of Sind. hind, have expressed the view that the Greek and Hindu mathematicians drew their inspiration from a common source. It is, in this connection, worth while to consider the great Hebrew cabalist (Cabala, gabbalah) compendium, the *Zahar*, passages from which have been discussed by Günther ; since it is the opinion of many Hebrew scholars that the authors of the *Zahar* were influenced by Hindu writers, this fact may throw some light upon Hindu originality in astronomy. Bishop Severus Sebokht of Nisibus (c. 650 A.C.) who would naturally have been expected to favour Greek claims, took up a quite contrary position and believed in the original and independent growth of Hindu Spherical astronomy. Since he was almost a contemporary of Brahmagupta, his testimony might have some special significance regarding this question of foreign influence on Indian astronomy. However, the final seal has not yet been put and it will require further researches on this subject to arrive at a conclusive decision regarding this question of Greek influence.

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS

Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India

(Translated from the German version of A. Schiefner)

VII

EVENTS CONTEMPORANEOUS WITH KING AŚOKA

Before handing over the charge of teaching to the Venerable Kāla,[1] the Venerable Dhitīka while dwelling in Kauśāmbī in the land of Mālava and suffering from sickness, imparted various instructions to the four classes of persons.[2] The bhikṣus of Vaiśālī thought that perfect instruction could not be obtained from an ailing Sthavira, so they did not betake themselves to him, and held that the ten improper measures,[3] practised by them, were according to the

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1 Tib. Nag-po. in Buston is found Kahnava, which can be traced back to Kṛṣṇa.

2 I.e. monks, nuns, lay disciples and female devotees ; cf. Pāli, catasso parisā.—Tr.

3 In the Tibetan text of *Vinayakṣudraka* the ten improper acts are mentioned thus :

(1) the exclamation of surprise '*Aho*' ;
(2) to incite the bhikṣus to frivolities ;
(3) to dig with one's own hand and to let others dig ;
(4) to mix and eat the salt consecrated for life whenever needed ;
(5) to go away one Yojana or a half, assemble there and eat, alleging it to be a journey ;
(6) to eat with two fingers the food which is (so small as) not to be left over ;
(7) to sip in intoxicating drink in the manner of a leech and seek excuse on the ground of sickness ;
(8) to mix one *droṇa* of sweet milk and one *droṇa* of sour milk and drink it out of time ;
(9) to make a new cushion without patching or mending an old and strong pillow of the size of Sugata-span (?) ;
(10) to place on the head of a Śramaṇa at the cross roads

Law, the Vinaya and the Doctrines of the Teacher. The Arahant Yaśa and 700 other arahants denounced them and arranged for the second collection of words (i.e. the Second Council) in the Vihāra of Kusumpurī,[1] of which king Nandin, who came of the family of the Licchavis, was the patron (*dānapati*). At the time of determination of the boundaries of the six cities,[2] 700 arahants, all of whom belonged to the region of Vaiśālī, had obtained the two sanctificatory stages of emancipation and were vastly learned.[3] The collection therefore is surely a partial one. As the essentials of this history may be very fully known from the *Vinayakṣudraka*[4] it has not been here described. That this collection took place at the time has been told by Bhaṭaghaṭī and Kṣemendrabhadra. In the Vinaya which is still existing in Tibetan, it is stated that 110 years after the demise of the Teacher the second collection, according to the tradition, took place and that the collection was made suited to one school. In the Vinaya of another school it is seen that the second collection was arranged 210 or 220 years after the demise of the Teacher. In order to ascertain here the right mean, one must take into consideration the fact that in some of the extant Indian historical works the Venerable

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one round begging bowl, filled with fragrant essence and sweet smelling incense, decorated with flowers, and to invite people to give gold, silver and jewels, telling them that great reward awaits such givers. Cf. Lassen, II, 84, Koppen, *Religion des Buddha*, p. no. 7.

Cf. Rockhill's *Life of Buddha*, pp. 173ff. ; for the Pāli version of these ten breaches of the rules of discipline see Dutt's *Early History of the Spread of Buddhism and Buddhist Schools*, pp. 226-7 ; La Valleé Poussin, *Le Muséon*, N.S., vi (1905); Ind. Ant. 37 (1908); *Mahāvaṃsa* (transl.) pp. 19-20.—Tr.

1 In the text Kusma-puri. The name of the Vihāra is different in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, see Lassen II, 86. (The name is Vālikārāma—Tr.)

2 It seems that this passage is not quite incorrupt. There were six cities besides Vaiśālī, from which places the Arhats assembled to take up the task of expulsion of bhikṣus.

3 Schiefner has taken it be the proper name of Bahuśrutīya School. The Tib. is man-du-thos-pa, meaning 'vastly learned'. While the Tib. name for the School is man-thos.—Tr.

4 Kanjur, vol. 11, leaves 323-330.

Dhitīka and the others have been made contemporaries of Aśoka, and that after Sudarśana had passed out of existence and Aśoka died, the second collection was to have taken place. It (this discrepancy) is due to the faulty interpretation of the words of *Kṣudrāgama* : "When he gave over the teaching to Sudarśana, the elephants (i.e. the great beings) had entirely vanished out of existence, at that time 160 years had passed since the Nirvāṇa, etc. In Sanskrit *yadācit* through the power of word-combination can as well mean "at which time" as also "and at the time."[1] This passage one must have translated as "at which time." The Guru Paṇḍita said that if it is put as 200 years, etc. then a half-year has been calculated as a full-year and it should therefore be taken as 100 years. According to the adjusted[2] report of Paṇḍita Indradatta, it is said that Upagupta appeared 50 years after the Nirvāṇa of the victorious (One), but 110 years after the Nirvāṇa the hierarchical succession came to an end.[3] Then while speaking of the appearance of Aśoka, etc. he says obviously that as this is in contradiction with the prophecy and the sources of the adjusted tradition of Āryadeśa, although everything appears to have been properly mentioned, yet it is not credible.

In the east in the land of Aṅga lived a wise and very well-to-do householder, and in his house grew through the power of his deeds a tree from which fell jewel-fruits. As he was without any child, he used to bring offerings continually to the great god Viṣṇu in the form of Kṛṣṇa, in consequence whereof the self-same Kṛṣṇa was born as his son. When he had grown up he became desirous of going out to sea. He then with 500 merchants, taking all equipments of a ship, went to the jewel-land and filled the ship with goods. In this way as he had gone to the sea six times and returned quickly with loaded ship without any difficulty, all regions were filled up with fame of the merchant as being endowed with great merits. At the time when his parents were dead and he had become a faithful devotee of the Venerable Dhitīka many merchants came to him from the far north and requested him to go again

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1 So Tāranātha thinks to be the cause ; one notices therefrom how differently he uses from the Sanskrit in Sanskrit. *Yadācit* is primarily a Tibetan fabrication.

2 Tib. gtam. gyi. sbyor. wa : German : Geschictsharmonie.—Tr.

3 Tib. gtad. rabs. rdsogs. zin.—Tr.

to the sea. Although at first he declined saying that he would not go as he did not hear of anybody having loaded a ship for the seventh time, but on their persistent request he at last sailed and reached the jewel-island, loaded the ship with treasures and returned home. On an island of the ocean the merchants saw a green grove existing and so they went there to recuperate themselves. But they were caught there by Krauñca Kumārī, the foremost Rākṣasī of the Rākṣasī family dwelling in the sea. They then took refuge in the Venerable Dhītika. At that time the gods, who were their friends, informed the Venerable Dhītika, who came to the island through supernatural power. The Rākṣasīs, not being able to endure his glory, ran way, and the merchants returned happily to Jambudvīpa. At this place the merchants supplied the clergy of the four regions for three years with all requisites, and at last entered into the pristhood. They were ordained by the Venerable Dhītika and all of them soon attained the grade of Arhatship. Then on the passing away of Dhītika, the venerable Kṛṣṇa, who belonged to the family of of merchants joining the priesthood, took charge of the teaching; he delivered instructions to the four groups, and the acquisition of the four fruits suffered no interruption.

At this time appeared Bhikṣu Vatsa[1] of Kasmira, of Brāhmaṇa caste, very wicked, but learned. He took pleasure at the Ātmaka theory, travelled over all regions, and turned the simple people into his bad teaching and thus raised a little dissension in the saṅgha. Therefore Dhītika collected the clergy of the four regions in Vihāra Puṣkariṇī, a part of the Maru land, the yakṣa Kapila providing them with the necessary sustenance, corrected the errors, and re-iterated the Anātmaka theory in the assembly of the monks. As three months passed, all the bhikṣus who were earlier converted by the Sthavira Vatsa to the Ātmaka theory, were compeletely purified, beheld the truth and at last, Sthavira Vatsa himself was converted to the unshakeable teaching.

Far off in the island of Siṃhala was the king Āsana-Siṃhakośa (Tib. khri-ldan-seṅ-geḥi. mtsod—Tr.). Once when he was in an assembly, a merchant of Jambudvīpa made over to him a wooden image of the teacher. As he asked what it was, the merchant recounted to him (the events) beginning from the Teacher up to the Venerable Kṛṣṇa of the dignitaries. Then the king wished to see the Venerable

1 Tib. gnas. pa. cf. Wassiljew, Der Buddhismus, p. 62 of the German translation

Kṛṣṇa as also to hear the excellent teaching and so sent a messenger. When this (messenger) came near the Venerable, the latter set out with a following of five hundred through the air by means of his supernatural power, whereupon the messenger held himself fast to the corner of the holy robe and let himself down on the border of Siṃhaladvīpa. As he sent the messenger before, the king came to meet him with others. He entered the chief city, where he diffused differently coloured rays of lights, shone forth and showed other wonders. On this island he preached the Law for three months, filled it with vihāras and clergymen, and made many partakers of the four fruits. Although the Teacher formerly had trodden over this island with his feet, the teaching after his death gradually disappeared, the Venerable Kṛṣṇa, however, greatly spread it afresh. After handing over the teaching to the Venerable Sudarśana, who came of the royal family, he vanished to the country of Kuśavana in the north. Now follows (the story of) Sudarśana.

In the west in the land of Bharukaccha, there was a kṣatriya Darśana, sprung of the Pāṇḍu line. He had extraordinary riches; his son was called Sudarśana. As he grew up, he became possessed of prosperity like that of the gods: he had 50 pleasure-gardens, 50 picked women, each of whom had 5 maid-servants and each of them again had five female playmates. He spent daily 5000 gold paṇas on flowers alone, not to speak of his other riches. Once when he had gone to the pleasure-garden, surrounded by that group, he saw the Arhant Śukāyana going on the way with numerous followers, became exceedingly faithful and bowed before him, and took his seat by his side. When the Arhant had taught him the Law, he obtained on that very seat the grade of an Arhant. When he asked for reception into the clerical order, the Arhant explained to him that that was not possible for one living as a householder, that the circumstances were not suitable and that he should inform his father beforehand. As he requested his father for permission to enter into the priesthood, his father flew into rage and wanted to put him in iron-fetters, but just at that moment he raised himself in the air, displayed the stream of light and showed other wonders. Thus he converted his father, who said: "O son, as you have attained such a high grade of virtue, enter into the priesthood and thereby give me pleasure." After he had entered the priesthood, he delivered the teaching to his father, who then realised the truth. Then he chose Kṛṣṇa as his Ācārya, and he lived in his company for a long time. Then Kṛṣṇa died and Mahā-

sudarśana began to discipline the four groups by means of his teaching.

At that time there lived, in the west in the country of Sindhu, a yakṣiṇī Hiṅgalākṣī of great strength and supernatural power. She was spreading epidemics in different regions. She obstructed the way of those who wanted to go away somewhere else. She appeared in a dreadful form, whereupon the people offered her daily a wagon-load of food drawn by six bullocks, one excellent horse, one man and one woman.[1] When Sudarśana came to know of this and also of the fact that the time to subdue her had come, he came to his place of residence after he had collected his alms in the city of Sindhu, and ate his food. She took him to be a Śramaṇa who had lost his way. When at last he poured out the water, with which he had washed his bowl in her house, she flew into rage and sent a shower of stone and weapon, which, however on account of his being absorbed in compassionate meditation (maitrībhāvanā—Tr.), he turned into a shower of flowers. Then through the power of the wish of the Venerable, all sides were set on fire and the yakṣiṇī herself was greatly terrified and sought for refuge to the Venerable. He taught her the Law, initiated her into the precepts, and from that time up to the present day no offering of flesh and blood was made to her. Further, Sudarśana knew that later on there would be no subduer, so he converted to the teaching 500 unbelieving Nāgas and Yakṣas. Thereafter the Venerable visited all the towns in the south, provided them with vihāras and monks. On many small islands he established the Buddha's teaching, and afterwards in Mahācīna and other lands he spread the teaching gradually and led innumerable living beings into bliss, and at last he vanished from existence into the "niravaśeṣa-nirvāṇadhātu."[2]

It is to be observed that the time of youth of king Aśoka corresponded to the last portion of the life of the Venerable Dhītika ; the time of his sinful way of living with the time of the Venerable Kṛṣṇa ; the time when he became Dharmarāja was the time when the Venerable Sudarśana protected the teaching ; when Mahāsudarśana vanished out of existence, King Aśoka also died. From the Vene-

1 A similar yakṣa-offering is mentioned in the biography o Śākyamuni, p. 298 (68).

2 As restored from Tibetan. Schiefner renders it by "in dem restlosen Stoffe der Verdienstanhäufung".—Tr.

rable Ānanda up to Sudarśana there are wellknown *avadānas*; their contents Kṣemendrabhadra had collected and described. This series (of teachers) protected the teaching perfectly and their teaching agreed with that of the teacher, the Buddha himself. Thereafter appeared, it is true, many Arhants but they did not perform things which fully agreed with Buddha's teachings. The seventh section, the events contemporaneous with king Aśoka.

VIII

THE EVENTS AT THE TIME OF KING VIGATĀŚOKA

Of the eleven sons of king Aśoka, the most excellent was Kuṇāla,[1] whom a ṛṣi had given this name on account of the similarity which his eyes had with those of the bird (named) Kuṇāla dwelling in the Himālayas. At the time when he had become master of all sciences, Tiṣyarakṣitā, the wife of king Aśoka, fell in love with him and wanted to seduce him artfully. But as he was pure and would not agree to it (her proposals), Tiṣyarakṣitā flew into rage. Later on when King Aśoka was suffering from diarrhœa and vomitting excrements, Tiṣyarakṣitā heard that just the same (illness) had happened to a common man of a mountain-village. She ordered his death, and when the stomach was cut open and examined, it was found out that a many-limbed ugly worm by going up and down caused the diarrhœa and vomitting. This worm did not perish by any medicine except when treated with a white garlic. Thereupon Tiṣyarakṣitā gave the king a white garlic as the remedy. Although the Kṣatriyas cannot eat white garlic, he was however allowed to take[2] for healing the sickness, and he soon recovered. At this the king vowed to grant her an excellent (boon). She said that she would ask for it not then but at some other time. Once upon a time in the

1 See Burnouf, Introduction, p. 403 f. Hiouen Tsang, Memoirs, vol. I, p. 154 f.

2 Burnouf, *loc. cit.*, p. 150.

north west in the Aśmaparānta country lying far off, king Gokarṇa revolted and the king's son Kuṇāla was sent there with an army for his subjugation. When he had subjugated the king, Tiṣyarakṣitā said to Aśoka : "O king, the time to grant me the boon has come now, give me the rulership for seven days." When he had granted her the same, she wrote an order to extract the eyes of Kuṇāla, sealed it with the stolen seal of the king and sent a messenger to Aśmaparānta.[1] Although the king of that place read the letter, he did not dare extract the eyes of Kuṇāla. When however Kuṇāla himself read the letter and became aware of the command of the king as also of the fact that one was ready to extract the eyes, he ordered accordingly the man to take out one eye and place it in his hand. What happened was made known to him before by an Arhant (that it would so come to pass). He had been many times initiated into the teaching which had the doctrine of impermanence as its beginning and which also brought firmness to his mind, As a result thereof, he became a Śrotāpanna as soon as he saw the eye. After dismissing his servant, he took a lyre and wandered through different countries, and at last came to the Elephant controller at Pāṭaliputra. There the elephant gifted with insight recognised him and showed him respects. The men could not recognise him ; on the daybreak the elephant guards asked him to play on the lyre. And as he had played the melody Gamaka on the lyre the king came to know from the top of his palace that the voice was similar to the voice of his son ; on the morning he had enquiries made and learnt the actual state of things. When he had found out the cause, the king flew into rage, ordered Tiṣyarakṣitā to be locked up and burnt in the Lākṣā house. But Kuṇāla dissuaded him from it and he declared the true-wish : 'If I who love Tiṣyarakṣitā and my son in equal manner, and have no hatred in my mind, then let the eyes be as before' ; and Kuṇāla obtained his eyes better than before. He than entered into the priestly office and obtained the Arhant grade.[2] Therefore the rulership could not devolve on him but his son Vigatāśoka was selected for the rulership. At this time appeared in the kingdom Oḍiviśa, the brāhmaṇa Rāghava having great wealth ;

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1 In the other recensions of this story, it is known as Takṣaśilā which is restored from Tibetan rdo. hdsog (stone-accumulation).

2 This story of Kuṇāla with slight variations is found also in the *Divyāvadāna* (27), *Aśokāvadāna* and *Avadānakalpalatā* (59).—Tr.

he acknowledged the three treasures (ratnas) as his teaching. He was informed beforehand by a god in a dream that on the following day a bhikṣu would come to his house to beg for alms, and that as his supernatual power was great, he would be able to collect the Venerables of all regions and so he should ask him (to do that). When another morning the Arhant Poṣadha came to his house he implored him. He maintained for 3 years the congregation of 80,000 Venerables. The gods being greatly delighted at the teaching let fall down in his house a rain of flowers. He satiated 100,0co bhikṣhus daily up to the end of his life. The eighth section: the events at the time of king Vigatāśoka.

IX

EVENTS OF THE TIME OF SECOND KĀŚYAPA

After him the Arhant Kāśyapa, who was born in the North, in the land of Gāndhāra, worked for the salvation of living beings through three kinds of religious works. At that time there lived, the son of Vigatāśoka, Vīrasena,[1] who through the favour of Vaiśravaṇa's wife, the goddess Lakṣmī, possessed inexhaustible riches without doing even the least harm to living beings. He supported bhikṣus of the four quarters for three years, and offered a hundred kinds of sacrificial requisities to all caityas existing on the face of the earth. At that time in Mathurā, the Brāhmaṇa Yaśa[2] who was very much devoted to the teaching, erected the Vihāra Śarāvatī,[3] and maintained 100,000 monks; in that Vihāra the Arhat

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1 Tib. dbaḥ. woḥi. sde with it variant dbaṅ-poḥi. sde (Indrasena); is it not a corruption of Vṛṣasena? See Lassen II, 27, the Mañjuśrīmūlatantra (leaf 323) attributes to him a reign of 70 years, and to his predecessor 76 years.

2 Text: Yaśika (grags-ldan),

3 The river Śarāvatī is mentioned in the Divyāvadāna (p. 21) as one of the boundaries of the Madhyama Janapada of the Buddhists;

Ślanavāsa (Śāṇavāsika or Śāṇavāsa)[1] taught the Dhamma to a large number of bhikṣus of all regions gathered there. At that time there lived, in a region of the kingdom of Maruṭa,[2] the son of a merchant, Mahādeva, who had committed the three unpardonable (ānantarya) sins,[3] viz., particide, matricide and murder of an Arhant. Tormented by his conscience he went to Kasmira.[4] After concealing his ways of life he became a bhikṣu. With his sharp intellect he became very learned in the three Piṭakas, felt strong repentance, and practised samādhi in solitude. Thereafter, by the power of Māra, all took him to be an Arhant, and this greatly increased his gain and fame ; he them came to Śarāvatī with a group of bhikṣus ; the the bhikṣus recited the Prātimokṣasūtra by turn, and when the turn came to Mahādeva, he said at the end of his recitation that "gods are deluded through ignorance, the path proceeds out of the sound-stream, the sceptics are possessed by others' (wrong views).[5] —this is the teaching of Buddha." When he had taught this, the Venerable ones and the old bhikṣus said that these were not the words of the sūtras ; but the majority of the young bhikṣus sided with Mahādeva, and thus there appeared a division. After Mahādeva had explained falsely the sense of many other words of the text and had passed away, the bhikṣu Bhadra, whom men took to be a reincarnation of Māra Pāpīya, also succeeded in introducing many contradictions and doubts regarding the sense of the scriptures, and he ānounced five facts, viz., (1) the answer, (2) ignorance (3) doubt, (4) temptation (5) the restoration of individuality and he gave these out to be the

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see S. N. Mazumdar's edition of Cunningham's Geography, p. xliii ; Vinaya, Mv., I, p. 197.—Tr.

1 Yul. slan. pa. Cf. Mahāvaṃsa, p. 22 : Sambhuūta Sānavāsi.—Tr.

2 The kingbom was probably named after the ruler and he is Maruṇḍ ? See Bohtlingk and Roth, *Sanskrit Dtctianary* s. v.

3 In the Abhidharma-mahā-vibhāṣā-śāstra and other works Mahādeva's life is related. Watters has summarised it in his *Yuan Chwang*, vol. I, pp. 267-9.—Tr.

4 In the Chinese sources Pāṭaliputra is mentioned instead of Kasmira. See Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 268.—Tr.

5 Lha. rnams. ma. rig. pa. yis. bslus. Lam. ni. sgra. yi. rgyun. las. byun. . The. tsom. can. rnams. gzan. gyis. ḥjug.—Tr.

teaching of Buddha.[1] Different ways of explaining the word appeared in consequence of the many special opinions, and on account of doubts and misunderstandings the division became manifold, and also on account of the fact, that the teachers of the different sūtras in the language of different regions changed a little the succession of letters and connection of words, and introduced many different long and short word-beginnings.

Although the Arhants and many learned people tried to reconcile this division, the ordinary bhikṣus were overpowered by the Demon and the division did not cease. When Mahādeva and Bhadra died, the bhikṣus came to know their character. After Kaśyapa II had vanished from the present, the Venerable Mahāloma took charge of the land of Mathurā and the Venerable Nandin, the affairs concerning the teaching. The ninth section, the events of the time of Kāśyapa II.

1 See Dutt's *Early History etc.*, p. 229, for the interpretation of Mahāde va's five tenets.

MISCELLANY

Yāgeśvara

In the I.H.Q. of June, 1929, Dr. Venkatasubbiah wrote an article on Yāgeśvara, a rare word occurring in Pūrṇabhadra's Pañcatantra. He pointed out that Dr. Hertel was wrong in taking the word in the sense of 'gold'. He referred also to the fact that the word occurred in the Naiṣadha of Śrīharṣa (12. 38), and Mallinātha and Nārāyaṇa took it to mean 'a crystal phallus of Śiva'.

I wish here to add that the word occurs in Skanda-purāṇa (Māheśvara-khaṇḍa, 11.6 of Kumārikā-khaṇḍa), and there it is used in the sense of a Śivaliṅga made of stone. The word, however, is found there in the form of Jāgeśvara.

तत्र जागेश्वरं लिङ्गं कृत्वाथ विनिवेशितम् ।
बाल्यादुपलरूपं तद्वर्षावारिविशुद्धितम् ॥

There is no critical edition of Skanda-purāṇa, but it is probable that जागेश्वर is a variant for यागेश्वर. The form जागेश्वर is, in fact, found even in Nārāyaṇa's commentary (vide the 4th N. S. edition); and in a correct and well written manuscript of the commentary of Jinarāja, preserved in the Bhandarkar Institute, both the forms यागेश्वर and जागेश्वर are found. It is no doubt difficult to derive the word in its latter form, unless we assume it to be a contraction of जगद्योगीश्वर, which seems to be another Śivaliṅga mentioned in Skanda-purāṇa (9. 22 of the above-mentioned khaṇḍas).

There is, however, no doubt that Śrīharṣa himself wrote यागेश्वर. Vidyādhara, the earliest known commentator on Naiṣadha, gives the word in this form. But he explains यागेश्वर as a crystal water-deity, and does not say that it is a Śivaliṅga. He contrasts Yāgeśvara with Nārāyaṇa. The latter, too, he says, is a water-deity (जलदेवता), resorting as he does to the ocean; but he sleeps in the ocean, while Yāgeśvara 'keeps awake' (जागर्ति) as stated in the Naiṣadha verse referred to above.

Cāṇḍūpaṇḍita, the next commentator after Vidyādhara,[1] does

1 Vidyādhara and Cāṇḍūpaṇḍita wrote in the latter half of the 13th century. Their commentaries are still unpublished, but extensive extracts from them have been given in the notes appended to my English translation of Naiṣadha, now in the Press.

not recognise the word यागेश्वर at all ; for he construes it as या + अगेश्वरः, an interpretation found in Nārāyaṇa also. He connects, however, Yāgeśvara with the natural ocean, from which 'the ocean of fame' described in the verse is to be distinguished ; and in the case of the ocean, he explains it as यज्ञपुरुष, who, he says, lives invisible in the ocean. Cāṇḍū is a learned commentator, but his explanation of this word is ambiguous.

Among later commentators, Mallinātha, Jinarāja and Nārāyaṇa rely on some current tradition (प्रसिद्धि) and take the word to mean a crystal phallus of Śiva (स्फटिकलिङ्गे यागेश्वर इति प्रसिद्धिः). Skanda-purāṇa, too, as we have seen, refers to Yāgeśvara as a Śivaliṅga, though not made of crystal.

There is another reason which makes the connection between Yāgeśvara and Śiva probable. Śrīharṣa describes Yāgeśvara as living 'invisible, having entered the waters' (जलं चाविश्य दृश्येतरो, यस्यासौ जलदेवता स्फटिकभूर्जागर्ति यागेश्वरः). It is here important to note that we know of a Śiva idol, which, too, is described as living in the midst of waters. Maṅkhaka, in his Śrīkaṇṭha-carita 3, 14, refers to the wooden Kapaṭeśvara Śiva and says that he 'sleeps' (i. e. lives hidden) in water in Satīsaras, which is a name of Kāśmīra (3.1).

स यत्र भर्गः कपटेश्वराख्यया निरस्तलोकत्रयकश्मषक्रमः ।
दृषद्वपुः काष्ठमयं जले स्वपित्यनुद्गमायेव दृगग्नितेजसः ॥[1]

From this it is clear that certain forms of Śiva are described as abiding in water, and Śrīharṣa attributes the same characteristic to Yāgeśvara. This lends further support to the belief that Yāgeśvara as described by Śrīharṣa is a form of Śiva. Besides, the fact that the name Yāgeśvara ends in 'īśvara,' while the deity is described as being of crystal, is an indication that the reference is to a Śivaliṅga. For practically all the names of Śivaliṅgas mentioned in the Purāṇas end in 'īśvara,' while references to crystal Śivaliṅgas are not rare even in the Kāvya literature. A crystal phallus of Śiva is referred to in Daśakumāracarita (1.2), and in Nava-sāhasāṅkacarita (18.51).

I have here confined myself to the word Yāgeśvara, but may point out that, in the Naiṣadha verse referred to above, the earlier commentators read दृश्येतरा for दृश्येतरः and make it qualify जलदेवता.

KRISHNA K. HANDIQUI

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1 For details see Rājānaka Jayaratha's Haracarita-cintāmaṇi, ch. 14.

Date of the Mudrā-rākṣasa

While editing a Kannaḍa version of the Mudrārākṣasa, I was strongly impressed that the Sanskrit work should be ascribed to the Gupta period and not to the eighth or the ninth century and that Dr. Jacobi [*W. Z. K. M.* (1888), pp. 212-6] has wrongly arrived at the year 860 A.D. as the date of composition of the drama. The last verse of the play is as follows :

वाराहीमात्मयोनेस्तनुमवनविधावास्थितस्यानुरूपां
यस्य प्राग्दन्तकोटिं प्रलयपरिगता शिश्रिये भूतधात्री ।
म्लेच्छैरुद्विज्यमाना भुजयुगमधुना संश्रिता राजमूर्तेः
स श्रीमद्बन्धुभृत्यश्चिरमवतु महीं पार्थिवश्चन्द्रगुप्तः ॥

The variants of the last word in this poem that occur in the manuscripts are Dantivarman, Rantivarman and Avantivarman. Now there are two Avantivarmans to be found, one being a contemporary of Harṣa (c. 640) and the other a king of Kashmir (855-83 A.D.). Jacobi believes that the latter is the one referred to and that his minister Sura had the play enacted at his court. According to him, the eclipse that is referred to in the play took place on the 2nd December, 860.

This is unsatisfactory for several reasons. For the sake of argument we may equally assert that it is Dantivarman who is alluded to. We have three kings of the name, two of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa lineage and the other a Pallava who succeeded Nandivarman Pallavamalla. The first Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dantivarman (c. 600) was probably a contemporary of Pulakeśin II (cf. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XI). The second Dantivarman or Dantidurga who had the titles of *Vaira-megha*, and *Khaḍgāvaloka* lived in 754 A.D. and conquered Sandubhūpa, the Lord of Kāñcī (Nandivarman), Kaliṅga, Kośala, Śrī Śaila, the Śeṣas, Mālava Lāṭa and Ṭaṅka after crossing the rivers such as Mahānadī and Revā (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. XII). The Pallava king Dantivarman was the son of Nandivarman Pallavamalla and seemed to have ruled from 779 to 830 A.D. Between his 21st and 59th year, Rāṣṭrakuṭa Govinda III defeated him and took Kāñcī.

Any of these kings might with equal propriety be referred to in the drama. But a careful study reveals the fact that the author was a resident of Northern India and knew very well the topographical details of the city of Pāṭaliputra. In all probability he lived in the

city long before it was destroyed. In the drama, the king of Kashmir and that of Malaya are referred to as *Mlecchas* or barbarians. If we locate Malaya in South India and opine that the drama was enacted before a Dantivarman, or even suppose that Avantivarman of Kashmir is alluded to, it is not conceivable how the author could refer to the country of his patrons as *Mleccha-deśa* with impunity. *Mleccha-deśa* was the general term applied to all countries beyond the confines of Āryāvarta—the country between the Himālayas and the Vindhyas. (म्लेच्छदेशस्त्वविज्ञेयः आर्यावर्तस्ततःपरम्). In this drama Śakas, Cīnas, Hūṇas, Pārasīkas, Yavanas, Khaśas, and even Kāśmīras, and Kulūtas are referred to as barbarians. Moreover, among the varieties of Prākṛt employed in the drama, the Kṣapaṇaka Jīvasiddhi and the Caṇḍālas employ Māgadhī instead of the ordinary Śaurasenī. All this cumulative evidence leads us to suppose that the author was a native of the country bounded on the north-east by the Khasia hills, in the south by the Vindhyas and in the west by Kulūta which Yuan Chwang tells us was the country between Jālandhara and the Śatadrū.

Turning now to the time of composition of the drama, we find that at the outset a lunar eclipse takes place. This must have been in Bhādrapada, for the *Kaumudī-mahotsava* is referred to immediately afterwards. This surely occurred on the day of Āśvayuja-pūrṇimā when *Kojāgarī-vrata* is observed and Indra and Lakṣmī are worshipped. Soon after this, while Candragupta is taking Cāṇakya to task for having stopped *Kaumudī-mahotsava*, the attendants sing of Śarad-ṛtu and the waking of Viṣṇu from his snake-bed i.e. on the occasion of the *Utthānadvādaśī* or *Probodhotsava* (*Kārtika* Śu 12). The estrangement between Cāṇakya and Candragupta is immediately reported to Rākṣasa and on *Kārtika*, *śuddhapūrṇimā*, Rākṣasa asks the Kṣapaṇaka to name an auspicious day for marching on Kusumapura. Jīvasiddhi says that after sunset the *Budha-lagna* is auspicious.

The eclipse that according to Jacobi took place on the 2nd December, 860 A.D. is thus not the one that is alluded to, because firstly, it occurs on the full-moon day of the *Mārgaśirṣa* month. But, as we have seen, the whole action must have been concluded by the Kārtika Pūrṇimā. Probably Jacobi relies on Dhuṇḍirāja and thinks that nearly two months of inactivity elapsed after the estrangement between Cāṇakya and Candragupta. But Rākṣasa's words show that as soon as the message from Pāṭaliputra came, immediate efforts were made to march on the city. At the most a delay of three or four days (from *utthānadvādaśī* to *Pūrṇimā*) is all that is possible.

Secondly, there was no lunar eclipse at all on the 2nd December, 860 A.D.[1] Viśākhadatta must have had an actual eclipse in his mind, which for the purpose of his drama he presents as imminent, and it must have been generally believed that it was actually going to take place as indicated by the preparations made to observe it with due ceremonies.

The last verse of the *Bharatavākya* is assigned in some manuscripts to the actor of the part of Candragupta himself. In that case, it is almost certain that the Candragupta alluded to must have been a king at whose court the drama was acted. The use of the word *adhunā* supports this idea.

Viśākhadatta was familiar with Kusumapura and probably lived there before it was destroyed by the Ganges. We have the record of at least three such innundations. The latest was probably in 1472 A.D. after which Sher Shah re-built the fortress and the town.[2] This is also referred to in the Jaina work *Karpūraprakara.*

"वीरनिर्वाणतो वर्षशतेष्वेकोनविंशती चतुर्दशाब्दयुक्तेषु व्यतीतेषु दुराशयः चैवसप्तमीदिने विष्टी भावी म्लेच्छ कुलो नृपः कल्किरुद्रतश्चतुर्वक्त्री नाम तृतीयविश्रुतः..............गंगाप्रवाहस्तन्नगरं प्लावयिष्यति"

One thousand and nine hundred and fourteen years after the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra, the Ganges once again destroyed Pāṭaliputra. Before this in about 750 A.D., according to a version of Kang-Juyen, there was another submergence of the city. But the earliest of all seems to be the one at the time of the death of Kalkin which event Jaina accounts place in 472 A.D. The *Trilokasāra* says

श्रीवीरनाथनिर्वृतेः सकाशात् पञ्चोत्तरषट्शतवर्षाणि पंचमासयुतानि गत्वा पश्चात् विक्रमांकशकराजो जायते। तत उपरि चतुर्नवत्युत्तरत्रिशतवर्षाणि सप्तमासाधिकानि गत्वा पश्चात् कल्की जायते।

Similarly the Jaina *Harivaṃśa, Trailokyadīpikā*, *Uttarapurāṇa*, and the *Trilokasāra* are all unanimous in placing Kalkin 394 years and five months after Śaka era (*My. Ar. Rep.*, 1928). May we not therefore, be justified in concluding that in the year 472 A.D., Pāṭaliputra was destroyed by the Ganges. Viśākhadatta must have lived prior to this date and in the days of Candragupta Vikramāditya.

Viśākhadatta himself gives us the clue in a verse (Act IV, 4).

दूरे प्रत्यासत्तिर्दर्शनमपि दुर्लभमधन्यैः।
कल्याणकुलधराणां देवानामिव मनुष्यदेवानाम्॥

Here the Gupta lineage is compared with that of the gods,

1 *Indian Ephemeris*, vol. I, pt. I, p. 233.
2 Lassen, *I. A.*, vol. II.

and Malayaketu is referred to as an ordinary king (*manuṣya*). *Kalyāṇakula* seems to be the same as *Śrīkula* and in an inscription of Gupta era 61, the Gupta family is referred to as "श्रीसंयुतानां गुप्तान्वयः", and the Deva is no other than Candragupta himself whose titles on the coins are (1) *Avikrama*, (2) *Ajitavikrama*, (3) *Narendracandra* (4) *Devarāja*, (5) *Siṃhavikrama*, etc. Moreover, the Śakas who are mentioned in the drama are probably the Western Kṣatrapas whose line came to an end in 388 A.D. at the hands of Candragupta. It is unlikely that if no Śaka is found after 400 A.D., a writer recording long after should refer to them. The destruction of Śakas is referred to by Bāṇa and in the drama *Devīcandragupta* quoted in the *Śṛṅgāra-rūpaka*. So the drama Mudrārākṣasa must have been written some time after 388 A.D. and before 415 A.D. the latest date for Candragupta Vikramāditya. Thus Viśākhadatta becomes the younger contemporary of Kālidāsa. Dr. J. J. Modi is of opinion that the Hūṇas were to be found on the Indian borders as early as the second century A.D. and the argument that Hūṇas came to India only after 475 A.D. is not valid. They became a menace only in the time of Toramāna and Mihirakula and harassed Skandagupta. But until then they seem to have been contented with sporadic expeditions for the purposes of pillage and robbery. The use of the phrase 'म्लेच्छैरुद्विज्यमाना" in the *Bharatavākya* shows that a sort of guerilla warfare was being carried on and that the Hūṇas were not yet as powerful as they were to become under Toramāna or Mihirakula.

There is nothing in the internal evidence that militates against our view. Some of the stanzas that occur in this drama are also to be found in the Pañcatantra (अत्युच्छ्रिते मन्त्रिणि पार्थिवे च etc.) and in Bhartṛhari's Nītiśataka (आरभ्यते न खलु etc.). Of Bhartṛhari's Śatakas only the Śṛṅgāra-śataka seems to have been his own composition, the other two being collections of *Subhāṣitas*. *Pañcatantra* or *Tantrākhyāyikā* cannot be placed later than the middle of the third century A.D. Perhaps Viśākhadatta borrowed the verse from *Pañcatantra*, or as is more probable, he introduced into his work some of the floating literature of his time. So there is no sufficient reason for placing him after Bhartṛhari.

In the first Act, Cāṇakya says that Induśarman is well-versed in the science of polity of Auśanasa school. This does not necessarily mean that this drama is posterior to *Śukranīti*. Kālidasa mentions the Auśanasa-nīti thus :

अध्यापितस्योशनसापि नीतिं
प्रयुक्तरागप्रणिधिर्द्विषस्ते ।
कस्यार्थधर्मौ वद पीडयामि
सिंधोस्तटावोघ इव प्रवृद्धः ॥

(*Kumārasambhava*, III 6).

Kauṭalya in the *Arthaśāstra* criticizes the opinions of his predecessors like *Mānava*, *Bārhaspatya*, *Auśanasa*, *Pārāśara* and *Ambhīya*. Nor is there sufficient justification for placing Viśākhadatta after Varāhamihira. Kālidāsa knows that the Moon is the friend of Budha and Guru (cf. *Raghuvaṃśa*, XIII, 76). The notion that Ketu influences the fortunes of men (according to Ballālasena's *Adbhutasāgara*) originated with Pulisa or Paulas of Alexandria. Hence we can only conclude that the drama was composed after the third century A.D.

The allusions to the selflessness of the Buddhas or Bodhisattvas and to the story of Śibi show that Buddhism was an honoured religion at this time, though due to the Brāhmaṇical revival it was gradually losing ground. The fact that Cāṇakya sent Induśarman to the court of Malayaketu as a Kṣapaṇaka of the Lokottaravādin school instead of as a Brahmin Parivrājaka, shows that the Buddhist monks had been in the habit of conducting political intrigues under the protective cloak of their *Āśrama*. The nuns in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and in the *Daśakumāracarita* engage themselves in even more reprehensible acts. It is not surprising that an author with Brāhmaṇical leanings like Viśākhadatta, depicts Jīvasiddhi as a spy and a betrayer.

Coming to the style, a single glance is enough to show that Viśākhadatta writes clearly and forcibly as befits the narrative. His style shows none of the elaborate ornateness of Māgha and Bhavabhūti or Ratnākara or Bhāravi. At the same time, since in the first stanza he employs Vakrokti, it is possible that he is later than Bhāmaha. Bhāmaha must certainly be prior to Bhāravi, the arguments about the former being posterior to Daṇḍin or Dharmakīrti being manifestly absurd. Bhāravi must have been the contemporary of Durvinīta (c. 450), Siṃhavarman or Siṃhaviṣṇu of Kāñcī (Śaka 380 or A.D. 458 according to Siṃhasūri's *Lokavibhāga*) and Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇuvardhana. The attempt to place Bhāravi between 615 A.D. (accession of Viṣṇuvardhana of the Eastern Cāḷukyas) and 634 A.D. (the date of the Aihole inscription composed by Ravikīrti) would lead us to the ridiculous conclusion that during the space of fifteen years Bhāravi became so famous that a Jaina poet of such merit

as Ravikīrti classed him with Kālidāsa. Bhāravi must be placed in about 450 A.D. Thus there is nothing contrary to our view that Viśākhadatta might have followed the school of Bhāmaha.

Some minor points might be noticed. Vaṭeśvaradatta is spoken of as merely a *Sāmanta*, while his son Pṛthu perhaps obtained the title of *Mahārāja* (which cannot mean a minister) and Viśākhadatta has the title of neither *Sāmanta*, nor *Kumāra* nor *Yuvarāja*. And the use of the phrase *Śrīmadbandhubhṛtya* in the *Bharatavākya* indicates that the members of the family of Viśākhadatta was included among the relatives and servants of Candragupta. Probably Pṛthu tried to make himself independent during the reign of Samudragupta who deprived him and his son of all their power.

The designation of the offices that occur in the drama like *Kālapāśaka*, *daṇḍapāśaka*, *sarvanagaraśreṣṭhin*, *durgapālaka*, *kumāra*, *adhirāja*, *vijayapālaka*, etc. also occur in the Basra seals and other contemporary Gupta records as *uparikamahārāja*, *mahāpratihārin*, *mahādaṇḍanāyaka*, *nagaraśreṣṭhin*, *daṇḍapāśādhikaraṇa*, etc. Viśākhadatta evidently employs the terminology of his own time instead of that of the *Artha-śāstra*.

Thus having fixed the time of the composition of the play, we shall see if in any year about the beginning of the fifth century A.D. the astronomical conditions mentioned in the play are fulfilled. It has already been indicated that the balance of probability is that Viśākhadatta while writing the play had a definite time-scheme starting with a lunar eclipse on a Bhādrapada full-moon day and ending with the Kārtika full-moon day in accordance with the *pūrṇimānta* reckoning. The year 397 A.D. satisfies these conditions.[1]

Lunar eclipse, Bhādrapada Ś. 15, Monday, 24th August, 397 A.D.
Kaumudīmahotsava, Āśvina Ś. 15, Wednesday, 23rd Sept., „
Prabodhotsava, Kārtika Ś. 12, Monday, 19th October, „
March on Pāṭaliputra, Kārtika Ś. 15, Thursday, 22nd Oct., „

On Thursdays travelling is forbidden till 3 P.M. (22 ghaṭikās after sunrise) and because of *Paurṇimā* and *Kṛttikānakṣatra* travelling

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1 The year A.D. 388, in which Candragupta destroyed the Śakas, seems also to fit the data :—Bhādrapada Ś. 15 Lunar eclipse on 2nd September ; Āśvina, kaumudī mahotsava on October 2nd, Monday ; Prabodhotsava on Kārtika 12, Saturday, October 28th ; and the full-moon of Kārtika falls on Tuesday, 31 October.

from north to south is also tabooed. It is further enjoined that princes must start in a *dvisvabhāvalagna* like that of Budha when engaged in war. Jīvasiddhi opines that the *Lagna* is strong enough to overcome the evil results of *nakṣatra*, *tithi* and *vāra*. Independent of the accepted belief that the drama *Devī-candragupta* is a work of Viśākhadatta and cannot have been composed prior to 388 A.D., the last date of the Kṣatrapas, we have arrived at the conclusion that Murdarākṣasa must have been composed during the time of Candragupta II, by our process of reasoning. I am not aware of Dr. Sten Konow's arguments for placing Viśākhadatta in the reign of Candragupta, but the facts adduced above serve to show that this theory cannot be dismissed, as Dr. Keith does, as a mere "fantasy."

S. SRIKANTHA SASTRI

Characteristic Features of the Saṭṭaka form of Drama[1]

The word 'Saṭṭaka' is fairly well-known to students of Sanskrit dramaturgy as the name of a minor form of drama. But the literal and exact sense of the word or its characteristic features are not quite well-known. Originally it seems to have referred to a form of dance.

The word *Sāḍikā* is found in a Bharhut inscription where it refers to music or dance. According to Dr. Hoernle it is a somewhat irregularly formed equivalent of the Sanskrit *Sāṭaka* applicable to the dancing of the Apsarases.[2]

That dancing formed an essential part in the staging of Saṭṭakas is gathered from statements found in the prologues of the two Saṭṭakas—*Karpūramañjarī* and *Rambhāmañjarī*. The Pāripārśvika in the first work expressly states that the Saṭṭaka has to be danced.[3] In the second work the expression 'Oh, the dancers have already begun'[4] has been used to refer to the fact that the play has already begun. This would also be quite clear from a definition

1 Read before the Sixth All-India Oriental Conference at Patna in December, 1930.

2 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XX, p. 257 ; Hultzsch, Z.D.M.G., vol. XL, 1886, p. 66, No. 50.

3 सट्टकं णच्चिदव्वं।

4 अहो प्रक्रान्तमेव नर्त्तकैः।

of the Saṭṭaka as given in the *Bhāvaprakāśana* according to which Saṭṭaka is a form of dance.[1]

Uses like सट्टकम् आश्रित्य, सन्देशसट्टकं, and शार्दूलविक्रीडितसट्टकबन्धमधिकृत्य in the *Rambhāmañjarī* would seem to point to a kind of metre or *rāga* as the meaning of the word.

It is not known when the Saṭṭaka as a form of drama—as apart from a kind of music or dance—came to be introduced. Neither we have many surviving specimens of this kind of drama. Earlier works like the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata and the *Daśarūpaka* of Dhanañjaya do not mention Saṭṭaka. The section of the *Agnipurāṇa* (338, 2) dealing with dramaturgy refers to Saṭṭaka but the time of the composition of the Purāṇa is not yet definitely known. And the *Karpūramañjarī* of Rājaśekhara seems to be one of the earliest, if not the earliest, available specimen of a Saṭṭaka. But even at the time of Rājaśekhara, Saṭṭaka as a form of drama does not seem to have been widely known and this necessitated a definition of the form in the prologue.[2] It should be noted that the prologue is not found elsewhere to define or explain the form of the drama.

There was a good deal of controversy with regard to the exact nature of Saṭṭaka. According to some it is a type of *Toṭaka*[3]; according to others it is a form of *Nāṭikā*.[4]

But the greatest amount of controversy appears to have centred round the language of a Saṭṭaka. Thus a characteristic feature of the Saṭṭaka as noted by Viśvanātha in his *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (and as is the general impression among students of Sanskrit) is the exclusive use of Prākṛt.[5] But this does not seem to have been the case originally or even later on generally. The definition of this form of drama as given by Rājaśekhara in the prologue of his *Karpūramañjarī* does not refer to this important feature. Had it required the exclusive use of Prākṛt, the verse that explains it would not have omitted to mention this vital point. On the other hand subsequent

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1 सट्टकं नाटिकाभिदो नृत्यभेदात्मकं प्रिये (p. 269).

2 But Prof. Sten Konow thinks otherwise. According to him the definition of Saṭṭaka as given in the work itself suggests that the *Karpūramañjarī* was not the first composition of its kind.—*Karpūramañjarī* (H. O. S.), p. 195.

3 *Bhāvaprakāśana* (G. O. S.), p. 180.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 244.

5 सट्टकं प्राकृताशेषपाठ्यं स्यादप्रवेशकम्—VI.284.

query, why Prākṛt has been used to the exclusion of Sanskrit may be regarded as an indication that Saṭṭakas were composed in Sanskrit as well.

The *Bhāvaprakāśana* of Śāradātanaya, 'a compendium of all activities of the writers on literary criticism from Bharata down to Kṣemendra in the 11th century' (as the work is described in the introduction to its edition in the *Gaekwad's Oriental Series*) actually refers to people who were definitely of opinion that at least the king in a Saṭṭaka should not speak Prākṛt.[1] In the same breath the view of others according to whom the king should speak Māgadhī or Śaurasenī form of Prākṛt is also referred to.[2] It is stated in another place of the same work that a Saṭṭaka should be *Prakṛṣṭaprākṛtamaya.*[3] But the meaning of the word is not quite clear. It seems to refer to the use of high class Prākṛt alone in a Saṭṭaka. For it is definitely laid down that a Saṭṭaka should be couched in the languages spoken in Śūrasena and Mahārāṣṭra.[4] It may not unlikely also mean that a Saṭṭaka should be mainly—if not exclusively—in Prākṛt, thereby hinting at the possibility of the existence of Saṭṭakas in Sanskrit.

The definition of the Saṭṭaka as given by the author of the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* is extremely obscure. He is expressly of opinion that a Saṭṭaka should be in one language. But it is difficult to make out anything from his statement to the effect that it should neither be in Sanskrit nor in Prākṛt.[5] Does it indicate that Saṭṭakas were originally in spoken dialects which were different alike from Sanskrit and literary Prākṛt ?

Whatever might have been the case originally it is clear from the references of Śāradātanaya that there were Saṭṭakas in which the king

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1 न वदेत् प्राकृतीं भाषां राजेति कतिचिज्जगुः (p. 269).

2 मागध्या शौरसेन्या वा वदेद् राजेति केचन (*loc.cit.*).

3 प्रकृष्टप्राकृतमयी सट्टकं नामतो भवेत् (p. 244).

4 शूरसेनमहाराष्ट्रवाच्यभाषादिकल्पितम् (p. 269).

5 विष्कम्भक प्रवेशकरहितो यस्त्वेकभाषया भवति ।
अप्राकृतसंस्कृतया स सट्टको नाटिकाप्रमितः ॥

—*Nāṭyadarpaṇa* (G. O. S.), vol. I, p. 213.

at least spoke Sanskrit. The silence in Rājaśekhara's definition as to the language to be used in a Saṭṭaka as also his excuse for using Prākṛt instead of Sanskrit would naturally lead one to suspect the existence of Saṭṭakas in Sanskrit.

As a matter of fact we have a work the *Rambhāmañjarī* of the Jain poet Nayacandra (author of the Hammīramahākāvya) which is styled Saṭṭaka and is written in imitation of the *Karpūramañjarī*. The work is partly in Sanskrit. Here the king speaks Sanskrit; the Sūtradhāra speaks Sanskrit and Prākṛt. The plot of the work agrees very closely with that of the *Karpūramañjarī*. The use of Sanskrit by our author cannot be supposed to be a fresh adventure as its use in earlier works can be inferred from the statements of Śāradātanaya and Rājaśekhara.

One more notable feature of the work is that it is complete in three *yavanikās* or acts whereas according to the consensus of opinion of all authors of works on dramaturgy it should have four.[1]

It will not be out of place here if an attempt were made to hazard a suggestion to explain this confusion with regard to the exact nature of a Saṭṭaka. Originally it seems to have been—as its name appears to indicate and as has been supposed by scholars like Sten Konow[2] and Keith[3]—a form of popular operatic representation abounding in music and dancing. It was possibly the practice at that time to use in it popular dialects which were neither literary Prākṛt nor Sanskrit. This seems to be the significance—as has already been conjectured—of the definition of the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*. When introduced in a Sanskrit garb or even when it was in popular dialects it does not seem to have appealed to the cultured Sanskritist audience. This is probably hinted by the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* when it refers to its comparative unpopularity.[4] Rājaśekhara might have made an attempt to restore the

1 The work as edited by Paṇḍit Ramcandra Dīnānātha Śāstrī was printed at the Nirnaya Sagara Press, Bombay in 1889. Curiously it is styled a *nāṭikā* on the cover. It deals with the story of king Jaitra-Siṃha, the Paṅgu, of Benares and Rambhā, the daughter of Madanavarman of the Kirmīra dynasty of Lāṭa (Gujrat). The subject-matter and historical data of the work will be dealt with in detail in a separate paper.

2 *Karpūramañjarī* (H. O. S.), p. 195.

3 *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 350.

4 एतानि च स्वल्पसावरञ्जनानिमित्तित्वात् वृद्धैरनभिहितत्वाच्च वृत्ताविव कीर्त्तितानि (p. 215).

popular character of this form of drama by his composition of a Saṭṭaka in literary Prākṛt. It should be noted that Rājaśekhara makes use of high class Prākṛt alone (e.g. Śaurasenī and Māhārāṣṭrī). The preponderance of deśī and local element in his work may possibly be due to his desire to make it popular.

Originating, as it did, from so famous and great a poet as Rājaśekhara the *Karpūramañjarī* soon came to occupy the position of an ideal Saṭṭaka. And not only later poets but also rhetoricians did not hesitate to accept it as the type. And some, at least, of the rhetoricians like Viśvanātha appear to have adapted their definitions of this form of drama to the *Karpūramañjarī*.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTY

On Maṇimekhalā "the guardian deity of the sea" (a Cambodian document)

In the last number of the Indian Historical Quarterly, I have drawn attention to Maṇimekhalā, a goddess of the sea, whose name appears in the Pāli Jātaka and in a celebrated epic of the Tamil literature, associated in both of them, with the same tale — the rescue of a holy man about to be drowned after a shipwreck. I have suggested that this deity belongs to Southern India and that her place of worship may have been Kāñcī or Kāverīpaṭṭana. Now I have quite unexpectedly and by mere chance come across another reference to Maṇimekhalā not in India proper, but in Further India, in that kingdom of Cambodia (Kāmvuja, Kāmboja), where much of old India can still be detected, not only in ancient temples, but also in current life and daily practices.

The Cambodian Rāmāyaṇa has the following episode. Its translation has been prepared through the kindness of Mademoiselle Suzanne Karpelès, the keeper of the King's library and the secretary of the Buddhist Institute at Pnom-Penh.

"At the settled time, the gods and goddesses went to the meeting place where they used to go every year for the pleasure of dancing. A very powerful god, Varjun by name, having heard that all were already present at the place, dressed himself and went there in order to take part in the dance along with the other gods.

At that time, a goddess of the sea, Maṇimekhalā, who had also

heard of that meeting, left her abode, holding in her hand a blazing jewel, and went to the place where all had to gather. At the same time, it happened that a king of the Giants, Rāmāsura or Rāma parusa (Paraśu Rāma) by name, very wicked and very powerful, left his heavenly mansion to enjoy a walk. In the course of his walk he perceived from afar the blazing fires of the jewel that Maṇimekhalā tossed in her hand while playing with it. Wishing to take hold of that precious jewel, Rāmāsura proceeded straight to her. The gods who were then dancing fled away and hastened to their home at the sight of the wicked Rāmāsura. Maṇimekhalā, left alone on the spot, hid herself in the clouds, tossing her jewel. The Giant followed on her steps. Seeing him, she behaved as if she would give her jewel up to her foe. But, as he was nearing, she tossed the jewel up, and Rāmāsura dazzling at the blaze, drew back, She stepped further, he pursued her. In a fit of anger, he advanced again in order to catch hold of her, but Maṇimekhalā again escaped the threatening hand. At last, the Giant threw his axe, hoping to kill the mistress of the jewel, but, lo! the axe did not touch her. Rāmāsura exclaimed: 'Mekhalā, will you give me your jewel? If not, you will be killed by my own hands' and he went on pursuing her.

At this moment the god Varjun, a sword in his hand, came to pass along. Rāmāsura then left her aside, and full of anger, addressed the god Varjun with these words: 'Who are you? How are you so bold as to pass along before my eyes? Do you not know that I am the most powerful in the three worlds? Varjun answered: Well, rascal, my name is Varjun, well-known in the three worlds. While passing through the air, I did not trample on your head. Why do you get across against me? Why do you want to emulate me? Have you not heard from the gods the extent of my divine power? Well be aware of this, Rāvaṇa himself, with ten heads and twenty arms, yields to myself?

Listening to these harsh words of Varjun, Rāmāsura enraged turned his axe round and began to fight. They exchanged such blows that the earth quaked. At last Rāmāsura succeeded in catching Varjun's feet, and he struck him against mount Meru so hard that Varjun died. The three worlds quaked, the Meru leaned on one side under Rāmāsura's heavy blow.

After that fight, Rāmāsura returned home victorious. As for Maṇimekhalā, she sat back to the sea, where she is still going on acting as a guardian."

This is the tale from which a ballet has been drawn, still performed at the court of Cambodia. It was given once more, a few months ago at the festival held at Pnom-Penh on the opening of the new Buddhist Institute (May 1930); it had been performed a little earlier (December 1929) before the mahārājā of Kapurthala on the occasion of his visit to the royal court of Cambodia. The Programme distributed to the guests is as follows :

1. Welcoming dance of the angels.

2. The archangel Vorchun join the angels and dances with them.

3. The goddess of the sea, Mekhalā, holding a blazing stone, enters and dances with others. The archangel Vorchun requests her in vain to give him the stone.

4. The demon Ream-Eysor, dazzled by the blaze of the jewel thrown by Mekhalā, breaks out into a fit of fury, and pursues the angels. He attempts to obtain from the goddess of the sea her wonderful jewel, but to no purpose ; he pursues her and engages himself in a fight with the archangel Vorchun who tries to stand in his way.

Now it is clear at once that the compiler of the Cambodian Rāmāyaṇa was familiar with the same Maṇimekhalā, "the guardian of the sea", the owner of a wonderful jewel, who appears both in Pāli and Tamil literature, and that he was, moreover, acquainted with some features of her legend which we could only guess or presuppose from Indian sources. I had in my previous paper dwelt on a passage of the Mahājanakajātaka where the author explains why the goddess neglected for full seven days to inspect the sea ; after giving his own explanation, he adds : "some people say (*keci vadanti*) that she had been attending a meeting of the gods". And again, after becoming conscious of her negligence, Maṇimekhalā exclaims : "If Mahājanaka had perished in the sea, I could not hereafter be admitted into the meeting of the gods." What that meeting was is now told expressly in the Cambodian Rāmāyaṇa : the gods used to meet once a year in a fixed place for the pleasure of dancing. Now, Maṇimekhalā's struggle with Paraśu Rāma is not likely to be a spontaneous fancy of the Cambodian epic ; it was probably borrowed from some old cycle of Indian legends in which Maṇimekhalā was playing the chief part. It is no wonder that legends originating from the South-Eastern coast of India reached Cambodia ; there are ample evidences of regular intercourse between this kingdom and the Southern dynasties, the Pallavas and the Colas. I hope I can later trace another evidence of the same kind, but in a converse direction.

SYLVAIN LÉVI

Notes on Dravidian

THE R-SOUNDS OF DRAVIDIAN

I *General*

The sound *r* can, in very general terms, be described as being producced by the vibration of the tip of the tongue raised up to some point between the teeth-ridge and the middle-palate on the mouth-roof. The sounds so produced are of different varieties, depending upon the point of articulation and the amount of vibratory movement involved. So far as the point of articulation is concerned, it may be anywhere[1] between the teeth-ridge and the middle-palate. Vibratory movements of the tongue-tip become impossible when the point of articulation is taken beyond the middle-palate; and they are reduced to a minimum when the tongue-tip is on the teeth-ridge. From the supra-dental region to the mid-palatal area, the tongue-tip retains sufficient elastic power to be set in varying degrees of vibration. The more forward the position of the tongue-tip, the greater is the tendency shown by the sound to assume a fricative character; as the tongue-tip moves more and more backward on the mouth-roof, the vibratory movements become easier, till a particular position is reached beyond which no vibratory movements are possible.

As the tip of the tongue could vary its point of contact on the mouth-roof, one should naturally expect variations in the character of the sounds produced not only among the different dialectal varieties of the same language but also among individual speakers of the same dialect and even among the different enunciations of the same speaker. This is actually the case in Dravidian. Further, the tendency of Dravidian to push up the tongue-tip towards the dome or apex of the mouth-roof (cf. the enunciation of the characteristic 'cerebral' sounds *ṭ*, *ḍ*, *ṇ*, of Dravidian) has led to the production in Dravidian of as many *r* sounds as there are points of articulation from the teeth-ridge up till the mid-palatal region. To adopt the scientific classification of Jespersen, we may say that the Dravidian varieties may be produced anywhere between $\beta R^{e\text{-}f}$ and $\beta R^{g\text{-}h}$. We need only note the value of southern English *r* [= I. P. A. 'ɹ'] is absent in Dravidian.

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1 See Jespersen's *Lehrbuch der Phonetik*, pp. 38, 39.

For practical purposes, however, we shall recognise here only three main varieties. These three varieties are represented in Tamil :—

(*a*) the so-called "light" *r* which is post-dental and produced in the region covered by βR^e to βR^f ; all the southern dialects possess a distinct symbol for this sound, which symbol is usually equated to its actual phonetic value. The vibratory movements of the tongue-tip are very few here and the muscular tension is very low.

(*b*) An 'alveolar'[1] *r* produced at the position denoted by βR^f to βR^g ; this sound has no separate symbol in any of the southern Dravidian speeches. The sound itself exists as such in a fixed form in Tamil only in the consonant groups *nd'r* and *t't'r* where *d'* and *t't'* represent alveolar plosives. In the other dialects the sound crops up only as an impermanent peculiarity in the enunciation of certain speakers or dialectal sub-varieties.

(*c*) The so-called 'cerebral' or 'cacuminal' or 'hard' *ṛ* is produced iu the region of βR^g to βR^h and termed variously in the south by native grammarians as *śakaṭa-rēpha*, *baṇḍi-ra*, etc. The vibratory movements of the tongue-tip are largest in the production of this variety. Tamil, Telugu and Kannaḍa possess symbols for this sound, but in modern enumeration Tamil alone gives it its true value.

In the production of all these three varieties, the lips remain slightly open, the tongue-tip immediately behind the tip-region is slightly drawn backwards so that the tongue-tip is allowed free play during vibration. The vibratory movements in all cases are in contact with the mouth-roof. These vibratory movements increase in number as the point of articulation proceeds higher and higher on the mouth-roof from βR^f to βR^h. The post-dental *r* involves only very few vibratory movements, while the post-alveolar *ṛ* is quite distinctly 'rolled' or 'trilled.' Generally speaking, the most forward variety βR^e and the most backward βR^h are not heard in Dravidian.

The fact that the vibratory movements become easier as the tongue-tip takes up higher and higher positions on the mouth-roof is of particular significance[2] in Dravidian inasmuch as in certain

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1 Alveolar *d'* in *nd'r* is produced at a slightly more forward position than *t't'* in *t't'r*. The point of articulation for the voiced alveolar *d'* is the region of the *fore-gums*, while *t't'* is produced at the *back-gums*.

2 What I have termed 'alveolar' *r* in a previous article of mine in these columns includes the true as well as the post-dental variety.

dialects the 'lighter' varieties of *r* tend to become rolled *ṛ* either in combinative positions or under the influence of mechanical or semantic accent. Indeed, any attempt on the part of a speaker to 'trill' his *r* gives rise to the production of *ṛ*.

II. *The description of r sounds in Tamil Grammars*

I have described above the values of the main varieties of *r* as they are brought out in present-day enunciation. It would be interesting to consider here the views of old Tamil grammarians with a view to finding out, if possible, the values attached to these sounds in the enunciation of a more ancient period.

The oldest extant Tamil grammar *Tolkāppiyam* (1st century B. C.?) describes the production of the 'light' *r* thus :—

Sūtra "*Nuṇinā-v-aṇari-y-aṇṇam varuḍa*
Rakāra ḻakāram āy iraṇḍum piṛakkum".

"*R* and *ḻ* are produced by the tip of the tongue being raised and allowed to rub against the hard palate".

The same grammar describes the 'hard' *ṛ* thus :—

"*Aṇari nuṇinā-v-aṇṇam oṭ'ṭ'ra*
Ṛahgā nahgānāyiraṇḍum piṛakkum".

"*Ṛ* and *n* are produced by the tip of the tongue being raised and made to come in contact with the palate".

It may be observed that the *Tolkāppiyam* does not describe any other variety. The *Nannūl*, another grammar, which is later than the Tolkāppiyam describes similarly these two varieties only :—

'Light' *r* :—

"*Aṇṇa nuṇinā varuḍa ra ḻa varum*".

"*R* and *ḻ* are produced by the rubbing of the tip of the tongue against the palate".

Minute observation reveals that the symbol for 'light' *r* in Tamil is usually given to-day the value of the post-dental only. The Tamil alphabet thus possesses symbols only for the post-dental *r* and the 'hard' or post-alveolar *ṛ*, the purely alveolar variety having been from early times associated in symbol and in sound with the post-alveolar or retroflex *ṛ*.

'Hard' *ṛ* :—

"*Aṉṉa nuninā nani-y-uṟil ṟa na varum*".

"*Ṟ* and *n* are produced when the tongue-tip is closely attached to the palate".

It would be useless to expect in these descriptions the scientific precision such as we are accustomed to in modern phonetic treatises. On an examination of the above definitions of the Tamil grammars the following points deserve to be singled out :—

(1) So far as *r* is concerned, it is clubbed with the continuative *ḻ*, merely on the ground that the tip of the tongue comes into play against the palate in both cases. *ḻ* in modern Tamil is distinctly post-alveolar, and 'light' *r* is post-dental. It could certainly not be that in ancient Tamil the *r* described here had the same point of articulation as that of modern *ḻ*. *ḻ* may indeed have been produced in the post-dental or alveolar regions but the definitions themselves do not suggest anything to warrant an inference of this kind. It is possible that the difference in the points of articulation was not considered by the old grammarians to be sufficiently important to be noted, probably because for *r* and *ḻ* the points of articulation varied greatly among different speakers and different enunciations were current in an older period.

(2) As for the other *r* which corresponds in symbol to that representing modern *ṛ*, the old grammarians class it among plosives and define it as being similar in point of production to the alveolar *n*. This view of the Tamil grammarians calls for a few comments. Evidently, the sound referred to here is an alveolar *r* (*β*R*ʃ*), as we see from the fact that it is described as having the same point of production as *n* and, further, as the classificatory lists show the relationship of this *r* to *n*, just as dental *t* is shown to be parallel to dental *n'*. Between the alveolar *r* and the post-alveolar *ṛ*, the only difference that is easily observable, is the amount of vibration of the tongue-tip. Among individual speakers themselves, the values of the alveolar and the cerebral *r's* are interchanged to-day. It was therefore probably felt by the grammarians that the symbol standing for modern *ṛ* need be described only as representing an alveolar sound and that no separate mention need be made of the cerebral.

Yet another factor also should have contributed to the confusion of the alveolar and the cerebral values of *ṛ* in these definitions. This point has to be considered in close connection with the grammarians' classification of *ṛ* as an *alveolar plosive*.

Why did they class *ṛ* as an alveolar plosive? Was it because originally it had only the value of alveolar *t'* or *d'* ? Did the sound originally have none of those vibratory movements which we associate with modern *ṛ*? In other words, could we consider that the modern value of *ṛ* is a later development from *t'*? The answer to these questions is unequivocally in the negative when we note (a) that *t'* (as we find it in Tamil-Malayāḷam today) has no distinct individuality of its own and shows itself to be a secondarily derived sound ; (b) that phonetically *t'* can never give rise to *r* under any circumstances ; and (c) that the independence and individuality of *ṛ* as an ancient Dravidian phoneme with a definite phonetic value and with clear semantic differentiations in those forms, possessing this sound as distinct from forms having 'light' *r*, are unquestionable as shown by the occurrence of the symbol and the sound (in some instances) in the southern Dravidian dialects.

When once we note that *ṛ* is ancient and that *t'* has no individuality of its own, the view (expressed by some scholars) that the symbol for *ṛ* originally had *only* the value of a plosive becomes unlikely. Why then have these two sounds been confused in the classification adopted by Tamil grammarians? And why does the symbol for modern Tamil *ṛ* stand for *t'* or *d* also in those few consonant groups where these alveolars occur?

I have indicated the answer to these questions already in my discussion of the origin of alveolar plosives *t'*, *d'* in the I.H.Q. (1929). In a large number of instances, the production of *t'* or *d'* occurs in close connection with the vibratory 'rolling' of the alveolar or cerebral *ṛ*, and thereupon the alveolar plosive was associated with *ṛ* in symbol and in sound. (Cf. for this association of *t* or *d'* with *ṛ* the Tamil groups *nd'r* and *tt'r*, the latter of which is produced not only when an original *ṛ* is involved but also as the result of combinative changes of alveolar *l* or *n plus* dental *t*). Though *t'* or *d'* was recognised as possessing no separate individuality of its own except largely in connection with alveolar or cerebral *ṛ*, it was singled out as the first element in the emphatic enunciation of *ṛ* (alveolar and cerebral). When the sound *ṛ* (alveolar and cerebral) was recognised (especially in accented positions) as being constituted of *t'* or *d'* and *r* (alveolar or cerebral), the symbol originally standing for *ṛ* by a natural confusion came to stand for *t'* also in the consonant groups like *t'k* (<*l* or *n*+*k*) and *t'p* (<*l* or *n*+*p*) where no *ṛ* was involved.

The process of association may therefore be represented to have taken the following course :—

(1) Alveolar and cerebral ṛ (with trilling) existed as original sounds in Dravidian and were correctly represented by the modern symbol for ṛ ; no attempt was made to distinguish these two, because they shared common features in their enunciation.

(2) *The alveolar plosive element t′* or *d′* was incorporated by these sounds initially, when they were 'rolled' particularly under the influence of accent arising from mechanical or semantic causes.

(3) This plosive element came to be intimately associated with ṛ which latter was thereupon also classified as a plosive especially because the plosive element underwent changes parallel to those undergone by the other plosives *p*, *t*, *k* and their voiced varieties.

(4) Further, the symbol standing for ṛ also came to stand for the single sound *t′* or *d′* when it cropped up even in contexts where no original ṛ was involved, i.e., when it cropped up as an assimilative result of the combination of *l* or *n*+*k* or *l* or *n*+*p*, (in which cases no original ṛ was involved).

The mixing-up of the symbols for ṛ and *t′* or *d′* and the classification by the Tamil grammarians of ṛ as an alveolar plosive should therefore be traced to the peculiar phonetic value of Tamil alveolar or cerebral ṛ which in accented or certain combinative positions had the value of *t′* or *d′*+*r*.

III Occurrence of the Sounds

(*a*) In initial positions, no one of the *r*- sounds is found in native words in the different Dravidian dialects except in Telugu, Tuḷu, Kui and Gōṇḍi where the initially occuring *r*- is the result of Aphæresis consequent on accent-shifting :—

Telugu : *rōlu* (mortar)—cf. Tamil *ural* (mortar)
lō (inside)—cf. *uḷ* (inside)
rāyu (to rub)—cf. *orai* (to rub)
etc. etc.

Tuḷu : *lamb*-(to wash)—cf. Tam. *alambu*
reñju-(to dissolve)—cf. Tam. *karai*
randu-(to crave)—cf. Tam- *era-kku*
etc. etc.

Kui : *rāk*-(to rub)—cf. southern *or-ai*, etc.
rīs (to set in position)—cf. southern *irutt*-(to place)
rī (to burn)—cf. *eri* (to burn)
etc. etc.

Gōṇḍi : *ragga*-(to descend)—cf. Tamil *iṟaṅgu* ;
rēṅg (to be open)—cf. Tamil *tuṟ* (to be open)
etc. etc.

(*b*) Intervocally, both *r* and *ṟ* occur in Tamil and Malayāḷam and are given their correct values, e.g., *paṟavai* (bird), *iṟaṅgu* (to descend), *uṟai* (to settle, coagulate), etc.

There exist separate symbols for *r* and *ṟ* in Kannaḍa and Telugu also but the modern value of both these symbols is only a post-dental *r* (see below for instances).

(*c*) In final positions, *r* when preceded by a long vowel appears without any enunciatory vowel in Tamil, e.g., *ūr*, *śēr*, etc., but final *ṟ* takes[1] always a slight enunciatory vowel, e.g., *kāṟu* (cloud), *śāṟu* (essence), etc.

In Malayāḷam, final *ṟ* may also appear alone, e.g., *kayaṟ* (rope), *vayaṟ* etc.

No attempt has been made in the above analysis to distinguish between the alveolar and the post-alveolar varieties both of which have in this essay been denoted by *ṟ*. As vibratory movements of the tongue-tip exist in the production of both these sounds, they could not usually be easily marked off one from the other, but we may note here that *r* in the Tamil consonant groups *nd'r* and *t't'r* is alveolar. The post-dental variety is in Tamil represented by a different symbol and it possesses a distinct individuality of its own, as it ordinarily fails to undergo any of those changes which *ṟ* (alveolar and cerebral) appears to have undergone (see below).

Other general features about the occurrence of *r* and *ṟ* may be noted below :—

1 This difference is easily explained. Post-dental *r* involves very few vibratory movements and therefore no enunciatory vowel was recognised ; while the larger number of vibratory movements entailed in the production of the 'hard' *ṟ* naturally brought into prominence a slight vocalic element. Such a vocalic element is also associated in Dravidian with the enunciation of *p*, *t*, *k*, immediately after explosion.

(*i*) *r* and ṛ are used alternatively in a few instances which denote basically the same meanings :—*karu-*, *kaṛu* (black) ; *turuva*, *tiṛappu* (opening) etc.

This alternance of *r* and ṛ in the bases probably points to a period when the different varieties of *r* alternated with one another and no fixity of sound had arisen ; but instances of such alternance are few in the extant word-stock.

(*ii*) In the large majority of cases, *r* and ṛ are distinct and separate phonemes in Tamil today, e.g.,

r (*post-dental*)	ṛ (*alveolar* or *cerebral*)
ir (to sit, to exist)	*iṛ-* (to go down, etc.)
pār (to see)	*pāṛ* (to fly)
ar- (nearness)	*aṛ-* (to cut)
etc.	etc.

(*iii*) In dialectal varieties of Tamil, *r* and ṛ are freely interchanged. In the colloquial of the Coimbatore district, the sound uniformly used for both *r*'s approximates to βR^{g} in character, e.g., *tēṛu* (car) for *tēr*, *peṛai* for *perai* (roof), *aṛi* (to cut) for *ari*, etc.

In the colloquial of Madras city (probably owing to the influence of Telugu, for which *vide infra*) all *r*'s are given the value of the post-dental *r* [βR^{f}], e.g., *para* for *paṛa* (to fly), *kari* for *kaṛi* (curry) etc.

(*iv*) We have already referred to the peculiarity in the enunciation of ṛ in the Tamil country, viz., the production of a slight alveolar *t* before the rolling or vibration of the tongue-tip commences. Its presence can be detected on careful observation. The alveolar plosive *t′* (or *d′*) is the sound resulting from the tongue-tip forming an initial stoppage ; just before the breath-current, necessary for the production of the vibratory movements of the tongue-tip, begins to issue, the tongue-tip will have formed this stoppage and the first force of the current explodes the stoppage and produces alveolar *t*. The alveolar plosive in *tṛ-ṛ-ṛ* could be heard conspicuously when *ṛ* is rolled with some stress deliberately. If the *ṛ* is produced higher up in the mid-palatal region itself, the plosive incorporated may be the cerebral *ṭ* ; but usually the alveolar *t* alone is heard.

(*v*) Malayāḷam *ṛ* is very much more "rolled" than Tamil *ṛ*, e.g., *aṛiyuka* (to know), *puṛame* (besides) etc.

Post-dental *r* in consonant groups[1] sometimes becomes *ṛ* in

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1 Sanskrit consonant groups formed of voiceless plosives and *r* are given in Mal. the values of *pṛ*, *kṛ*, *tṛ*, e.g., *pṛakāra*, *kṛānti*, *tṛāsam*,

Malayāḷam e.g., *avar* (they)+dative ending-*k*=*avaṛku* (to them), etc.

Final *r* of words, sounded as a "*chit*" (cille-) often becomes *ṛ*, e.g., *kayaṛ* (rope), *payaṛ* (grain), *vayaṛ* (belly) etc.

R and *ṛ* occur as separate phonemes as in Tamil (*Vide* above).

Again, Skt. *rv* and *rn* are also pronounced as *ṛv* and *ṛn* in Malayāḷam, but *ry* (as in *kārya*) retains its value in Malayāḷam.

(*vi*) *Telugu.*

The modern dialect observes no distinction between *r* and *ṛ*, and uses *r* throughout in sound. The grammatical dialect or the *sādhu bhāṣā* which represents an ancient stage of Telugu, shows *ṛ* and employs a separate symbol for it, e.g., *andaṛu* (all), *nūṛu* (hundred), *āṛu* (six), *guṛṛamu*[1] (horse), *kaṛṛi* (black), *maṛṛi* (change). etc.

In some instances where Tamil uses *ṛ*, even literary Telugu uses the symbol *r* only :

kāṛu—*kāru* (Saltness)

(*vii*) *Kannaḍa* keeps fairly close to Tamil in preserving *r* in the symbols of the literary dialect, but the value given to it in modern spoken Kannaḍa is everywhere that of the post-dental *r*.

(*viii*) *Tuḷu* and *Koḍagu* have eliminated *ṛ* throughout in native words, e.g., *ār* (to grow cool) ; *mār* (to change) etc.

There is reason to think that in a large number of Tuḷu instances this elimination was caused not only by the mere replacement of *ṛ* by *r*, but also to the change of *r* to *d* or *dj* in certain positions, e.g., *madepu* to forget), *āji* (six), *kudi* (term), *pide* (to be born), *madæ* (screen), *kajæ* (stain) etc.

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etc., but if the first constituent of the group is voiced, the *r* is retained *griha*, *brāhmaṇa*, etc. *R* before other plosives voiced or voiceless, generally shows a tendency in Mal. to become *ṛ*, e.g., *vaṛga*, *maṛkaṭa* etc.

1 It is interesting to note that double *r* in old Telugu is represented by *ṛṛ* and not *rr*. This shows how the "rolling" of the sound was recognised as greater in degree when the accent-influenced doubling became necessary. Conversely, when the ancient *ṛ* combined with other sounds in Telugu Samāsas, the "rolling,' was reduced, and the sound was represented by *r*, e.g., *āṛu* (six)+*garu* (persons= *ārguru*, etc.

(*ix*) *Kui* shows ṛ in rare instances like the following, e.g., *āṛpa* to hide), *vṛīsa* (to write) etc. Most of these cases of *r* appear to be peculiar to Kui, developed from *r* or *ḍ*, *ṭ*, etc.

But in a number of cases ṛ seems to have changed to *j*, e.g., *āji* (six], *pānja* (to fly), *tōnja* (to appear ; cf. *tōṛ* cf. Kann.), *tija* (to turn), etc.

(*x*) Gōṇḍi speakers very freely interchange *r* and *ṛ* ; the ancient *ṛ* seems to have undergone changes, while the new *ṛ* is developed from *ṭ*, *ḍ*, etc :—

bappoṛ (when), *mūṛ* (to close—cf. South *mūḍu*) etc.

The change of ṛ to *s* (through an intermediate 'āydam'-like *h* ?) may be postulated in the following instances : *ask* (to cut, <*aṛk*), *pesk* (to pick, <*pirakk*).

r+*k* (plural ending) has given rise to *hk* in a few instances like the following :

kōr (horn)—*kōhk* (horns)

nār (village)—*nāhk* (villages) etc.

Compare the production of the minute glottal fricative called *āydam* in Tamil e.g. *kal*+*tīdu*<*kaht'īdu* (the stone is bad), where *l*+*t*>*ht'*, just as Gōṇḍi *r*+*k*>*hk*.

(*xi*) The sound represented by the symbol *ṛ* in Kurukh and Brāhūi grammars as occurring in these dialects, is really the North Indian flapped ṛ.

The influence of the neighbouring Indo-Aryan has levelled down older native *ṛ*'s to *r*, as illustrated by the following instances :—

Brāhūi *parra* (wing)—cf. Southern *paṛ*—(to fly)

Kurukh *ara* (sawing instrument)—cf. the southern base *aṛ* 'to cut.'

IV Combinative Changes

A few of these have already been referred to. Certain others in which *ṛ* is involved, occur in some of the southern dialects. They are indicated below :—

(i) *ṛ* changes into *t't'r* in the inflexional endings of Tamil nouns with final ṛ., e g., *āṛ* (river), *āt't'rai*, etc. This change does not appear to be represented in Kannaḍa or Tuḷu. Malayāḷam shows the same development as Tamil while Telugu and Gōṇḍi show *ṭ* or *t* in similar contexts arising from *ṛ*, e.g., *ēru* (river), *ēṭi*, etc.

(ii) Ṛ appearing finally in the first constituents of Tamil samāsas changes into *t't'r*, e.g., *kaḷit't'ru-yānai*, *āt't'ru-t-taṇṇīr*, etc.

No similar change is generally observable in the other dialects except Malayāḷam. Telugu, however, shows a few forms like *ciṯṯeluka* where -*ṯṯ*- is probably from *t'ṯ'r*.

(iii) Final *ṟ* of certain passive verb-bases becomes *t't'r* in their corresponding transitives and causatives, e.g., *māt't'ru* (to change) from *maṟ* (to become changed) etc.

Traces of these exist in Kannaḍa and Malayāḷam where the *r* of the consonant group has been eliminated. Kannaḍa shows the dental *t* while Malayāḷam shows the alveolar, e.g., Kannaḍa *māttu* and Mal. *māt't'u*.

(iv) A few derivative nouns from bases with final *ṟ* show *t't'r* as a development of *ṟ*, e.g., *kut't'ram* from *kuṟ*, *net't'ri* from *neṟ*, etc. Corresponding forms in Kannaḍa show dental *tt* while Malayāḷam retains alveolar *t't'*. There are a few Telugu instances like *vaṯṯu* (to be dried) where *ṯ* probably goes back to an original alveolar.

(v) In a number of other instances, forms with *nd'r* appear to be developments from bases with alveolar *r* or cerebral *ṟ*, e.g., *oru* (one), *ond'ru* ; *tūṟ*, *tūnd'ral* etc. While Telugu shows no correspondences answering to this particular development, Kannaḍa parallels show *n'd* for *nd'r* (cf. *on'du*, etc.) and Malayāḷam forms show *n'n'* (cf. *on'n'u* etc.)

(vi) Certain combinative changes appear to be clearly represented in Tamil ; these are the following :—

(*a*) Final *ṟ* of verb-bases combining with the Past Tense affix *t* become *t't'r*, e.g., *pet't'rān* (he obtained) from *peṟ* (to obtain) etc.

(*b*) *L* or *n* combining with *t* change into *t't'r*, as in *vit't'rān* (*vil*+*tu*), etc. *Cf.* here the production of -*ṯ*- when Kui final *l* of verb bases like *sol*- (to enter), combine with the dental tense-particle -*t* ; probably the intermediate stage represented the alveolar *t'*. *Cf.* Winfield's observations on page 75 of his *Grammar*. Note also the production of -*ṯ*- in the inflexional endings of Tel "irregular nouns" with final -*l*, -*n* and -*r*.

(*c*) *L* or *n* combining with *p* or *k* changes into the alveolar plosive *t'*, as in *nal*+*pu*=*nat'pu*, *nil*+*ku*=*nit'ku* etc.

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR

Bharatavākya and the Bhagavadajjukam[1]

In view of the recent discussions[2] about the nature of Bharatavākya and Praśasti, the following observations will be found interesting. All the extant dramas have a Bharatavākya, which is generally introduced with expressions like किं ते भूयः प्रियं करोमि। and अतः परं प्रियमस्ति। तथापि इदमस्तु भरतवाक्यम्।

But Bhāsa has no such thing, It is true that there occurs a stanza at the end in Bhāsa-dramas, the subject-matter of which is similar to our usual Bharatavākya, but it is a matter of grave doubt whether the stanza was designated by the author as Bharatavākya or as Praśasti. Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra or for the matter of that so late a treatise as the Daśarūpaka does not theoretically recognise Bharatavākya; they only know Praśasti. Moreover, the term Bharatavākya devoid of expressions like किं ते भूयः प्रियं करोमि। etc., seen within brackets in our present printed copies of Bhāsa, might have been inserted by some later scribe. Yet Bhāsa-dramas do possess this Praśasti. But curiously enough, a prahasana named Bhagavadajjukaṃ,[3] a very refreshing comedy, has neither a Praśasti nor a Bharatavākya, though one of the Mss. mentions[4] a Bharatavākya which is identical with Nāgānanda's Bh.; and which should be for that very reason, rejected, as is done by the editor. The Prahasana ends with a simple and impressive description of sun-set.

The stanza runs thus :—

अस्तं गतो हि दिनकाङ्गनावलम्बी
पूर्वामुखस्य इव सप्तसुवर्णराशिः।
यस्य प्रभाभिरनुरञ्जितमेघवृन्द-
मालक्ष्यते दहनगर्भमिवान्तरिक्षम्॥

It will at once be noticed that the verse is neither a 'nṛpadevapraśasti,' nor a 'devadvijanṛpatīnāṃ praśaṃsanaṃ.' This total absence of Bharatavākya or Praśasti is seen in no other extant Sanskrit drama.

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1 The title, I think, should be as put by me above and not as printed by Mr. Anujan Achan, for Śāṇḍilya's remark, "Bhagavadajjukaṃ nāma saṃvuttaṃ," (p. 87) corroborates my contention.

2 I.H.Q., vol. I, p. 175; vol. III, pp. 485 ff.

3 Ed. by Bannerji Śāstrī in Bihar and Orissa Research Journal, and by P. Anujan Achan.

4 Bhag., p. 97.

This deviation from the usual convention is very bold, if deviation it is. Otherwise there can be two possible conjectures for the nature of the verse, viz., either the drama is incomplete (which it is evidently not), or else it was composed at a time when the dramaturgical rules of the extant Bharata-Nāṭyaśāstra were not binding on this author.[1] But Winternitz does not find[2] the latter suggestion very satisfactory. I, however, think it *plausible* that this small prahasana was written before the time of the present Bharata-Nāṭyaśāstra or at least before it acquired such a Śāstric authority. My reasons for so thinking are these :—

(1) The fact is already noted by Winternitz[3] that the prologue to this Prahasana knows a classification of the types of plays considerably different from our present treatise on dramaturgy.

The portion runs thus :—

अथ तु नाटकप्रकरणोद्भवासु वारिहामृगडिमसमवकारव्यायोगभाणस(? सं)ल्लापवीथ्युत्सृष्टिकाङ्क-प्रहसनादिषु दशजातिषु नाट्यरसेषु हास्यमेव प्रधानम् ।

This evidently shows some distinct principle of division as Nāṭaka and Prakaraṇa. They are taken here as the basis of the other ten species, while according to our present theory, they themselves form the first two species. Out of the ten types counted above Sallāpa, Utsṛṣṭikāṅka and Vāra, as main species of drama, are unknown to any of the present theorists. Saṃllāpaka, however, appears as an uparūpaka in the Sāhityadarpaṇa; Utsṛṣṭikāṅka, though nowhere seen in that form, seems to be a variety of Aṅka, which is recognised by all, while Vāra does not appear anywhere in the extant literature.[3]

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1 This absence of Praśasti or Bharatavākya lends support to M. Ghosh's suggestion that Praśasti did not form a part of the drama, which formally ended with Kāvyasaṃhāra. Yet Bharata enjoins Praśasti, the absence of which in the present play would uphold the view propounded above. Moreover Kāvyasaṃhāra is technically the conclusion of the plot by showing Varāpti, which also is not done in this drama, thus showing its lose adherence to theory.

2 Bhag., Preface.

3 Bhag., Preface.

4 Ashokanath Bhattacharya seems to think that this passage refers to twelve Rūpakas, (I.H.Q., vol. II, 414). The tradition about twelve Rūpakas is to be seen only in one other place. C. D. Dalal in his Introduction to the Pārthaparākrama gives a list of the

This I think indicates a time when the theory was not finally fixed. The very presence of Sallāpa and Utsṛṣṭikāṅka in the enumeration of the main types, shows that as yet the later main rūpakas and uparūpakas were not properly settled.

(2) The absence of the mention of the author's name and the play's title in the prologue, which feature is also shared by Bhāsa-dramas, may also indicate an earlier origin, though I confess that by itself, it would not be sufficient to prove its pre-Bhāsa composition.

(3) Death of Vasantasenā on the stage, which violates the usual theory (though as late and staunch a drama as Nāgānanda betrays the same feature), is a characteristic which is also shared by Bhāsa-dramas.

(4) Vasantasenā at two places, where she recites the Āryās, resorts to Sanskrit without any stage-direction which goes against the conventional practice of all our existing dramas.

(5) Lastly is this omission of Bharatavākya or Praśasti. I think that all the above features, which militate against Bharata's rules, taken together may indicate that our play was composed at a time when the present stereo-typed rules of Dramaturgy as enjoined by Bharata and others were not supreme.

I take this opportunity of showing that the play as printed is considerably mutilated. At two places, at least, the printed prose portions show a probable verse form. On page 26 there is a quotation which forms two Pādas of an anuṣṭubh :

न्यस्तमुसले व्यङ्गारे सर्वभुक्तजने काले ।

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dramatic works of Gujrat. He incidentally points out that as regards the famous Prabandhaśata of Rāmacandra, "the following note is found in an old paper leaf containing notes on mss. 'रामचन्द्रकृतं प्रबन्धशतं द्वादशरूपकनाटकादिस्वरूपज्ञापकं ५०००,' from which quotation he inferred that the Prabandhaśata was one single work not 100 different works as hitherto believed. But for our purpose the mention of 12 Rūpakas has a new interest in view of the above passage of the Bh. The same quotation about the Prabandhaśata was pointed out in the Gujrati quarterly Purātattva (vol. II, p. 421), where it was further remarked that Rāmacandra might have developed the 12 Rūpakas mentioned by his Guru Hemacandra in his Kāvyānuśāsana. If this Prabandhaśata discussed only these 12 Rūpakas, it must have been a very erudite discussion, as its length is computed at 5000 ślokas.

And on page 90 one whole verse seems to have been printed in prose form :

मूर्खं वैद्य हृथाहङ्ग प्राणिनामन्तकमपि ।
न जानीषि कतमिनेयं सर्पेण व्यापादितेति ॥

I do, however, note that the metrical precision in the above lines is loose, which may be restored by proper textual-collation.

D. R. MANKAD

A Further note on Bharatavākya

Mr. Vibhutinath Jha has set forth his objections against my "Note on Bharatavākya (*IHQ*, vol. V, pp. 549 ff.) in the form of another note (*IHQ*, vol. VI, pp. 175 ff.).

But unfortunately his objections betray the unpleasant fact of his failure to catch my point. And the hollowness of the statements of Mr. Jha was laid bare by Mr. Manomohan Ghosh in his paper *Bharatvākya* (*IHQ*, vol. VI, pp. 485 f.) which indirectly lends support to my thesis.

Far from citing a passage in any work on dramaturgy having reference to the Bharatavākya, Mr. Jha vaguely proceeds to say that "the earliest works on dramaturgy *seem* to make referance to........... *Bharatavākya*". But we frankly confess our inability to realise how and where such a reference is made. Nor are we able to understand how the question of 'seeming' comes in.

And we may here point to some more authorities, not mentioned in my original paper, who are also found not to have made any reference to the *Bharatavākya*. Abhinavagupta, the celebrated author of a commentary on the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata does not mention anything like *Bharatavākya* when commenting on a verse (XIX, 95) of Bharata which tells of the Praśasti. Sāradātanaya (12th-13th cent.) in his *Bhāvaprakāśana* 'a compendium of all activities of the writers on literary criticism from Bharata down to Kṣemendra' (as it is described in the preface to the work published in the Gaekwad's Oriental series) has no reference to the *Bharatavākya*. Neither do Rāmacandra, author of the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* or *Nañjarājayaśobhūṣaṇa* make any mention of it.

This conspiracy of silence may be accounted for by the supposition that the designation *Bharatavākya* was meant only as a stage-direction

to indicate the way of application of the Praśasti even on the supposition of its identity with BV which was however a fact at least later on. But even in that case it is not possible for us to say when the term came to be used for the first time.

Mr. Jha has, on the otherhand, made on attempt, influenced by preconeived notions, to show that the Praśasti (and as a consequence the BV) formed an integral part of the drama. He seeks to point out that a clear connecting link between the drama and the verses under the name of BV has been preserved by expressions like *tathā-pīdam astu*. But a critical eye will notice that the subject-matter of the verse in question, viz. praising the king, scarcely fits in with the character of a king. It was also pointed out that such expressions are not founded in all works.

The real nature of the application of the verse has been made clear not only by commentators like Pṛthvīdhara and Rāghavabhaṭṭa, but also authors of rhetorical works like *Rasārṇavasudhākara*. It is however curious that Mr. Jha definitely suspects the accuracy of the the statement of Pṛthvīdhara (p. 176) without adducing any evidence for his doing so, and finds fault with me for having been led away by this old commentator. I plead guilty to his charge, for in these cases, in the absence of any cogent proof to the contrary, we have no other course left than to be guided by the statements of old writers which are based on older tradition.

Mr. Jha is perplexed (p. 177) by the possibility of existence of separate BVs belonging to different parties. But does that possibility involve any inconsistency ? If a party and not a poet was responsible for the nāndī or the initial benedictory verse (as is stated in the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*), I do not see any reason why the same thing will not be true in the case of the concluding benedictory verse as well.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

A Note on Meherunnisa and Jehangir

According to Dr. Beni Prasad, the chief biographer of the 4th great Mughal emperor, the story of Jehangir's amour with Meherunnisa, later on the celebrated empress Nurjehan, has to be rejected, because while it is found 'nowhere in the earlier half of the seventeenth century,' we find it everywhere in the record of the

subsequent generations. But while reaching this conclusion, Dr. Beni Prasad seems to have lost sight of the fact that the Rajput record, which vouches for its truth, belongs not to the latter, but to the earlier half of the seventeenth century. The Phalodi Khyat which was written when Rājā Sura Singha (1622-31) ruled at Bikaner states explicitly that the emperor had been in love with Nurjehan before her marriage with Sher Afgan. The passage dealing with this question has been translated by Dr. L. P. Tessitori as follows :—

"The emperor Jehangir, when still a prince, had an amour with Nur Mahal, a daughter of Itmad Dola and sister of Asaf Khan. After becoming emperor, he put her husband to death and took her into his harem, and gave her the name of Nur Mahal, and raised her above all the concubines in the harem. (Not only this but) he placed the whole empire into her hands and he became her slave".

Further we might add to this the testimony of Joannes De Laet, whose 'De Imperio Magni Mogalis, sive India vera commentarius. E varijs auctoribus congestus' was first published in 1631 A.D., and cannot therefore be said to belong to the latter half of the century. He writes that Jehangir had been in love with Nurjehan while she was still a maiden during the life-time of Akbar, but as she had been already betrothed to the Turk Sher Afgan, the emperor did not allow Selim to marry the girl, although he (Selim) never lost his love for her.

These two independent sources of testimony,—the one, an extract from a contemporary Rajput record, and the other, the substance of the remarks of a contemporary foreign traveller should, I think, lead one to suspect the existence of such a love-affair even if no other sources of evidence were available. But when we find everyone in the latter half of the seventeenth century repeating this story, and when we take the peculiar circumstances of the case into consideration, the suspicion turns almost into certainty. As for the non-mention of the matter by the court historians of Jehangir and Shahjehan, this can be, as surmised by Dr. Beni Prasad himself, best explained by the fact that 'no court historian would dare to refer to a scandal dishonourable to the whole dynasty'.

DASHARATHA ŚHARMA

Notes on Asoka Rescripts

ALAM CAPALAM SAMĀDAPAYITAVE.—P. E. I. *Capalaṃ* has been taken to mean "fickle (persons)" by Hultzsch (*Corpus*, p. 120) and "the fickle-minded" by Bhandarkar (*Aśoka*, 1925, p. 306). There is, however, nothing in the context to warrant this sense. In the Pali canon we meet with a verb *samādapeti* in the sense of inducing or urging *others* to a particular course, in contra-distinction to one's following it *oneself*. Thus, in Aṅg. II, pp. 253-256, we have a series of expressions, such as *attanā ca pāṇātipātī hoti parañ ca pāṇātipāte samādapeti* side by side with *attanā ca pāṇātipātā paṭivirato hoti parañ ca pāṇātipātā veramaṇiyā samādapeti*, and so forth. Buddha himself is known in the canon as a *samādapetā*, 'arouser,' 'instructor' of people, and it seems that Asoka had become another such in his own time. The same force is present again in the Pali expression *ekacce attanā deti parañ ca samādapeti* (DhA., III, p. 17), which means 'some not only themselves bestow gifts but urge others to do the same'. Wishing others to perform meritorious deeds is an attitude of mind which appeals also to Asoka, as is evident from the general tenour of his Rescripts, e. g., R.E.V : *tathaṃ ca me praja anuvaṭatu* (Mansehra). See also the concluding portion of R.E.VI. The idea of *para-samādapana* or *janasamādapana* is also latent in what is known in Pāli literature as "dhammaghosakakamma", e.g., DhA. III, pp. 81-82 "*mahājanaṃ samādapetvā puññāni karomi, uposathadivasesu uposathaṃ samādiyāmi, dānaṃ demi, dhammaṃ suṇāmi,* Buddharatanādīhi sadisaṃ ratanaṃ nāma n'atthi tiṇṇaṃ ratanānaṃ sakkāraṃ karothā ti ugghosento carāmi." It is interesting to note that Asoka also speaks of 'dhaṃmaghoso' in R. E. IV., and when we find that the deeds implied by the Pali quotation, especially those contemplated in the italicised expressions, have also been recommended and, in some cases, actually performed by Asoka himself, it becomes easy to understand the sort of *dhaṃmaghosa* which was his. *Mahājana-samādapana*, if we may be allowed to call it so, was, therefore, one of the sacred tasks Asoka had set for himself. If that is so, then we had better read *Alaṃ ca palaṃ samādapayitave* instead of combining *ca* and *palaṃ* into *capalaṃ* as has been done hitherto, and translate the expression "And (my *pulisās* are) able to urge others (to do it," viz., to conform to and practise morality).

ETADATHĀ.—P. E. VII, l. 24. Hultzsch (*Corpus*, p. 135, n. 5) equates *athā* with *athāya* and refers for comparison to the expres-

sion *etāya athā* in R. E. XII (Girnar), ll. 8-9, where *athā* is dative, and also to a parallel (*bhojanatthā*) in Müller's Pali Grammar, p. 67. Although in the Asoka Rescripts we come across such separate words as *etāya athāya* (R. E. IV, V, VI, XII, XIII), *etāye athāye* (R. E. III, IV, V, IX, XIII, etc.), or such *sandhi*-joined expressions as *etāyāṭhāye* (R. E. XII, Kālsi), *e*[*t*]*āyaṭhāya* (M. R. E. I, Brahmagiri), *etā*[*y*]*eṭhāye* (R. E. VI, Kālsi), nowhere do we find the *samāsa*-formed word *etadathā* except in the present instance, *viz.*, P. E. VII, l. 24. Of such a *samāsa* form I have met with an exact counterpart in Aṅg. I, p. 198, from which I would quote at some length :

> "Kathāsampayogena bhikkhave puggalo veditabbo yadi vā sa-upaniso yadi vā anupaniso ti.
>
> Anohitasoto bhikkhave anupaniso hoti ohitasoto sa-upaniso hoti. So sa-upaniso samāno abhijānāti ekaṃ dhammaṃ parijānāti ekaṃ dhammaṃ pajahati ekaṃ dhammaṃ sacchikaroti ekaṃ dhammaṃ. So abhijānanto ekaṃ dhammaṃ... ....sammāvimuttiṃ phusati. *Etadatthā* bhikkhave kathā *etadatthā* mantanā *etadatthā* upanisā *etadatthaṃ* sotāvadhānaṃ yadidaṃ anupādā cittassa vimokho."

And the gloss on the italicised words is as follows :

> "Bhikkhave yā esā 'kathāsampayogenā' ti kathā dassitā sā *etadatthā*, ayaṃ tassā kathāya bhūmi, ayaṃ patiṭṭhā, idam vatthuṃ, yadidaṃ anupādā cittassa vimokho ti evaṃ sabbapadesu yojanā veditabbā" (Manorathapūranī, Siamese edition),

which may be rendered : 'O bhikkhus, what has been said here in the words "Kathāsampayogena etc." (of the text) *has this for its root purpose*, namely, complete emancipation of the citta, that is to say, it is the plane, the basis, the ground of that saying.'

It is clear that *etadatthā* or *etadatthaṃ* of the Aṅguttara passage is an adjective, a compound of *eta* and *attha*, meaning 'fraught with this intent', which is not different from the sense 'for this purpose' or 'on this account', hitherto read into the inscriptional term *etadathā*, taken as dative substantive by Hultzsch. But however justified and acceptable Hultzsch's interpretation may be, may not the term, on account of its close rapprochement, be derived in the same way as its Pali counterpart 'etadatthā', being regarded as an adjective qualifying *esa* in "esa kaṭe" ? If so, the final *ā* of of *etadathā* will have to be regarded as due to the usual lengthening of finals in

Topra, as Woolner points out (*Asoka Glossary*, p. 75, sub voce). The whole expression—*Imaṃ cu dhaṃmānupaṭīpati anupaṭīpajaṃtu ti etadathā me esa kaṭe* of P. E. VII, may thus be rendered "By me this has been instilled with this purpose viz., that people might also conform to this consistent practice of Dhaṃma". As a matter of fact, we find Asoka extremely anxious for "anulupā dhaṃmavaḍhi" towards the commencement of P.E. VII, and this was the foundational purpose for which he inaugurated his 'dhaṃmānusathini' (to which end he instituted the 'dhaṃmathaṃbhāni', which were to bear his moral instructions, and the 'dhaṃma-mahāmātā', who were to give effect to them) and 'dhaṃmasāvanāni' (the moral instructions themselves and proclamation thereof), a purpose which could only be fulfilled through 'dhaṃmāpadāna' (inculcation of morals, admonition) on his own part and 'dhaṃmānupaṭipati' (conforming to it) on that of the people for whom it was meant.

SAILENDRANATH MITRA

REVIEWS

HISTORY OF PRE-MUSALMAN INDIA, Vol. I, Pre-historic India: by V. Rangacharya, M.A., Professor of Indian History, Presidency College, Madras. Huxley Press, 1929, 229 pp. with an index.

Prof. Rangacharya has set himself to a most arduous and ambitious task. He has designed to write a History of India in nine volumes from the earliest times to the Muhammadan conquest—a programme that, in fact, requires the combined efforts of a number of scholars than of a single individual. Whosoever has worked in the field of Indology knows too well how complex and perplexing is the web of Indian history, but Prof. Rangacharya has the courage, and it seems, the equipment as well to dash through it and work it out single-handed to a complete and successful issue. Even in the first volume, which is under review, he has given evidence of his capacity, more so of his historical outlook; and let us assure him at the very outset that he has begun well.

The present volume purports to give 'a succinct picture of the evolution of India and her races and culture in the ages which preceded the Vedic era', and ends very fittingly with the advent of the Aryans. The whole volume thus provides the background in which the Vedic period of Indian history had its setting. A list of the main headings of its contents would convince the reader of the extensive ground it covers. In the first chapter, our author traces the geographical evolution of India, in course of which he discusses the different geological epochs, and the formation of Indian geographical configuration. This is proved by a general discussion of the various theories about the origin of man and his birth-place which very naturally leads to the subject of the general features of the Eolithic age, the diffusion of Eolithic culture and India's part in it. The third chapter is devoted to a survey of the Paleolithic age and its general characteristics. In this connection the Paleolithic sites in South India and the Dekkan have been examined in detail, and a very interesting comparative study has been made of Paleolithic drawings and paintings. The next two chapters are devoted to the study of the ethnological basis of transition from the Paleolithic to the Neolithic age. In this connection a general account has been given of the

Negritos, Pre-Dravidians and Mundas ; and the different theories with regard to the Dravidians have been examined in detail. The Aryan and Dravidian problem has received due attention ; the different ethnological groups in relation to the Dekkan and North-India have been carefully studied and the bearings of anthropology on this important problem discussed. The sixth chapter is concerned with a study of the neolithic age in connection with which the author discusses among others the nature of Indian neolithic settlements, neolithic sites in India, the world-unity of neolithic culture, life, art, religion and culture of neolithic time, survivals of neolithic life, neolithic elements in modern culture, and what is more important, he traces the germs of caste-system in the regional communities of neolithic times. The advent of metals forms the subject-matter of the next chapter. With the two concluding chapters which deal with the Indus Valley civilisation and the Aryans respectively, the author launches into what we may now designate as the beginning of the historical period of Indian history. A very succinct picture has been given of the Indus Valley Civilisation, in course of which he has rightly discussed the importance of the Indus Valley finds, the relative antiquity of the Egyptian, Mesopotamian and Indus civilisations, and the ethnology of the Harappa and Mohen-jo-daro people. He has described the archaeological remains, the cities, horses and temples of Harappa and Mohen-jo-daro, their pottery, seals and other minor antiquities, and the religious faith and funeral custom of the people. In the last chapter he discusses almost all the important theories about the Aryan home, and the date of the beginning of Aryan culture ; but more important is his discussion of the bearing of the Sindh discoveries on the question.

It is evident that the author has traversed an extensive ground where every step requires more or less cautiously to be laid. The chapters are, therefore, more or less hypothetical in character, and there have cropped up a number of contending theories with regard to each individual matter and problem. Moreover, an almost bewildering mass of materials in the field of geology and pre-historic archæology, ethnology and anthropology, as well as studies and contributions by different authorities on the subject have been made available in recent years. All these had to be reckoned, studied and analysed in the preparation of this volume which is undoubtedly a difficult task. But Prof. Rangacharya has done it successfully. There is, however, hardly any outstanding original contribution towards

the elucidation of the many knotty problems with which the present volume deals,—the author hardly claims to have any such—, nor does he hazard any new theory with regard to them; he has certainly done well in not adding to the already bewildering number of contending theories. But he has studied all materials and authorities thoroughly, summarised all important findings and theories, and have criticised them whenever required, and, what is most required, has successfully attempted to correlate the results of his almost exhaustive studies of all these findings and materials into a well-connected and well-presented historical narrative.

That this volume has had to be printed in a hurry which, however, is unaccounted for, is evident from a number of typographical errors as well as from traces of hasty composition. But the defects are negligible when the merits are compared. Almost all sources and source-materials have been referred to and discussed, and the bibliography at the end of each chapter is on the whole exhaustive. Prof. Rangacharya has certainly been successful 'to leave in the mind of the reader a picture of what India was before the commencement of the Vedic age of her history.' This volume would be useful to all students and scholars interested in the study of ancient Indian history and culture. We congratulate our author on what he has done, but more for what he is going to do. We shall eagerly await the publication of the future volumes of the series.

NIHAR RANJAN ROY

NOTES ON SHRI MAHA-LAKSHMI TEMPLE, KOLHAPUR by K. G. Kundangar, Rajaram College, Kolhapur. Foreword by Rev. H. Heras, S. J. of the St. Xavier's College, Bombay, 43 pp., 16 plates.

This short monograph is concerned, as its title indicates, with a concise and systematic account of the famous Śrī Mahā-Lakṣmī or Ambābāi temple of the city of Kolhapur. It deals with the traditions and mythological accounts with regard to the temple, the history and general description of the people, its religious importance, its sculptures and decorative embellishments, its architecture, in fact, everything important that is to be said in connection with it. It is thus 'a valuable contribution' as Rev. Heras puts it, 'to the archæological studies of Southern India'; and certainly facilitates the work of the future historian of the Silharas.

In the first chapter of the Monograph, the author narrates the mythological accounts in connection with the goddess Mahā-Lakṣmī, and gives an explanatory list of temples that were built from time to time round about the famous shrine. The second chapter deals with the history of the building of the temple which is, as usual, shrouded in a cloud of incredible legends and traditions. Relying on the mythological account as given in the Karavīra-Māhātmya, Mr. Kundangar seems to conclude that it was by about the 3rd century B.C. that the original image of the goddess Śrī Mahā-Lakṣmī had been set up for public-worship. This is, however, doubtful to the extreme; for we have hardly any archæological evidence as to the setting up of any anthropomorphic representation of a divinity for public worship as early as the 3rd century B.C. It is all the more incredible in view of the fact that the very conception of Śrī Mahā-Lakṣmī is a complete one and could not have possibly originated at so early a date. Like most of the brāhmaṇical gods and goddesses Mahā-Lakṣmī must have been a conception of the Purāṇic pantheon; the story in the Karavīra-Māhātmya reads undoubtedly like a Purāṇic one, as it refers to the traditional enmity of the Nāga and Garuḍa, as also to the demon Mahiṣāsura. It is evident that the whole story is a later creation of the highly imaginative writers of the Purāṇas. But it is a reasonable hypothesis of the author that the present image of Mahā-Lakṣmī in the Ambābāi temple was set up early in the 13th century from a small temple near Kapila-tīrtha. The temple, in fact, was originally built much earlier than the 13th century; and is associated with one Karṇa, a Cālukya king, as recorded in a spurious inscription (Ind. Ant., XXX, p. 201). Mr. Kundangar seems to hold that Karṇa was a real historical personage and that he was a king of the early Cālukya dynasty; the temple was, therefore, built by king Karṇa, according to our author, some time in the 7th century A.D. This is again a doubtful assertion; for, apart from the question if Karṇadeva was really a historical personage, or if he really belonged to the early Cālukya dynasty, the temple, judged by its architectural style and sculptural and decorative embellishments, cannot in any way be dated so early as the 7th century A.D. The architecture of the temple is purely Cālukyan as our author contends, and not Dravidian; but that is hardly any argument for ascribing it to so early a date. In fact, the temple cannot be dated in our opinion earlier than the eleventh century A.D. when a later Cālukya dynasty

had already wrested Kolhapur from the Rāṣṭrakūṭas (c. 973 A.D.). The architectural style is a local variation of what is ordinarily known as the later Cālukyan styles ; the pillars and pilasters, the cornice and parapet mouldings, the ground plan and the general form as well as the sculptures and decorative embellishment and last of all though not the least, the material which is fine grained black stone may favourably be compared with similar elements of contemporary monuments in Western India. Karṇadeva, then, if he was really a historical personage, should belong to the main or branch line of the later Cālukya dynasty, and be ascribed to a date not earlier than the 11th century A.D. The adjoining temples of Mahā-Kālī and Mahā-Sarasvatī were, however, built not until about two centuries later, i.e., by the beginning of the 13th century A.D. Originally the main temple was undoubtedly a Hindu one dedicated as it had been to Mahā-Lakṣmī, but later vicissitudes had transformed it into a Jain Basadi, so much so that the Jains assert that not only the temple but the image itself originally belonged to them. Mr. Kundangar has, however, shown good grounds to show that such a claim has no historical justification. The third chapter is devoted to a description of the temple, its plan, pillars, parapets, cornices, griezes, sculptures and other architectural and decorative motifs which are themselves proof enough against our author's contention as to the early dating of the temple. The fourth chapter describes the image of Śrī Mahā-Lakṣmī itself and discusses its iconographic and religious importance.

This small brochure is not without drawbacks, but is nevertheless useful. We may, therefore, safely commend it to all students of South Indian history and archaeology. But we would like to request our author to be a bit more historical, and exhaustive in his references. He would also do well to follow a systematic and generally accepted method of transliteration, as also to use diacritical marks. To write Śrī Mahā-Lakṣmī, (or Lakṣmī) as Shri Maha-Lakshmi in a book concerned with historical and archaeological studies is indeed a drawback that cannot and should not be easily overlooked.

NIHAR RANJAN ROY

HISTORY OF KERALA by K. P. Padmanabha Menon, B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S., Edited by T. K. Krishna Menon, vol. II, 1929. Printed at the Cochin Government Press, Ernaculam.

Thanks to the untiring efforts of Indologists extending over a period of more than a century, the rough outline of the history of India is now practically settled from about 600 B.C. to the modern period. But no comprehensive and detailed history of India can really be undertaken unless all the important sources of Indian history are edited and published in convenient form and thus made accessible to the general historian. By publishing the second volume of Mr. K. P. Padmanabha Menon's *History of Kerala*, the editor has made available much valuable material for the history of Malabar (the ancient Kerala) of the early 18th century. The title would, however, disappoint those who would expect in the work an effort to furnish a connected history of the land. For, as has been pointed out by the reviewers of vol. I, what the late Mr. P. Menon has really done is to reprint with copious notes the English translation of a group of nineteen letters which Visscher, a Dutch missionary, wrote to his friends and relatives in Europe from Malabar. The volume under notice contains eleven letters from IX to XIX.[1]

Jacobus Canter Visscher was born in Harlingen in Holland. "From his youth upwards he took delight in reading accounts of travels and was filled by them by a desire to visit distant lands and nations, and to ascertain the truth or falsehood of other writers. This desire grew so irresistible that though not without hope of promotion in his native country, he accepted an appointment from the East India Company".[2] Visscher arrived in Batavia in 1716. He then served as chaplain at Cochin from 1717 to 1723. In 1725 he went back to Batavia as a "Minister of God's word". Visscher was "induced to write these *Memoirs* by the desire to relate the various circumstances

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1 Major Heber Drury's English Translation contains eight more letters (XX—XXVII): Letter XX (Nairs), XXI (Chegos and other lower castes), XXII (Account of Tattares, Jogis, etc.), XXIII (Malabar temples), XIV (Superstitions of the Natives), XXV (Feast-days of Malabar, etc.), XXII (Account of peper, turmeric, cardamon and areca of Malabar), XXVI (Description of Cocoa-palm, Malabar cinnamon, sanctity of cows and snakes, etc.): An account of Travancore.

2 Extract from the Dutch editor's Dedication, 16th August, 1743.

of which I have either been an eye witness or which I have heard from trustworthy persons......My observations will bear only upon the manners and customs of the people, their laws, rites and ceremonies, description of their kingdoms, as well as their origin and their modes of government, and other similar subjects."[1] Visscher published his *Memoirs* under the title *Malabar Letters* in Leeuwarden, in Holland in 1743. His work lay in comparative obscurity till a copy of his book "accidentally" fell into the hands Major Heber Drury, when the latter was at Cochin in 1860. He took it to England and had the entire work translated "with the exception of one or two chapters, relating to Java and the Dutch dependencies of the Eastern Archipelago." These were omitted as they had no connections with the Malabar coast. Drury published his English translation in June 1862.[2] In his preface Drury pointed out the existence of numerous valuable Dutch chronicles[3] "though but little known to us, chiefly of course from the fact of their being sealed up in a tongue which few care to acquire in the present day." Many of the Dutch and Portuguese chronicles appear to have been destroyed in Cochin in the first half of the nineteenth century. But many perhaps still remain in "dishonoured obscurity".

The letters of Visscher throw a flood of light on the political social, religious and economic history of Malabar of the early 18th century, when the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English and the Danes were struggling for controlling the trade with India and the Far-East. In Letter IX he gives an account of the four "royal houses in Malabar, those of Travancore, Cochin, the Zamorin (Calicut) and Colastiri" and their various feudatories. Anyone going through this letter would at once feel that the usefulness of the work would have been greatly enhanced if there had been a map of Malabar in the volume. with the ancient and mediæval names printed in red. Letter X

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1 Extract from the author's (Visscher's) preface.

2 Printed by Gantz Brothers, at the Adelphi Press, 21 Rendall's Road, Vepery 1862. Drury's work contains in addition to Visscher's letters an account of Travancore and Fra Bartolomeos travels in that country.

3 Drury advances the theory that persons bearing the name 'Canterfischer' in the Coromandel coast were probably descendants of this Dutch author.

deals with some of the laws and customs of the people of Malabar. The most interesting part of this letter deals with the institution of "laying the property of another in arrest" and trial by ordeals. We are told that "when a Rajah owes money to a Brahmin who can adduce satisfactory proof of the debt, the creditor can demand the money of the Rajah, three distinct times, and if the Rajah still delays payment, the Brahmin brings a *rama* from a pagoda (*temple*), when the Rajah may neither eat, sleep or bathe till the dispute is settled and the *rama* removed" (p. 12). For cases where the king commits an offence compare Manu (VIII, 336) and Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (Mysore ed., 1919, p. 236). "Dubious cases in which no proof could be obtained" were decided by various ordeals. One of these ordeals took place "in a river or tank in which crocodiles are found. The *Cayman's* (alligators) pagoda on the river Cranganur close to Paliporte is especially famous for this process. A small heathen temple stands on the bank of a river, in which two crocodiles have for a long time been supplied, their daily food being thrown into the water, so that they were indeed by the bait to remain there. To undergo this ordeal, the accused is compelled, after solemn profession of innocence in presence of the Brahmins and nobles and of a great concourse of people to swim across the river and back, or if he cannot do this he must be dragged through holding on with his hand to a boat. If the crocodile put him under, it is a sign of his guilt, otherwise, he is released as innocent". It is interesting to note that something like this crocodile ordeal existed until quite recent times amongst the natives of Africa. Letter XI deals among other things with the national assemblies of Malabar which used to act as a check on the "arbitray power" of the Kerala kings. But unfortunately these were not held very often and used to meet only in emergencies. In giving a list of the sources of the revenue of the Cochin Rajah, Visscher makes the following interesting statement: "No one may wear whisker, except by his (king's) permission, for which a fine of acknowledgement must be paid, and then a great banquet must be celebrated in honour of those whiskers" (p. 19). Letter XII deals elaborately with the coins prevalent in Malabar such as Moorish *Rupees*, Hindu *Pagodas*, Japanese *Kobang* and *Itzeboo*, European "*rix dollars*, *ducatoons*, Spanish *matter* and *ducats*." Visscher mentions "our Malabar specie" separately. "It has a good deal of variety" but the gold and silver

Fanams and the copper or lead *Boeserokken* appear to have been the most important. But the most interesting was probably "a kind of money cowries,' which was used "not only in Bengal, but also exported in quantities to the West Indies." It may be mentioned that Yuan Chwang (Watters, vol I, p. 178) as early as the middle of the 7th century A.D. notices "cowries" as "media of exchange" in the "commerce" of India. Visscher claims to have seen Muslim coins bearing the "twelve signs at the Zodiac"[1] and "the likeness of a man." Letter XIII deals with the ecclesiastical and temporal grandees in Malabar" and the "customary salutations between the higher and lower orders in their daily intercourse" while letter XIV which was written to Visscher's mother gives an account of the "description of the costume, habits, etc of the women of this country." That early marriage was prevalent in Malabar in the 18th century is clear from the following: "A girl is considered marriageable when she has attained her 13th year; and then all the suitors begin to flock around her. As she attains womanhood earlier, so her bloom is proportionately sooner over than our country." The Dutch writer approves and prasies the system of management of the children by the native woman of Malabar and ascribes to this reason "why so few men of dwarfish stature are found in India, whereas they abound in Europe" (p. 34). Letter XV is devoted to an account of the religion and customs of the Topases, a Christian community of Malabar, the greater part of which were "offspring of a great number of enfranchised Portuguese slaves". "They like to class themselves with the Portuguese whom they call *our people* (Teur nossa genti), though these, owing to their native pride, despise them even more than we do, always styling them Negroes or blacks. The Topases however are not a whit discouraged by this treatment and not only give themselves Portuguese names, but are in the habit of choosing those that belong to the nobelest Portuguese and Spanish families. They affect very haughty airs, and teach their children always to address them as "*My Lord, my father* (Senhor mei pai). The ignorance of the priests of this Christian community would be clear from the following: "One of the Dominican parish priests, a

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1 Cf. 'Zodiacal gold mohurs' of the Tīmūrid Jahāngīr (1605-27). Stanley Lane Poole, *Mediaeval India* (Story of the Nations Series), p. 319.

white European, being advanced in years was waited on by our visitors of the sick, who, knowing no other language, began to converse with him in Dutch. The priest remarked : 'I understand the Latin you are speaking very well, but I don't know quite well enough to make answer in it'." Another priest when asked "who first existed, Christ or the Christians ?............in his simplicity made answer 'the latter'."

Letter XVI gives a description of the St. Thomas or Syrian Christians, their origin, early history and religion. Mr. Menon's note on the *Traditions of St. Thomas* is useful, for in it the author has collected most of the arguments for and against the genuineness of the tradition that the "Apostle St. Thomas landed at Malankara near Cranganur, founded seven churches and finally suffered martyrdom at Mylapore near Madras". Commenting on the apocryphal Acts of *Judas Thomas the Apostle*, according to which St. Thomas visited the court of the Indo-Parthian king Gudnaphar (Gondopharnes), Prof. Rapson has remarked : "The legend of St. Thomas has thus been furnished with an historical setting which is chronologically possible".[1] As there was regular maritime communication between Barbaricum (on the Indus Delta), in the empire of Gondopharnes and Muziris (Cranganur) in the first century A.D.[2] there is no inherent impossibilty in the acceptance of the tradition. Another apocryphal work, the *Evangelium Ioanis de obitu Mariae* gives the name of Mazdai, "whom St. Thomas also visited and under whom he suffered Martyrdom".[3] Is it possible that Mazdai was the king of the Mylapore region? Letter XVII is devoted to an account of the "Roman Catholic priests in Malabar and their converts among the heathen". Referring to the Jesiut Archbishop and Bishop in Cochin and its neighbourhood, who were appointed by the King of Portugal to look after the Christians "of the Romish persuasion," Visscher remarks : "they are the *craftiest spies* of the Portuguese monarch, prying into the affairs of the company, and imbuing the natives with deep aversion to the Dutch." We are not sure that native patriotism and

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1 *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, 1922, p. 579.

2 Schoff, *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, pp. 37, 44, 165 and 205.

3 *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, pp. 579f.

narrow sectarianism were not getting the better of him here over his veracity and Christian conscience. Our suspicion finds support when we find Visscher censuring commandant Ketel because he allowed "Romish priests" not only to visit the condemned criminals of their persuasion in Cochin, but even to accompany them to the scaffold"; and praising the present commandant Hertenberg, "who is a man of noble character", for having "done away with these irregularities." The following observation of Visscher however is interesting: "Except the St. Thomas' Christians all those who are converted by the Roman Catholics are either the slave children of Christians, like most of the Topasses or of the lowest sort of Heathens, none being higher than the *Chegos*. Few Brahmins, Chetriahs (*Kṣatriyas*) or Śūdras adopt their religion; indeed, we might suppose that low castes do so generally, in order to escape the contempt in which they are held by nation." These remarks of the Dutch missionary on the spread of Christianity among the Indian masses are largely true even after the lapse of more than two hundred years. Letters XVIII and XIX are devoted to the "Jews, black and white" and the Moors (Muslims) of Malabar. Visscher clearly indicates the reason why the Moors, the friends of the Zamorin of Calicut "nourish a rooted hatred" towards the Portuguese. The commerce of these coasts had remained with the Moors probably from the time of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas (*Balhaaī*) of Mānyakheṭaka[1] (*Mānkīr*) if not earlier. The arrival of Vasco da Gama in the 15th century threatened this monopoly. "They disputed any share of it being usurped by the newcomers." The most interesting thing about the Jews and Muslims is however the fact that these non-Hindu communities lived and prospered under the rule of orthodox Hiudu rulers for hundreds of years without apparently any serious religious persecution. Attention may be drawn in this connection to the *Veraval grant* of the Cālukya Arjunadeva (c. 1262-75), king of Kathiawar and Gujarat, which also bears witness to tolerance in religious matters of Hindu monarchs in Mediæval India. Nobody can fail to be struck by the generous statesmanship of the Hindu States which allowed Muslim communities to thrive and to build and endow mosques in the most sacred cities and places of India for it forms a remarkable contrast to the policy of plunder and desecration practised by the early Turkish conquerors of India. The latter gave up the liberal and tolerant

1 He ruled in the Deccan from c. 753 to 970 A.D.

policy of the Arab conquerors[1] and were thus largely instrumental in introducing into the complicated socio-religious structure of the Indian peoples a problem which remains unsolved even to this day.

In conclusion I beg to add that in addition to a map of Malabar, an introduction giving a short account of Visscher's life, and the previous publications of his letters, and a brief discussion of the history of Malabar and the Far East in the 2nd half of the 17th and the first half of the 18th century would greatly enhance the usefulness of the work.

H. C. RAY

1 See my *Dynastic History of Northern India*, vol. I, pp. 22 fn. 2, 94 etc.

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Asia Major, vol. VIII, fasc. i, ii

SIEGFRID BEHRSING—*Das Chung-tsi-king des Chinesischen Dīrghāgama.*—Mr. Behrsing presents here a translation of the *Saṅgītisūtra* of the *Dīrghāgama* as preserved in Chinese versions. Wherever he has found the Pāli text of the *Saṅgīti Suttanta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* corresponding to the Chinese version, he has reproduced it, and gave German translation of the portions which do not correspond with the Pāli text. To the translation (24 pages) he has appended exhaustive notes (90 pages) and a comparative table of the technical terms as found in the different versions of the *Saṅgīti Suttanta*, the *Mahāvyutpatti* and the Pāli texts.

L. D. BARNETT—*Index to the Section 'mDo' of Kanjur Manuscripts in the British Museum.* Dr. Barnett has given the Tibetan titles along with their Sanskrit restorations. He has also alphabetically arranged the Sanskrit titles.

Indian Antiquary, January, 1931

R. B. HALDAR—*Chittor and its Sieges.*

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM—*Sidi Ali Shebbi in India*, 1554-1556 A.D.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH—*Where was Tarkkāri?* The note supports the view that the village named Tarkkāri mentioned in the Silimpur stone inscription found in the district of Bogra in Bengal was situated in Puṇḍra or Gauḍa and should be identified with the city of the same name mentioned in the *Matsya-* and the *Kūrma-Purāṇas.*

Ibid., March, 1931

R. V. JAHAGIRDAR—*A Note on the Ten Plays of Bhāsa.* Basing his arguments on some internal evidences in the dramas ascribed to Bhāsa, the writer classifies them into several groups. As the *Svapnavāsavadatta*, *Pratijñā-yaugandharāyaṇa* and *Pañcarātra* have been found to resemble each other constituting one group and differing from the rest of the plays, the conclusion is drawn that all the plays cannot be the producttion of one and the same poet.

LILY DEXTER GREENE.—*Nature Study in the Sanskrit Drama Śakuntalā.*

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. vi, nos. 1 and 2

GANGANATHA JHA.—*Kumārila and Vedānta.* The points of contact between Kumārila's Mīmāṃsā and Śaṅkara's Vedānta in regard to some essentials such as the nature of Ātman, the *summum bonum* of life, have been pointed out here.

D. R. BHANDARKAR.—*The Antiquity of the Poona District.*

K. B. PATHAK.—*On the Date of Śākaṭāyana-cintāmaṇi.* It has been shown here that materials from the *Śākaṭāyanacintāmaṇi* of Yakṣavarman were taken by Hemacandra for his grammatical works *Bṛhadvṛtti* and *Laghuvṛtti* proving that Yakṣavarman was anterior to Hemacandra who lived in the twelfth century A.C.

S. K. BELVALKAR.—*An Authentic but Unpublished Work of Śaṅkarācārya.* Attention of scholars has been drawn to the fact that Śaṅkara commented on the whole of the 2nd and the 3rd Āraṇyakas of the Aitareya Āraṇyaka, and not on the last four chapters of the 2nd Āraṇyaka (II, 4-7) only as found in the extant editions of the *Aitareya Upaniṣad Bhāṣya.* The point is proved by Sāyaṇa's statement at the beginning of his commentary on the 2nd Ār. of the *Ait. Ār.* as also by the existence of the commentary of the two Āraṇyakas in the Mss. deposited in some of the Oriental Libraries in Europe.

S. K. HODIVALA.—*Parsi Viceroy and Governors of Kathiawar.*

F. B. TYABJI.—*Social Life in 1804 and 1929 amongst Muslims in Bombay.*

K. G. KUNDANGAR.—*Development of the Kannaḍa Drama.*

Journal of Indian History, vol IX, pt. iii, Dec. 1930

ABDUL AZIZ.—*History of the Reign of Shāh Jahān* (Book II, Ch. II). This chapter treats of the Mughal Army. The writer, following Abūl Faẓl's classification of the army, divides this chapter into the following sub-sections :

I *Manṣabdārs* and their followers corresponding to the cavalry of the present day. In this sub-section, the writer gives in detail the qualifications for the post of a Manṣabdār and his duties.

II *Aḥadīs* were a special class of horsemen appointed to guard the Emperor's person, they possessed qualifications higher than those of Manṣabdārs.

III Piādagān, though usually translated by 'Infantry', includes also (i) Bundūq*ch*īs (Matchlock-bearers), (ii) Darbāns (Porters); (iii) Khidmatiya; (iv) Mewras (couriers); (v) *Sh*am*sh*erbāz (experts in feats of arms); (vi) wrestlers; (vii) *Ch*elas (slaves); (viii) Kahārs (letter-bearers) and Dākhite (foot-soldiers).

The writer gives also an account of the artillery of Humāyun, Akbar and others and completes his paper by giving an "estimate of the total strength of the Army".

H. N. SINHA—*The Genesis of the Din-i-Ilahi.* Mr. Sinha prefaces his article by a reference to the dominant note in the awakening of India in the 16th century, viz., Love and Liberalism. He also gives a survey of the then political condition of India. He regards the faith—Din-i-Ilahī—as the outcome of Akbar's eclecticism; he gives an outline of Akbar's lineage and environment, dwells on Sufism, Vaiṣṇavism, and the Mahdavi and Roshni movements. He has shown clearly how Akbar was influenced, or rather, allowed himself to be influenced by the contemporaneous religious and political events, and constituted out of many faiths the Divine Faith (Din-i-Ilahi). It contains an accurate study of the character of Akbar and the causes of his greatness.

S. S. SURYA NARAYANA SASTRI—*Buddhist Logic in the Maṇimekhalai.* The object of this paper is to refute the contention that the account of Buddhist logic given in the 29th chapter of the *Maṇimekhalai* is posterior to Diṅnāga. The writer gives a translation of the relevant portion of the Maṇimekhalai up to the account of the fallacies and gives his reasons for attributing an early date to the composition of the *Maṇimekhalai.*

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI—*The Historical Material in the Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai* (1736-1761). The following topics are treated in this paper:—Events after the battle of Ambur—The victors at Pondicherry—English occupation of San Thome—Chanda Sahib's expedition to Tanjore—Operation at Tanjore—The coming of Nasir Jang into the Carnatic and the retreat of Chanda Sahib—First encounter with Nasir Jang.

Journal of Oriental Research, vol. v, pt. i

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR.—*Dravidic Forms for 'Betel leaf.'*

T. R. CHINTAMANI.—*Amarakhaṇḍana of Śrī Harṣa.* This short Sanskrit text covering only eleven pages of the Journal is a criticism of the well-known lexicon of Amarasiṃha. Its importance lies in the fact that a number of authors and works hitherto unknown has been quoted here. This Harṣa was, as has been inferred by Mr. Chintamani from a piece of internal evidence, a son of Pārthasārathi Miśra, and therefore should not be identified either with the author of the *Ratnāvalī*, or with that of the *Naiṣadhīyacarita.*

D. T. TATACHARYA SIROMANI.—*Śānta—the Ninth Rasa.* The discussion centres round the controversy in the works of Poetics as to the propriety of the acceptance of *Śānta rasa* as a separate poetic sentiment.

S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI—*The Chinese Suvarṇasaptati and the Māṭharavṛtti.* Suvarṇasaptati is the Sanskrit equivalent of the Chinese name of Paramārtha's Chinese translation of the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* and its commentary. As the *Gauḍapāda bhāṣya* and the *Māṭharavṛtti*, two Sanskrit commentaries on the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* have various points of resemblance to Paramārtha's translation, some sort of relation among the three works is naturally sought to be established. The *Māṭharavṛtti,* having a closer affinity with the Chinese work, is taken by some scholars to be the original commentary. The writer of this article, however, points out some fundamental differences between Māṭhara and Paramārtha regarding both their doctrines and expositions, as shows that Paramārtha agrees more with Gauḍapāda than with Māṭhara. In some places, Paramārtha is fuller and clearer than either of the two Sanskrit commentators.

N. AYYASWAMI SASTRI.—*Madhyamārthasaṃgraha of Bhāvaviveka.* The short Sanskrit treatise containing 11 *anuṣṭubh* stanzas "on the nature of the Double Truth as accepted in the Mādhyamika system of Buddhist Philosophy" has been restored from the Tibetan version and translated into English.

A. PADMANABHAYYA.—*Ancient Bhṛgus.* The writer amplifies in this first instalment of his article the theme that the Draviḍas, Asuras and Bhṛgus are identical, "The amplified equation will be Asura-

Bhṛgu- Draviḍa- Pelasgian- Phrygian-Hittite-Phœnician Greek-Etrusean-Latin-Frank."

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,

January, 1931

O. G. VON WESENDONK—*The Kālavāda and the Zervanite System.* The speculations as to time as prevalent in ancient India, Iran, Mesopotamia and the Hellenistic world have been compared in this paper. It has been shown that the Indian conception of Kāla has very little in common with the Zervanite theology of Iran, the former being a well-founded philosophical doctrine and the latter a religious dogma associated with various myths and legends.

Review of Philosophy and Religion,

vol. II, No. 1

B. N. KRISHNAMURTI SARMA—*New Light on the Gauḍapāda-kārikās.* The opinion that the kārikās of Gauḍapāda on the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad* have been mistakenly taken as part of the original *Upaniṣad*, by Madhvācārya is opposed by the writer on the ground of the reasonableness of Madhva's view, which was shared by many prominent writers of old.

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VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA—*Mahāyāna Viṃśaka of Nāgārjuna.* This is a short Mahāyāna treatise representing the views of both the Vijñānavādins and the Mādhyamikas with a particular stress on the idealistic theory. The Sanskrit original of the kārikās, which is no longer extant, has been reconstructed from the available Tibetan and Chinese translations. An introduction and English translation with notes, as also the Tibetan and the Chinese versions are given here.

AMULYA CHARAN SEN—*Schools and Sects in Jain Literature.*

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Alatthun ti pubbe vuttanayen' eva ehi bhikkhubhāven' eva alatthuṃ. Ito anantare pabbajitavāre pi es' eva nayo.

22. *Parivitakko udapādī* ti kadā udapādī ti. Sambodhito sattasaṃvaccharāni sattamāse sattadivase[1] atikkamitvā udapādi. Bhagavā kira pitu saṃgahaṃ karonto vihāsi. Rājā pi cintesi "mayhaṃ jeṭṭhaputto nikkhamitvā Buddho jāto, dutiyaputto me nikkhamitvā aggasāvako jāto, purohitaputto dutiyaggasāvako,[2] ime ca avasesā bhikkhū gihīkāle pi mayhaṃ puttam eva parivāretvā vicariṃsu, ime[3] pubbe pi[4] idānī pi mayhaṃ yeva bhārā,[5] aham eva te[6] catūhi paccayehi upaṭṭhahissāmi, aññesam okāsaṃ na dassāmī" ti. Vihāradvārakoṭṭhakato paṭṭhāya yāva Rājagehadvārā ubhayato[7] khadirapākāraṃ kārāpetvā kilañjehi chādāpetvā vatthehi paṭicchādāpetvā upari ca chādāpetvā suvaṇṇatārakavicittaṃ [8]samolambitatālakkhandhamattaṃ vividhapupphadāmavitānaṃ kārāpetvā heṭṭhā bhūmiyaṃ[9] vicittattharaṇehi[10] attharāpetvā[11] anto ubhosu passesu mālāvacchake[12] puṇṇaghaṭe sakalamaggaṃ vāsatthāya ca gandhantare pupphāni pupphantare[13] gandhe ca ṭhapāpetvā Bhagavato kālam ārocāpesi. Bhagavā bhikkhusaṃghaparivuto antosaniyā va Rājagehaṃ gantvā bhattakiccaṃ katvā vihāraṃ paccāgacchati. Añño koci daṭṭhum pi na labhati kuto pana bhikkhaṃ vā dātuṃ pūjaṃ vā kātuṃ dhammaṃ vā sotuṃ. Nāgarā cintesuṃ "ajja satthuno[14] loke uppannassa sattamāsādhikāni sattasaṃvaccharāni, mayañ ca daṭṭhum pi na labhāma, pāg eva bhikkham vā dātuṃ pūjaṃ vā kātuṃ dhammaṃ vā sotuṃ, rājā mayhaṃ yeva Buddho mayhaṃ yeva dhammo mayhaṃ yeva[15] saṃgho ti mamāyitvā sayam eva upaṭṭhahati,[16] satthā ca uppajjamāno sadevakassa lokassa atthāya hitāya[17] uppanno, na hi rañño va[18] nirayo[19] uṇho[20] aññesaṃ nīluppalavanasadiso, tasmā rājānaṃ vadāma, sace no satthāraṃ deti, iccetaṃ kusalaṃ, no ce deti, raññā saddhiṃ yujjhitvā pi saṃghaṃ gahetvā dānādīni puññāni karoma, na sakkā kho pana suddhanāgareh'eva[21] evaṃ

1 Si. satta ca divase
2 S. & Si. drop -agga-
3 Si. imehi ; B. ime sabbe
4 B. & S. drop pi.
5 B. bhāro
6 B. ne
7 Si. ubhato
8 Si. samosarita-
9 Si. bhūmiṃ
10 S. cittattharehi ; B. cittattharaṇehi
11 Si. sattharāpetvā ; B. santharāpetvā
12 Si. mālāsañcite
13 Si. drops pupphāni pupphantare
14 B. & Si. satthu
15 B. eva
16 B. upaṭṭhahi
17 Si. drops it.
18 B. yeva
19 Si. narako
20 B & S. add assa
21 Si. yuddhaṃ nāgareheva kātuṃ ; B. has yuddhā for suddha.

kātuṃ, ekaṃ jeṭṭhakaṃ purisam pi gaṇhāmā" ti. Te senāpatim upasaṅkamitvā tass' eva tam attham ārocetvā "sāmi kim amhākaṃ pakkho hoti udāhu rañño" ti āhaṃsu. So "ahaṃ tumhākaṃ pakkho homi, api ca kho pana paṭhamadivaso mayhaṃ dātabbo ti pacchā tumhākaṃ vāro"[1] ti. Te sampaṭicchiṃsu. So rājānam upasaṅkamitvā "nāgarā deva tumhākaṃ kupitā" ti āha. "Kim atthaṃ tātā" ti. "Satthāraṃ kira tumhe yeva upaṭṭhahatha, amhe na labhāmā ti,sace idānī pi labhanti na kuppanti alabhantā tumhehi saddhiṃ yujjhitukāmā devā" ti. "Yujjhāmi tāta, nāhaṃ[2] bhikkhusaṃghaṃ demī" ti. "Deva tumhākaṃ dāsā tumhehi saddhiṃ yujjhissāmā[3] ti vadanti tumhe kaṃ gaṇhitvā yujjhissathā" ti. "Nanu tvaṃ senāpatī" ti. "Nāgarehi vinā na samattho ahaṃ devā" ti. Tato rājā balavanto nāgarā, senāpati pi tesañ ñeva pakkho ti ñatvā "aññāni pi sattamāsādhikāni[4] sattasaṃvaccharāni mayhaṃ bhikkhusaṃghaṃ dadantū[5]" ti āha. Nāgarā na sampaṭicchiṃsu. Rājā cha vassāni pañca cattāri tīṇi dve eka vassa ti hāpeti. Evaṃ hāpente[6] pi na sampaticchiṃsu. Aññe satta divase ti[7] yāci. Nāgarā atikakkhaḷaṃ dāni raññā saddhiṃ kātuṃ na vaṭṭatī ti anujāniṃsu. Rājā sattamāsādhikānaṃ sattannaṃ saṃvaccharānaṃ sajjitaṃ dānamukhaṃ sattannam eva divasānaṃ vissajjetvā[8] cha divase kesañci apassantānañ ñeva dānaṃ datvā sattame divase nāgare pakkosāpetvā "sakkhissatha tātā evarūpaṃ dānaṃ dātun" ti āha. Te pi "nanu amhe yeva nissāya taṃ devassa uppannan" ti vatvā "sakkhissāmā" ti āhaṃsu. Rājā piṭṭhihatthena[9] assūni puñchamāno Bhagavantaṃ vanditvā "Bhante, aham aṭṭhasaṭṭhi bhikkhusatasahassam aññesaṃ[10] bhāram[11] akatvā yāvajīvaṃ catūhi paccayehi upaṭṭhahissāmī" ti cintesiṃ, nāgarānaṃ dāni me anuññātā, nāgarā pi 'mayaṃ dānaṃ dātuṃ na labhāmā' ti kuppanti,[12] sve paṭṭhāya tesam anuggahaṃ karothā" ti āha. Atha dutiyadivase senāpati mahādānaṃ sajjetvā "ajja yathā añño koci ekabhikkham pi na deti evaṃ rakkhathā" ti samantā purise ṭhapesi. Taṃ divasaṃ seṭṭhibhariyā rodamānā dhītaram āha "sace amma tava pitā jīveyya ajjāhaṃ paṭhamaṃ Dasabalaṃ bhojeyyan" ti. Sā tam āha "amma mā cintayi, ahaṃ tathā karissāmi yathā Buddhappamukho bhikkhusaṃgho paṭhamam amhākaṃ bhikkhaṃ paribhuñjissatī" ti. Tato satasahassagghanikāya suvaṇṇapātiyā[13] nirudakapāyāsaṃ[14] pūretvā

1 Si. omits pacchā tumhākaṃ vāro.
2 S. & Si drop it.
3 B. yujjhāmā
4 S. -ādhikaṃ
5 B. dentū
6 Si. cha vassāni pañca vassānī ti hāpetvā hāpente
7 B. hi
8 Si. sajjetvā
9 S. piṭṭha-
10 B. & S. aññassa
11 B. vāraṃ
12 B. adds here Bhagavā.
13 Si. kaṃsa-
14 B. & S. pāyāsassa

sappimadhusakkarādīhi abhisaṃkharitvā tam[1] aññissā[2] pātiyā pātiṃ paṭikujjitvā taṃ Sumanamālāguṇehi[3] parikkhipitvā mālāguṇasadisaṃ katvā Bhagavato gāmaṃ pavisanavelāya sayam eva ukkhipitvā dhātigaṇaparivutā gharā[4] nikkhami. Antarāmagge senāpatino upaṭṭhākā "amma mā ito agamāsī" ti vadanti. Mahāpuññā nāma manāpakathā honti, na ca tesaṃ punappunaṃ bhaṇantānaṃ kathā paṭikkhipituṃ sakkā honti. Sā "cūḷapitā mahāpitā mātulā, kissa tumhe gantuṃ na dethā" ti āha. Senāpatinā[5] "aññassa kassaci khādanīyaṃ bhojanīyaṃ dātuṃ mā dethā" ti ṭhapitamhā ammā" ti. Kiṃ pana me hatthe khādanīyaṃ bhojanīyaṃ passathā" ti. "Mālāguṇaṃ passāmā" ti. "Kiṃ tumhākaṃ senāpati mālāguṇapūjam pi kātuṃ na detī" ti. "Deti ammā" ti. "Tena hi apethā[6]" ti. Bhagavantam upasaṅkamitvā "mālāguṇaṃ gaṇhāpetha Bhagavā" ti āha. Bhagavā ekaṃ senāpatiss' upaṭṭhākam oloketvā mālāguṇaṃ gaṇhāpesi. Sā Bhagavantaṃ vanditvā "Bhagavā[7] bhavābhave nibbattiyaṃ me sati paritassanajīvitaṃ nāma mā hotu ahaṃ[8] Sumanamālā viya nibbattanibbattaṭṭhāne[9] piyā manāpā va homi[10], nāmena ca Sumanā yevā" ti patthanaṃ katvā Satthārā "sukhinī hohī"[11] ti vuttā vanditvā padakkhiṇaṃ katvā pakkāmi. Bhagavā senāpatissa gehaṃ gantvā paññattāsane nisīdi. Senāpati yāguṃ gahetvā upāgañchi. Satthā pattaṃ pidahi. "Nisinno bhante bhikkhusaṃgho" ti. Atthi no eko antarā piṇḍapāto laddho ti mālāguṇam[12] apanetvā piṇḍapātam addasa. Cūḷupaṭṭhāko āha "sāmi mālā ti maṃ vatvā mātugāmo vañcesī" ti. Pāyāso Bhagavantam ādiṃ katvā sabbesaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ pahosi. Senapati pi attano deyyadhammam adāsi. Satthā bhattakiccaṃ katvā maṅgalaṃ vatvā pakkāmi. Senāpati "kā nāma sā piṇḍapātam adāsī" ti pucchi. "Seṭṭhidhītā sāmī" ti. Sapaññā sā itthī evarūpāya ghare vasantiyā purisassa saggasampatti nāma na dullabhā ti tam ānetvā jeṭṭhakaṭṭhāne ṭhapesi. Punadivase nāgarā dānam adaṃsu punadivase rājā pī ti evam ekantarikāya[13] dātuṃ ārabhiṃsu. Rājā pi cārapurise[14] ṭhapetvā nāgarehi dinnadānato atirekataraṃ deti, nāgarā pi tath' eva katvā raññā dinnadānato atirekataraṃ. Rājagehe nāṭakitthiyo daharasāmaṇere vadanti "gaṇhatha tātā na gahapatikānaṃ gattavatthādīsu[15] puñchitvā bāladārakānaṃ khe-

1 B. & S. drop it.
2 B. aññāya
3 B. -gulehi
4 Si. drops it ; B. nagarā
5 Si. adds na.
6 B. repeats apetha.
7 B. & S. drop it.
8 Si. ayaṃ
9 S. drops one nibbatta.
10 B. ṭhāne pi yāva homi
11 B. hotu
12 B. & S. mālaṃ
13 B. adds dānaṃ
14 B. cara-
15 Si. bhattaṃ, vatthādīsu

lasiṃghāṇikādi-dhovanahatthehi kataṃ suciṃ paṇītaṃ katan ti. Punadivase nāgarā pi daharasāmaṇere[1] vadanti[2] gaṇhatha tātā na gāmanigamādīsu saṃkhaḍḍhitataṇḍulakhīradadhisappi-ādīhi na aññesaṃ jaṅghasīsapiṭṭhi-ādīni bhañjitvā āharāpitehi kataṃ, jātisappikhīrādīhi yeva katan ti. Evaṃ sattasu saṃvaccharesu ca sattasu ca māsesu sattasu[3] divasesu ca atikkantesu atha[4] Bhagavato ayaṃ vitakko udapādi, tena vuttaṃ 'sambodhito satta saṃvaccharāni satta māsāni[5] satta divasāni atikkamitvā udapādī 'ti.

23. *Aññataro mahābrahmā* ti dhammadesanam āyācitabrahmā va.

27. *Caturāsītiṃ āvāsasahassānī* ti caturāsīti vihārasahassāni. Te sabbe pi dvādasasahassa[6]bhikkhugaṇhanakā mahāvihārā, Abhayagiri-Cetiyapabbata-Cittalapabbatamahāvihārā sadisā va ahesuṃ.

28. *Khantī paramaṃ tapo* ti adhivāsanakhanti nāma paramaṃ tapo.[7] *Titikkhā* ti khantiyā eva vevacanaṃ. Titikkhāsaṅkhātā adhivāsanakhanti uttamatapo ti attho. *Nibbānaṃ paraman* ti sabbākārena pana nibbānaṃ paraman ti vadanti Buddhā. *Na hi pabbajito parūpaghātī* ti yo adhivāsanakhantivirahitattā paraṃ ghāteti[8] upaghāteti bādheti ca hiṃsati[9] ca so pabbajito nāma na hoti. Catutthapādo pana tass' eva vevacanaṃ. *Na hi pabbajito* ti etassa hi na samaṇo hotī ti vevacanaṃ. *Parūpaghātī* ti etassa paraṃ viheṭhayanto ti vevacanaṃ. Athavā *parūpaghātī* ti sīlūpaghātī. Sīlaṃ hi uttamaṭṭhena paran ti vuccati. Yo ca samaṇo paraṃ yaṃ kiñci sattaṃ viheṭhayanto parūpaghātī hoti attano sīlavināsako so pabbajito nāma na hotī ti attho. Athavā yo adhivāsanakhantiyā abhāvanto[10] parūpaghātī hoti param antamaso ḍaṃsamakasam pi[11] jīvitā voropeti so na hi pabbajito. Kiṃ kāraṇā ? Malassa apabbājitattā. Pabbājayam[12] attano malaṃ tasmā pabbajito ti vuccatī ti. Idaṃ hi pabbajitalakkhaṇaṃ.

Yo pi na he'va kho upaghāteti na māreti, api ca daṇḍādīhi viheṭheti so paraṃ viheṭhayanto samaṇo nāma[13] na hoti. Kiṃ kāraṇā ? Vihesāya asamitattā. Samitattā hi pāpānaṃ[14] samaṇo ti pavuccatī ti idaṃ hi samaṇa-lakkhaṇaṃ.

Dutiyagāthāya *sabba-pāpassā* ti sabbākusalassa. *Akaraṇan* ti anu-

1 B. drops it and puts dadamānā.
2 S. adds nagara.
3 S. & Si drop it.
4 Si. evaṃ sattadivasā gatā atha
5 Si. māse
6 Si. drops bhikkhu.
7 B. drops this line from ti.
8 S. drops it.
9 Si. vihiṃsati
10 B. abhāvato
11 B. adds saññicca.
12 Si. pabbajayattano ; B. pabbājayatī attano
13 B. drops it.
1 B. drops it.

ppādanaṃ.[1] *Kusalassā* ti catubhūmikakusalassa. *Upasampadā* ti paṭilābho. *Sacitta-pariyodapanan* ti attano cittajotanaṃ. Taṃ pana arahantena hoti. Iti sīlasaṃvareṇa sabbapāpaṃ pahāya samathavipassanāhi kusalaṃ sampādetvā arahattaphalena cittaṃ pariyodāpetabban ti etaṃ Buddhānaṃ sāsanam ovādo anusiṭṭhī ti.

Tatiyagāthāya *anupavādo* ti vacāya kassaci anupavadanaṃ. *Anupaghāto* ti kāyena upaghātassa akaraṇaṃ. *Pātimokkhe* ti yan taṃ pa atimokkhaṃ atipamokkham uttamasīlaṃ pāti vā sugativisesehi[2] mokkheti ca duggatibhayehi yo vā naṃ pāti taṃ mokkhetī ti pātimokkhan ti vuccati tasmiṃ pātimokkhe ca saṃvaro. *Mattaññutā* ti paṭiggahaṇaparibhogavasena samaññutā.[3] *Pantañ ca sayanāsanan* ti sayanāsanañ ca saṃghaṭṭanavirahitan ti attho. Tattha dvīhi yeva paccayehi catupaccayasanto so dīpito hotī ti veditabbo. *Etaṃ Buddhānaṃ sāsanan* ti etaṃ parassa anupavadanam anupaghātanaṃ pātimokkhasaṃvaro paṭiggahaṇaparibhogesu mattaññutā aṭṭhasamāpattivasibhāvāya vivittasenāsanasevanañ ca Buddhānaṃ sāsanam ovādo anusiṭṭhī ti. Imā pana sabbabuddhānaṃ pātimokkhuddesagāthā hontī ti veditabbā. Ettāvatā ca iminā Vipassissa Bhagavato apadānānusāreṇa vitthārakathanena Tathāgatass'ev' esā bhikkhave dhammadhātu supaṭividdhā ti evaṃ[4] Tathāgatassa etam attham ārocesun ti vuttaṃ devatārocanaṃ pakāsetum 'ekam idāhan' ti ādim āha.

29 Tattha *Subhavane*[5] ti evaṃ nāmake vane. *Sālarājamūle* ti vanappatijeṭṭhakassa mūle. *Kāmacchandaṃ virājetvā* ti anāgāmimaggena mūlasamugghātavasena virājetvā. Yathā ca Vipassissa evaṃ sesabuddhānaṃ pi sāsane vuṭṭha[6]-brahmacariyā devatā ārocayiṃsu. Pāliyaṃ[7] pana Vipassissa c'eva amhākañ ca Bhagavato vasena āgatā. Tattha attano sampattiyā na hāyanti na vihāyantī ti Avihā. Na kañci sattaṃ tapantī ti Atappā. Sundaradassanā abhirūpā pāsādikā ti Sudassanā.[8] Suṭṭhu passanti sundaram etesaṃ vā dassanan ti Sudassī. Sabbe h' eva ca saguṇehi ca bhavasampattiyā ca jeṭṭhā natth' ettha kaniṭṭhā ti Akaniṭṭhā. Idha ṭhatvā bhāṇavārā samodhānetabbā. Imasmiṃ hi sutte Vipassissa bhagavato apadānavasena ubhayo[9] bhāṇavārā vuttā. Yathā ca Vipassissa evaṃ Sikhi-ādīnam pi apadānavasena

1 Si. anuppadaṃ.
2 Si. bhayehi ; B. agativisesehi
3 B. pamāṇaññutā
4 Si. saṃsaṭṭha-
4 B. adds vuttāya dhammadhātuyā suppaṭividdhabhāvaṃ pakāsetvā idāni devatā pi.
5 B. Subhagavane
6 B. vutta-
7 B. & S. Pāli
8 B. Sudassā
9 B. tayo

vuttā va. Pāliyaṃ pana saṅkhittā. Iti sattannaṃ Buddhānaṃ vasena amhākaṃ Bhagavatā ekavīsati bhāṇavārā kathitā tathā Avihehi tathā Atappehi tathā Sudassehi tathā Sudassīhi tathā Akaniṭṭhehī ti. Sabbam pi chabbīsatibhāṇavārasataṃ hoti. Tepiṭake Buddhavacane aññaṃ suttaṃ chabbīsatibhāṇavārasataparimāṇaṃ nāma natthi. Suttantarājā nāma ayaṃ suttanto ti veditabbo. Ito param anusandhidvayam pi niyyādento *iti kho bhikkhave* ti ādim āha. Taṃ sabbam uttānattham evā ti.

Iti Sumaṅgalavilāsiniyā Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathāya MAHĀPADĀNA-SUTTA VAṆṆANĀ niṭṭhitā.

XV. MAHĀNIDĀNA SUTTA VAṆṆANĀ

Evaṃ me sutaṃ—pe—Kurūsū ti Mahānidānasuttaṃ. Tatrāyam anuttānapadavaṇṇanā. *Kurūsu viharatī* ti Kurū nāma jānapadino rājakumārā, tesaṃ nivāso eko pi janapado rulhisaddena Kurūsū ti vuccati, tasmiṃ Kurūsu janapade. Aṭṭhakathācāriyā panāhu Mandhātukāle tīsu dīpesu manussā Jambudīpo nāma Buddhapaccekabuddha-mahā sāvakacakkavattippabhūtīnam uttamapurisānam uppattibhūmi uttamadīpo atiramaṇīyo ti sutvā raññā Mandhātucakkavattinā cakkaratanaṃ purakkhatvā[1] cattāro dīpe anuparisaṃyāyantena[2] saddhim āgamiṃsu. Tato rājā pariṇāyakaratanaṃ pucchi "atthi nu kho manussalokato ramaṇīyataraṃ ṭhānan" ti. "Kasmā deva evaṃ bhaṇasi? Kiṃ na passasi candimasuriyānam ānubhavam, nanu etesaṃ ṭhānam ito ramaṇīyataran" ti. Rājā cakkaratanaṃ purakkhatvā tattha agamāsi.

Cattāro Mahārājāno Mandhātumahārājā āgato ti sutvā va mahiddhiko[3] rājā, na sakkā yuddhena paṭibāhitun ti sakaṃ rajjaṃ niyyādesuṃ. So taṃ gahetvā puna pucchi "atthi nu kho ito ramaṇīyataraṃ ṭhānan" ti. Ath' assa Tāvatiṃs abhavanaṃ kathayiṃsu. Tāvatiṃsabhavanaṃ deva ito ramaṇīyataraṃ, tattha Sakkassa devarañño ime cattāro Mahārājāno paricārakā dovārikabhūmiyaṃ tiṭṭhanti. Sakko devarājā mahiddhiko mahānubhāvo tass' imāni upabhogaṭṭhānāni yojanasahass' ubbedho Vejayanto pāsādo pañcayojanasatubbedhā Sudhammā devasabhā diyaḍḍhayojanasatiko Vejayantaratho tathā Erāvaṇo hatthī dibbarukkhasahassapaṭimaṇḍitaṃ Nandavanaṃ Cittalatāvanaṃ Pāru[4]-sakavanaṃ Missakavanaṃ yojanasatubbedho Pāricchattako Koviḷāro tassa heṭṭhā saṭṭhiyojanāyāmā[5] paññāsayojanavitthatā[6] pañcadasayojanubbedhā jayakusumapupphavaṇṇā paṇḍukambalasilā yassā mudutāya Sakkassa nisīdato upaḍḍhakāyo anupavisatī ti. Taṃ sutvā rājā tattha gantukāmo cakkaratanam abbhukiri. Tam ākāse uṭṭhāsi[7] saddhiṃ caturaṅginiyā senāya. Atha dvinnaṃ devalokānaṃ vemajjhato cakkaratanam otaritvā paṭhaviyaṃ patiṭṭhāsi saddhiṃ pariṇāyakaratanappamukhāya caturaṅginiyā senāya. Rājā ekako va Tāvatiṃsabhavanam agamāsi.

Sakko "Mandhātā āgato" ti sutvā va tassa paccuggamanaṃ katvā "svāgatan te mahārāja, sakan te mahārāja, anusāsa mahārājā" ti vatvā

1 B. & Si. purakkhitvā 2 Si. anusaṃsarentena 3 B. & Si. add mahānubhavo.
4 B. & Si. Phāru- 5 Si. āyatā 6 Si. vittharā
7 Si. uṭṭhahi; B. paviṭṭhāsi

saddhiṃ nāṭakehi rajjaṃ dve bhāge katvā ekaṃ bhāgam adāsi. Rañño Tāvatiṃsabhavane patiṭṭhitamattass' eva manussabhāvo vigacchi. Devabhāvo pāturahosi. Tassa kira Sakkena saddhiṃ paṇḍukambalasilāyaṃ nisinnassa akkhinimmissamattena[1] nānattaṃ paññāyatī ti tam asallakkhentā devā Sakkassa ca tassa ca nānatte muyhanti. So tattha dibbasampattim anubhavamāno yāva chattiṃsa Sakkā uppajjitvā cutā tāva Sakkarajjaṃ kāretvā atitto va kāmehi tato cavitvā attano uyyāne patito vātātapena phuṭṭhagatto[2] kālam akāsi.

Cakkaratane[3] puna paṭhaviyaṃ patiṭṭhite pariṇāyakaratanaṃ suvaṇṇapaṭe[4] Mandhātu upāhanaṃ likhāpetvā idaṃ Mandhātu rajjan ti rajjam anusāsi. Te pi tīhi dīpehi āgatamanussā pana[5] gantum asakkontā pariṇāyakaratanam upasaṅkamitvā "deva mayaṃ rañño ānubhāvena āgatā idāni gantuṃ na sakkoma vasanaṭṭhānaṃ no dehī" ti yāciṃsu. So tesam ekam ekaṃ[6] janapadam adāsi. Tattha Pubbavidehato āgatamanussehi āvasitappadeso tāyeva purimasaññāya Videharaṭṭhan ti nāmaṃ labhi.[7] Aparagoyānato āgatamanussehi āvasitappadeso Aparantajanapado ti nāmaṃ labhi,[7] Uttarakuruto āgatamanussehi āvasitappadeso Kururaṭṭhan ti nāmaṃ labhi.[7] Bahuke pana gāmanigamādayo upādāya bahu vacanena vohariyati. Tena vuttaṃ Kurūsu viharatī ti.

Kammassadhammā ti[8] ettha keci dhakārassa da-kāreṇa atthaṃ vaṇṇayanti. Kammāso ettha damito ti Kammāsadammo. *Kammāso* ti Kammāsapādo porisādo vuccati. Tassa kira pāde khānukena viddhaṭṭhāne vaṇo ruhanto Cittadārusadiso hutvā ruhi. Tasmā Kammāsapādo ti paññāyittha. So ca tasmiṃ okāse damito porisādabhāvato paṭisedhito. Kena? Mahāsattena. Katarasmiṃ jātake ti. Mahāsutasomajātake ti eke. Keci[9] pana therā Jayaddisajātakehi vadanti. Tadā hi Mahāsattena Kammāsapādo damito. Yath' āha.

Putto yadā homi Jayaddisassa
Pañcālaraṭṭhādhipatissa atrajo
cajitvā pāṇaṃ pitaram amocayiṃ
Kammāsapādam pi cahaṃ pasādayin ti.

Keci pana dha-kāreṇa atthaṃ vaṇṇayanti. Kururaṭṭhavāsīnaṃ kira Kurudhammo, tasmiṃ Kammāso jāto, tasmā taṃ ṭhānaṃ Kammāso

1 Si. akkhinimesanamattena ; B. -nimmita-
2 Si. phusita
3 B. adds pana.
4 B. & Si. paṭṭe
5 B. & Si. puna
6 S. & Si, drop ekaṃ.
7 B. labhati
8 B. & Si. add Kammāsa-dhammaṃ nāma Kurūnaṃ nigamo ti.
9 B. & S. ime

ASPECTS OF MAHĀYĀNA BUDDHISM
AND
ITS RELATION TO HĪNAYĀNA

By

NALINAKSHA DUTT, M.A., PH.D. (CAL.), D. LIT. (LOND.)

Premchand Roychand Scholar

FORMERLY PROFESSOR, JUDSON COLLEGE, RANGOON ;

LECTURER, CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

WITH A FOREWORD BY

Prof. LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN

of the University of Ghent

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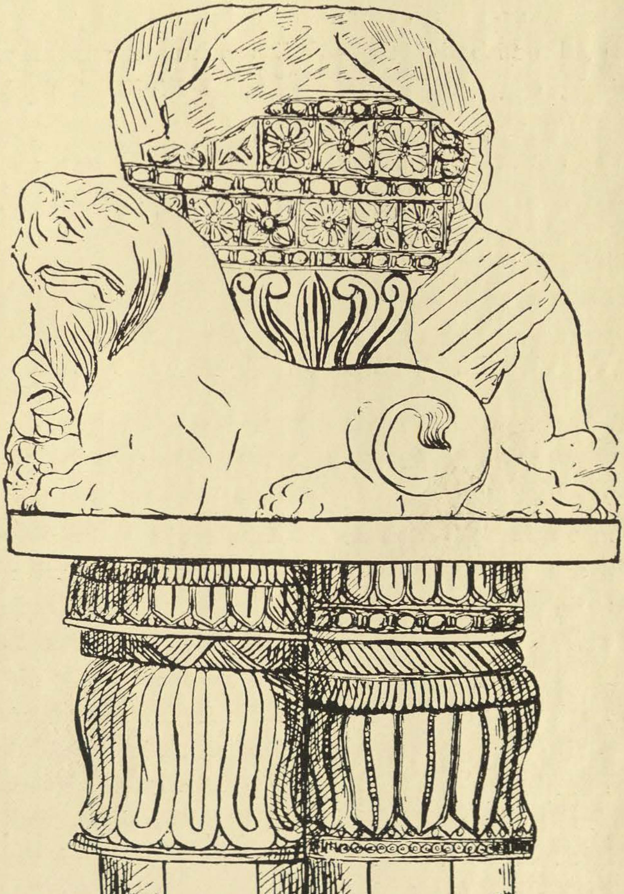


Fig. 1

Clustered Capitals

From—Torana Pillar, Bharhut

THE

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Origin of the Bell-Capital

In his note on the origin of the Lotus Capital (I.H.Q., VI, pp. 373-375 & pl.) Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy states the case for the Indian origin and symbolism of the lower member of the Mauryan Capital and its derivation from the Lotus symbol, which he traces in the Vedic literature.[1] Similar views have been held for the last half a century. They derive their plausibility from the resemblance of the bell capital to the calyx of a flower reversed, to which also its supposed Persian prototype has much similarity. Of 'the drooping foliations of the Capitals,' Dr. Rajendralala Mitra wrote as early as 1875 that, "to an Indian they appear very like the pendant filaments of the lotus after the petals have been removed from the receptacle, or the reverted petals of a lotus bud,—forms which are peculiarly ornamental and beautiful, and which have been employed in India as ornaments in a variety of ways and in different places."[2] That was why he did not admit the supposed similitudes between the Aśoka and the Assyrian (?) pillars to be conclusive. It is noteworthy that his conjecture involves only the decorative theme of the capital and not its solid shape, which have been confused in recent mystic interpretations of the motif. The distinction seems to have been maintained by Mr. Purna Chandra Moo-

1 A. K. Coomaraswamy,—*A History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pp. 8, 13-14, and 17; *Eastern Art*, vol. I, no. 3, p. 179.

2 R. L. Mitra,—*Antiquities of Orissa*, vol. I, p. 17.

kerjee[1] who described the 'bell-shaped' Rumindei capital as exhibiting 'the usual festoons in the face of the big cyma,' the last-named moulding being translated by him as "*Padma.*"

Dr. Coomaraswamy's interpretation of the capital as the mystic lotus support is founded firstly, upon the occurrence of certain lotus supports in the chamfer reliefs of the Bharhut rails, secondly, on the morphological affinities between the Mauryan capitals and the said lotus supports, and thirdly, on the significance attached to the lotus symbol in the Vedic literature. We proceed to discuss these in the following paragraphs.

I

The Lotus Symbol in the Bharhut Reliefs

That the Indians attached some sort of mystic significance to the lotus is implied by certain legends according to which the flower is said to have sprung up at the feet of Siddhārtha when he walked seven steps after his birth.[2] The flower is also represented on the soles of a Buddha image at Sārnāth,[3] dating from the Kuṣāṇa period. The design of a lotus springing up from another in the chamfer reliefs of the Bharhut rails, recalls the representation of the Śrāvastī miracle in Gupta art. From the absence of differentiating emblems on figures of Indra, Agni and Brahmā in the coins and monuments of the Śuṅga period, it would appear that the iconography of Śrī usually appearing on a lotus was probably of non-Brāhmaṇical origin.[4] The representation of '*Sirimā Devatā*' on the Bharhut rails without the flower indicates that this mark of Śrī was not rigidly adhered to. That she was not the only deity associated with the flower is proved by the figure of the girl with a lyre, standing upon it, on one of the

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1 P. C. Mookerjee,—*A Report on a Tour of Exploration of the Antiquities in the Tarai, Nepal, Feb. and March, 1899*, pp. 32-34.

2 Sahni,—*Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath*, Calcutta, 1914, pl. xx. Lefmann,—*Lalitavistara*, Adhyāya 7, p. 83: 19-21; p. 84: 18-19; p. 93: 12-13.

3 Sahni,—*op. cit.*, p. 38, B (a) 6.

4 Ramaprasad Chanda,—*Mūrti-O-Mandir*, pp. 4-5. Coomaraswamy,—*History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 31; *Eastern Art*, vol. I, no. 3, pp. 175-89 and plates.

pillars (unpublished). The man and the woman riders, appearing on lotus-supports on either side of a medallion, and again at other places carrying the *Garuḍadhvajas* without that appendage, taken together, denote that the lotus seat or pedestal was not an invariable attribute of divine figures in Śuṅga art. Following is the list of figures on the lotus-supports in the chamfer reliefs of the Bharhut rails :—

1. Anthropomorphic figures :—The man and the woman on horseback : the man with hands in an attitude of adoration and the woman grasping a branch of the mango tree, disposed in pairs to the right and left of the same medallion (*Mithuna*) ; women raising a hand to grasp a flower or a necklace hanging from a flower placed above ; or holding a ball-like object or a flywhisk in the uplifted hand ; the other hand descending to the girdle or pointing to the breasts, or holding lotuses.

2. Beasts :—Winged horses and elephants.

3. Birds :—Swans craning their neck : peacocks with expanded plumes : the parrot pecking at the mango.

4. Flowers :—Two lotuses, one springing from the other.

If the lotus supports of Bharhut had been meant to represent pillars like the Mauryan and Śuṅga *'Śilāstambhas,'* we should expect to find all the foregoing figures on contemporary columns. This is, however, not the case. The custom of setting up anthropomorphic figures on the top of columns did not, in fact, begin till a much later date. A tripartite lion in the Bharhut reliefs, supporting an anthropomorphic figure of which only the feet survive,[1] is to be explained as a carrier (*vāhana*). And if not of totemistic origin, the birds and animals on the lotus supports must have been designed with decorative intent on the lines of the *Śrīs* and the *Mithunas* in which the lotus may have an iconographic significance. The elephant on the lotus is probably derived from the '*Abhiṣeka*' type of *Śrī*, wherein its decorative significance is obvious. The swan found on the vase and lotus (*Bhadraghaṭa*) medallions of Bharhut and also in the '*Abhiṣeka*' type of *Śrī*, as represented in the Orissa caves, have no more import than its association with the lotus pool.[2] The lotus in the hands of some of the figures need not necessarily have been an icono-

1 *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report* (henceforth abbreviated as *A.S.I.R.*) for 1925-26, p. 151, pl. lvii, fig. (a).

2 Cf. हंसश्रेणीरचितरशना नित्यपद्मा नलिन्यः । *Meghadūta*, II, 3.

graphical attribute.[1] The significance of the flower being thus proved to be indeterminate and the decorative character of some of the figures on the lotus supports being obvious, the latter cannot be held to represent the supposed symbolic Mauryan bell-capitals carrying animal figures.

II

The Morphology of the Lotus Supports and the Bell Capitals

The morphological similitudes between the lotus supports of Bharhut and the campaniform capitals of the Mauryan pillars suggested by Dr. Coomaraswamy can be hardly reconciled to facts. The fillet moulding in the lowermost part of the Gutiva,[2] Rumindei[3] and Allahabad[4] capitals, as well as the cable and the bead and reel mouldings below the Basarh,[5] Sankissa[6] and Nandangarh[7] capitals cannot be derived from the lotus supports. In shape as well as in the form of the petals, the bulb-shaped lotuses of the chamfer reliefs of Bharhut do not resemble the campaniform

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1 Smith,—*The Jaina Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathura*, pp. 12-13, plate VI. Herringham,—*Ajanta Frescoes*, plate II, fig. 3 ; plate XI, fig. 13 ; plate XIV, fig. 16 ; plate XVII.

Cf. हस्ते लीलाकमलमलके बालकुन्दानुविद्धं
नीता लोध्रप्रसवरजसा पाण्डुतामानने श्रीः ।
चूड़ापाशे नवकुरवकं चारुकर्णे शिरीषं
सीमन्ते च त्वदुपगमजं यत्र नीपं वधूनाम् ॥

Meghadūta, II, 2.

O. M, Dalton,—*The Treasure of the Oxus*, 2nd edition, gold plaques, nos. 49, 74, 89, 92, 93. Plates XIV, XV, no. 103, pp. 26-27, plate XVI.

2 Mookerjee,—*op. cit.*, plate XVI, fig. 2.

3 *Id.*, Plate XVI, fig. 3.

4 Fergusson,—*History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (London, 1876), fig. 3, p. 53.

5 Dr. Ludwig Bachhofer,—*Early Indian Sculpture* (Paris, 1929), vol. I, pl. III.

6 *Id.*, pl. VIII.

7 *Id.*, pl. IV.

capitals with their characteristic ornamentation. In the lion capitals of Sārnāth[1] and Rāmpurva,[2] the transition between the bell and the abacus is partly effected by the undecorated torus, which has its precedent in the Achaemenian pillar-base and cannot be derived from the stamens of the lotus. In the Sāñchi, Saṅkissa and Rāmpurva (bull)[3] capitals its place is taken by a corded torus or cable moulding, the history of the ornament going back to much earlier times and having nothing to do with the said stamens. Its occurrence below the Basarh, Saṅkissa and Nandangarh capitals cannot be otherwise explained. That the corded torus does not represent the stamens of the lotus is demonstrated by the simultaneous appearance of the two forms on the lotus capitals of the *'toraṇa'* of Bharhut (Fig. 1), the former intervening between the bell and the lotus-shaped abacus, and the latter falling on the shoulder of the bell, respectively. The fillet appearing above the torus in the Sāñchi, Sarnāth and Rāmpurva (lion) capitals has no counterpart in the lotus growing in nature or as represented in the chamfer reliefs of Bharhut. No resemblance can be imagined between the thalamus of the lotus and the square abaci of the Basarh lion capital, the Mathura elephant capital of the reign of Huviṣka,[4] the *'Makara'*[5] and *'Kalpavṛkṣa'*[6] capitals of Besnagar and the lotus capitals of the *Garuḍa* poles[7] in the Bharhut reliefs, as well as the abaci of the *Garuḍa*[8] and the fan-palm capitals of Besnagar,[9] which are square above, and round and octagonal, respectively, below.

The other type of lotus supports occurring in two instances in the Bharhut reliefs, not described by Dr. Coomaraswamy, comprise a cup-shaped flower with petals rising upwards and supporting an

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1 Bachhofer,—*Early Indian Sculpture*, vol. I, pl. V.

2 Chanda,—'The Beginnings of Art in Eastern India,' (*Memoirs of the A.S.I.* no. 30, pl. II(b).

3 *Id.*, pl. III(a).

4 Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, vol. III, p. 20, pl. V.

5 *Id.*, vol. X, pp. 42-43, pl. XIV.; *A. S. I. R.*, 1913-14, pp. 189-90, pl. LIV, figs. (a) and (b).

6 Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, vol. X, pp. 43-44, pl. xv.

7 Cunningham,—*The Stūpa of Bharhut*, pl. xxxii, figs. 5 and 6; *A.S.I.R.*, 1925-26, pl. lviii.

8 *A. S. I. R.*, 1913-14, p. 188, pl. lii (a) and liii.

9 *A. S. R.*, vol. X, pl. XIV, p. 42.

abacus decorated with beads, or with beads and the cable moulding (Figs. 2 & 3). The juxtaposition of these ornaments with the lotus owes its inspiration to the artists' familiarity with the lotus capital which appears twice on the *Garuḍa-dhvajas* and twice[1] on isolated columns supporting the elephant as well as on structural pillars in the pseudo-architecture of the Bharhut reliefs. The dissimilarity between the bell capital and the second type of lotus support is too obvious to need further comment.

III

The Vedic Lotus Symbol

Before postulating a connection between the Vedic lotus symbol and the bell-capitals, of which our earliest specimens come from the Mauryan '*śilāstambhas*', it is necessary to ascertain whether the said symbol can have any bearing on the significance of the pillars. Dr. Rajendralala Mitra was of opinion that the Mauryan pillars "were used as mere monuments erected singly in distant places to bear only inscriptions".[2] The presence of stūpas and temples in the vicinity of some of the columns led Fergusson to surmise their association with religious edifices.[3] This was rightly contested by Dr. Mitra who pointed out that "the Tirhut pillars, which are still *in situ*, have no mound or ruin of any kind in their close proximity to bear out this supposition." Fergusson, nevertheless, appears to to have guessed the religious significance of the pillars. In the *Aśokāvadāna* of the *Divyāvadāna*, the memorial monuments erected by Aśoka on the sacred sites of Buddhist history are described as '*cihna*'s or emblems.[4] The Rumindei pillar inscription, in enumerating the erection of a pillar on the birthplace of Buddha as one of the royal acts of Asoka,[5] indicates that the columns are included among the '*cihna*'s. But the Sāñchi column, standing at a place not connected with the personal history of Buddha, proves

1 Cunningham,—*Mahābodhi*, pl. III.

2 Mitra,—*op. cit*, p. 15 and footnote.

3 Fergusson,—*op. cit.*, p. 55.

4 Cowell & Neil,—*Divyāvadāna*, p 389 and footnote.

5 Hultzsch,—*Inscriptions of Aśoka* (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*), vol. I, pp. 164-65.

that all of these columns are not commemorative in character. Its capital has the same design as that of the Sārnāth column. The symbolic character of the lions which crown the latter has been long recognised.[1]

In my paper on Mauryan Art, I attempted a chronology of the Mauryan bell capitals on morphological grounds,[2] and this has been since corroborated by Prof. Chanda on the strength of certain passages in the edicts of Aśoka mentioning columns standing at the time of their promulgation.[3] This implies that not all of these columns did appertain to Buddhism. That one at least belonged to another cult is shown by the pillar of Lauriya-Ārārāj, which had been crowned with a *Garuḍa* capital. Prof. Chanda is thus justified in concluding that these columns are animal standards intended for worship, the crowning animals being emblems of different gods. As the carrier system does not appear in a standardised form in the Bharhut reliefs dating a century after Aśoka, the interpretation of the animals' figures as symbols of divine beings with whom they came to be associated later in Brāhmaṇical mythology as suggested by him, is however open to question.[4] Nevertheless, the association of Garuḍa with Viṣṇu in the second century B.C. is established by the inscription mentioning Vāsudeva on the Heliodoros column.[5] The capitals of the Sāñchi and Sārnāth columns (B.C. 242-31) were evidently caused to be designed by Aśoka when he had already become a Buddhist, as fitting emblems for the founder of his religion, on the analogy of animal-crowned pillars already existing at that date.

In its portable form, the animal standard is represented by two *Garuḍa dhvajas* carried by two riding figures on the Bharhut reliefs,

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1 Sahni, *op. cit.*, p. 16. 2 *I. H. Q.*, III, pp. 548-53.

3 Chanda,—*The Beginnings of Art in Eastern India* (Memoirs of the *A.S.I.*, No. 30), pp. 31-33.

4 In the Mbh., I, 3, Airāvata, the Nāga king, appears as a Bull of extraordinary size, whose excreta is Amṛta. It is ridden by a man of uncommon stature. Also Agni appears as a Horse with Indra as rider.

5 In Jaina iconography *Garuḍa* is a Yakṣa having the Boar as its mount. It is also the mount of the *Yakṣa* Tumburu and of the Yakṣiṇī Cakreśvarī.—Puran Chand Nahar, *Jaina Mūrtitattver Saṃkṣipta Vivaraṇ*, a paper read at the Radhanagar Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Sammilan (Sam. 1331), pp. 6, 5, 8.

The Garuḍa pole appears on the obverse of a rectangular copper coin of the second century B.C. (Nahar Collection, Calcutta) with the legend '*Māso*' on the right top corner of the field and '*Senapatisa Nitahāso*' on the reverse ; as well as on certain types of Gupta coins.[1] A standard surmounted by a crouching bull facing left, appears on the coins of Narendrāditya.[2] Similar standards are known to have featured in the religion of the Indus Valley civilisation. A three-sided prism of faience discovered at Mohenjodaro[3] shows a procession of four men carrying as many standards of different types. One of these is crowned by a featherlike emblem, while another is surmounted by the figure of a bull facing right and standing on a horizontal member supported on a rod. It is significant that the bull, the elephant and the tree represented on the Indus Valley seals appear also on the Mauryan and Śuṅga pillars. So it is probable that some connection might have existed between the cults of the animal-standard in the Indus Valley culture aud the Mauryan and Śuṅga pillar cults as suggested by Prof. Chanda.[4] The Vedic lotus symbol cannot possibly have any bearing on these cult objects.[5] It

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1 J. Allan,—*Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties in the British Museum.* London, 1914.

Samudra Gupta— { Standard type...pp. 1-5, pls. i, ii (1-5). Archer „ ...pp. 6-7, pl. iv (1-7).

Candra Gupta II. — Archer „ ...pp. 24-33, pl. vi (1-7, 10-18), pl. vii.

Kumar Gupta I. — { Archer „ ...pp. 61-67, pl. xii (1-12), Pratāpa „ ... p. 87, pl. xv (15) (15-18).

Skanda Gupta — { Archer „ -- pp. 114-19, pls. xix, xx (1-2). King & Lakṣmī

Pura Gupta (pp. 134-35, pl. xxi. 23-26).

Prakāśāditya (pp. 135-36, pl. xxii, 1-4). Narasiṃha Bālāditya (pp. 137-39, pl. xxii, 7-12). Kramāditya (p. 140-43, pl. xxii, 13-15, xxiii 1-5). Ghaṭotkaca (149. xxiv. 3).

2 *Id.*, p. 149, pl. xxiv, no. 4.

3 *A.S.I.R.*, for 1925-26, p. 87, pl. xlv, fig. 22.

4 Chanda,—Survival of the Prehistoric Civilisation of the Indus Valley (*Memoirs of the A.S.I.*, no. 41), pp. 34-35.

5 The use of the *yūpa* emblem on one of the chariot standards mentioned in the Mahābhārata (see Appendix) apparently controverts this view. It should be borne in mind, however, that the above standards, emblems of power and victory, are mostly connected with

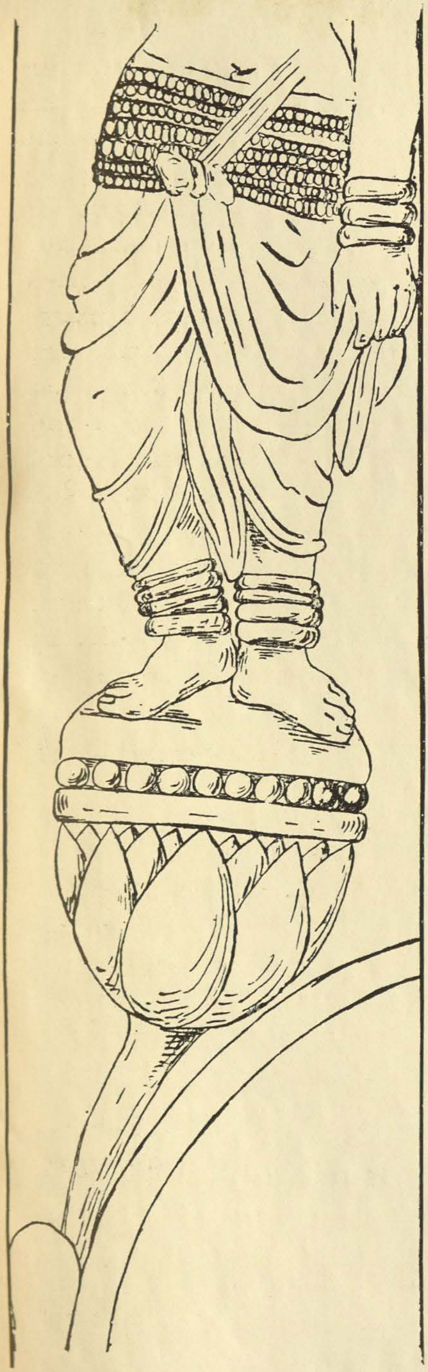


FIG. 2

Lotus-support, Bharhut, Pillar No. 41 (8) a
Indian Museum

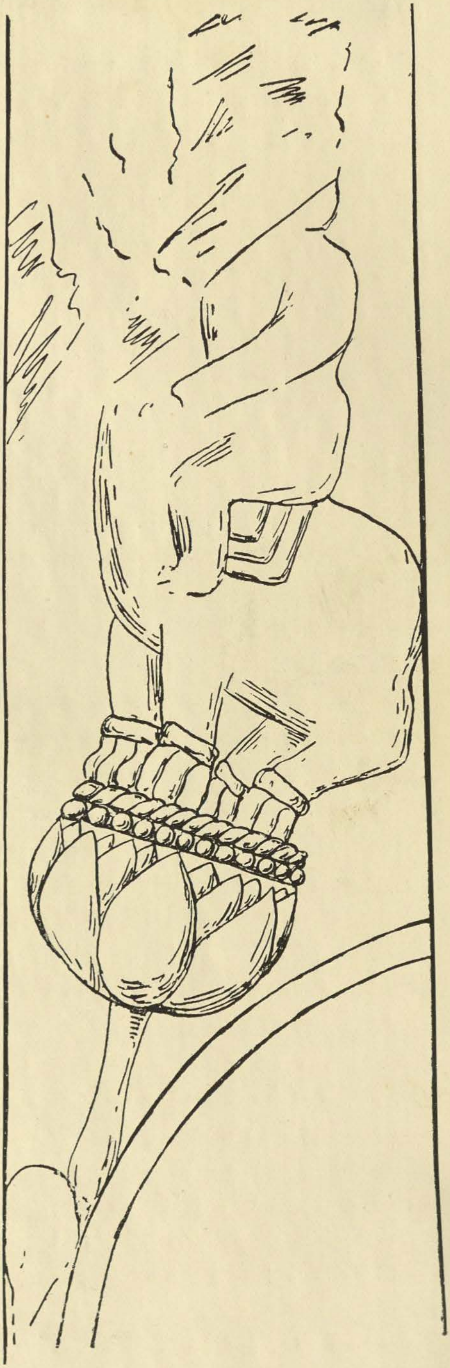


FIG. 3

Lotus-support, Bharhut, Pillar No. 5 (17) b
Indian Museum

is, therefore, unwarranted to assume that the campaniform capital of these animal pillars represents the Lotus of the Vedic ritual.

IV

The Composite Mauryan Capital

The composite Mauryan capital from Pāṭaliputra, a recent discovery made by Mr. Ramlal Sinha of Bankipore, which I am permitted to announce, affords light on the origin and significance of the Bell capital (Fig. 4). It is now only 1′2″ high, polished and made of buff coloured Chunar sandstone. Its lower portion has disappeared and the carvings survive only in part. It is said to have been originally discovered in course of some diggings at Lohanipur, but was found lying near a Bania's shop, not far off Govind Mitra Road, Moradpur. Its abacus, 5½″ high, has the form of a lotus with its petals turned downwards, the stamens being represented on its upper edge, at the foot of the moulding at the top (ht. 1″). This type of lotus-shaped abacus is found on the clustered capitals of the '*Toraṇa*' pillars of Bharhut (Fig. 1). Below the abacus is a bead and reel moulding which cannot be derived from the stamens of the lotus. The bell proper, now only 6½″ high, differs from the standard Mauryan type in having flat ribs decorated with the spiral and several leaf patterns, disposed between the arrises, so that each arris appears between a pair of ribs decorated with the same ornament. Another polished Mauryan bell with ribs decorated in much the same manner has been discovered by Mr. Hargreaves at Sārnāth (Fig. 5).[1]

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kings or men of the ruling caste and that the *yūpa* standard in the Epic is compared to the *yūpa* of the Rājasūya rite, a royal ceremony. Both the *yūpa* and the standard entail the use of a pole or post, and in that Rāmāyaṇa I, 14, 22-27, the worship of *yūpas* having gold decorations, with garments, flowers and scents is described (cf. Indradhvaja in the Appendix). Evidently because of their sharing such a common feature the two could combine happily. Similar conditions do not appear in the case of a Vedic lotus symbol. There is no hint of a parallel feature in the standards of the Mahābhārata so far as I am aware.

1 *A.S.I.R.*, for 1914-15, p. 117, no. 105.

The morphological differences between the lotus shaped abacus and the lower member of the composite capital indicates that the architects of the Mauryan school recognised the difference between the lotus form and the form of the lower member, to which most modern archæologists give the name *'bell'* in consideration of its solid shape. *This composite capital with its upper member designed on the model of a lotus, controverts the theory of the lotus origin of its lower member and reduces the application of the term 'lotus' thereto to an absurdity.*

The difference between the lotus shaped abacus and the lower member is further accentuated by the emblishment of the so-called bell, the form and decorative theme of which have no resemblance to a lotus, and which by its divergence from the standard design clearly shows that to the Mauryan architects the capital was merely a decorative and architectural element.

V

The Significance of the Bell-Capital

An analysis of the various uses of the capital in early Indian architecture confirms the above conclusion regarding its significance. In the Mauryan *śilāstambhas* it happens to be carved on the same block of stone as the crowning animals, so that it is not a true capital and its purpose is only decorative. Its peculiar shape conveys the impression of carrying down the superincumbent weight instead of propping it up from below. Nor can its crowning animals conveniently accommodate the beams of the superstructure. The capital is, therefore, ill-suited to structural purposes. If it were employed at all in the hypostile hall at Kumrahr and the palaces of Aśoka at Pāṭaliputra described by Fa Hien,[1] we do not know what devices had been adopted by the architect to remedy its defects. The architects of the subsequent times tried to appropriate it to structural purposes (i) by placing on its top a rectangular animal capital

1 Legge,—*Travels of Fa Hien*, p. 77.

surmounted by a cubical block,[1] an impost[2] or a volute capital[3] on which to place the beams (Northern India); (ii) by adding short props, curved or perpendicular, rising from its shoulder to the corners of the rectangular capital above (Sāñchi)[4]; and by supplementing it with a double capital having an upper row of volutes (Bharhut).[5] They also created an altogether new order by enclosing the corded torus above the bell in a rectangular frame, the vertical lines of which create the impression of effectively supporting the abacus comprising tiers of projecting slabs and the crowning figure sculptures (Western India).[6] None of these devices have any mystic significance, so that none is necessarily implied in the campaniform lower member which serves in a purely architectural capacity.

Various monuments may be cited to show that like the Mauryan architects who had designed the above mentioned capitals from Sārnāth and Pāṭaliputra, those of post-Mauryan times were fully alive to the decorative significance of the bell capital. The undecorated capitals of the baluster pillars of the '*Toraṇa*' of Bharhut,[7] of those in the reliefs of Sāñchi '*Toraṇas*'[8] and in the Nasik[9] and Kanheri[10] caves are instances in which the campaniform member has

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1 *A. S. I. Annual Report, Eastern Circle*, 1918-19, p. 45 and pl.; Smith, V. A.—*op. cit*, pl. xlv, L. (fig. 1).

2 *Id.*, pls. xliii, xliv and xlvi (fig. 1); Cunningham,—*The Stūpa of Bharhut*, pl. x.

3 Waddel,—*Report on the Excavations of Pāṭaliputra*, pp. 17-40, pl. ii.; Sahni,—*op. cit.*, p. 246, (D^{g}_{4}), pl. v; *A. S. I. R.* for 1914-15, p. 117, no. 104, pl. lxvii (nos. 12, 14 and 21-29); Cunningham—*Mahābodhi*, pl. iv, p. 9.; Mitra,—*Buddha Gaya*. pl. L.

4 K. de B. Cordrington,—*Ancient India*, p. 32, fig. 10 C, p. 34; Bacchofer,—*Early Indian Sculpture*, vol. I, pl. 59 (right).

5 Cunningham,—*The Stūpa of Bharhut*, pls. xxx, fig. 3 & xxxi.

6 Bacchofer,—*op. cit.*, vol. ii, pls. 66, 69, 70.

7 Cunningham,—*A. S. R.*, vol. v, pl. xlvi.

8 Bacchofer,—*op. cit.*, vol. 1, pls. 49, 50, etc.

9 Fergusson & Burgess,—*Cave Temples of India*, pls. xxii, xxiii (figs. 3 and 4).

10 *Id.*, p. 350, fig. 62.

been treated as an abstract shape and divested of all ornament according to necessity. The type is noted also at Amarāvatī.[1] In the pilasters of the Pitalkhora Vihāra cave[2] and the Kankali Tila pillars,[3] the solid shape of the capital has been modified according to exigencies of design or limitations of the quarry. The fluted capitals of the Caitya cave at Karle[4] indicate that the decoration of the capital could be intelligently subdued in subordination to the entire design.

The Lotus capitals of the '*Toraṇa*' pillars of Bharhut (Fig. 1) illustrate the invention of new themes of decoration, though the scheme is still vertical. Some of the lotus capitals of the Bharhut reliefs, on the other hand, are set off with lotus petals and festoons in two parallel rows, which shows that the scheme of decoration was already changing from the vertical to the horizontal during the second century B. C. In the Kṣatrapa Kuṣāṇa pillars of Mathura,[5] in those of the Amarāvatī reliefs[6] and in the pilasters of the Ananta Gumpha[7] and the Pitalkhora Vihāra cave, the new scheme of decoration appears perfected by the division of the surface into parallel horizontally disposed zones, and by the introduction of diverse new motifs of ornament, including the acanthus leaf.

VI

The Problem of Origin

Except for the Indus Valley standards described above, our knowledge of the morphological character of the pre-Mauryan animal

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1 *A. S. I. R.* for 1908-09, pl. xxix, figs. (c) and (e).

2 Fergusson & Burgess,—*op. cit.*, pp. 244-45, pl. xvi.

3 Smith,—*op. cit.*, pls. xliii, xliv, xlv.

4 Fergusson & Burgess,—*op. cit.*, p. 234, pl. xii, fig. 1.

5 Smith,—*op. cit.*, pls. xliv, xlvi (1), li (fig. 2).

6 *A. S. I. R.* for 1905-06, pl. xlvii, figs. 1-3; for 1908-09, pl. xxix, fig. (d). Fergusson,—*Tree and Serpent Worship*, pl. lxxxix, no 3, pl. lxxxviii, fig. 2. Codrington,—*op. cit.*, p. 37, fig. 12/C; pl. 25, fig. (b).

7 Mitra,—*op. cit.*, vol. ii, pl. xxiv.

standard is derived from references in the Mahābhārata, etc. so that it cannot be taken for granted that the Mauryan and Śuṅga animal standards, monumental or otherwise, do accurately preserve the pre-Mauryan forms. No bell or lotus capital appears on the Indus Valley standard. None are mentioned in connection with the chariot standards of the Mahābhārata. Nor can any be recognized on the Garuḍa and Bull standards of the Gupta coins, and this is all the more remarkable, as the capital was fairly popular with the Gupta architects, appearing, as it did, also on the Dhvaja stambhas of the period. On the other hand the square abacus of the Basarh capital[1] has its parallel in the horizontal member of the Indus Valley standard. This type of abacus is ill-suited to its place on the top of the campaniform capital of the Mauryan columns which finally appear with the circular form. So that it is doubtful whether the said capital had any place in the original pre-Mauryan standard. The above consideration lead to the conclusion that the campaniform capital was an intrusive element and its adoption was but an incident in the long history of the animal standards.

Poles and standards of wood, bamboo and metals are known to have featured in the battles and the religious observances of the Indian peoples from ancient times.[2] In translating such cult objects into lithic and monumental forms, the architect must have felt the necessity of adding appropriate decorative features, and there was nothing to hinder him from borrowing the themes from foreign sources. But such borrowings must be substantiated.

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1 The type persists in the square abaci mentioned above.

2 For battle standards, etc., see Appendix. Their forms could have been hardly monumental.

The Marhia pole of the Khonds, with its crowning elephant, which featured in human sacrifices, and the Marhai poles of the Ahirs (C.P. & Berar), one with peacock's feathers (probably representing a peacock) and another with a white cock tied to the top as well as a pole crowned by a clay image of a parrot, which are worshipped with ceremonial dances, are some modern examples.

See J. G. Frazer,—*The Golden Bough*, part V, vol. I, pp. 246-48 (Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild). R. V. Russell,—*The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, vol. II, pp. 32-33.

The Diffusionist Theory

For the diffusionist theory it is claimed that the chain of evidence for the Persian origin of the Mauryan campaniform capital is complete. In its latest form,[1] the theory rests upon the resemblances between the shape and decoration of the Mauryan capital and the Achæmenian pillar base[2] as it occurs at Susa and Persepolis, supported by a mass of historical facts.

The Assyrian Origin

None of the above are accounted for in Dr. Bhandarkar's thesis[3] that the features of the Mauryan column 'such as the bell shaped capital, smooth unfluted shafts and lustrous polish are all adopted from the Assyrians, but directly, and not through the Persians.' In fact except for Dr. Rajendralala Mitra's statement that "the drooping foliations of the capitals . . . . certainly belong in common both to the Aśoka and the Assyrian pillars,"[4] a statement not supported by citation of specimens, there is nothing to support Dr. Bhandarkar's thesis on the Assyrian origin of the Bell Capital. The whole trend of Dr. Mitra's argument is to refute an imaginary thesis of Assyrian influence on early Indian architecture. But beyond making anthropological speculations as to the Vedic *Asuras* being the Assyrians Dr. Bhandarkar neither adduces evidence nor cites parallel features from Assyrian architecture, such as might have led him to this conclusion.

The Persian Origin

The affinities of form and technique noticeable between Mauryan and Achæmenian architecture have to be considered, first, in the

1 A. K. Mitra,—'Mauryan Art', (*I. H. Q.*, vol. III), No. 3, pp. 544-45, 48-49 ; Chanda, 'The Beginnings of Art in Eastern India'. (*Memoirs of the A. S. I.*, no. 30,) pp. 29-30.

2 Von Friedrich Sarre,—*Die Kunst Des Alten Persien*, plate 36. Von Heinrich Gluck, Ernst Diez,—*Die Kunst des Islam*, plate 118.

3 Bhandarkar,—*Aśoka*, pp. 212-15.

4 Mitra,—*op. cit.*, vol, I, pp, 17-18.

background of the cultural relations existing between India and her western neighbours during the 4th and 3rd centuries B. C. Perrot and Chipiez were of opinion that the said affinities were due to the migration of Persian forms into India during the Achæmenian occupation of the Indus Valley.[1] A scaraboid of steatite, 'exhibiting a winged stag, in the cutting of which the drill has been freely used,' and which recalls similar works of Achæmenian art, has been found in the pre-Hellenistic strata of the Bhir mound at Taxila.[2] More evidence of the same character may be expected from further excavations of the Bhir mound and the ruins of other cities of the Punjab and the Indus Valley raided by Alexander. 'The Indian punch-marked silver coinage struck on the Persian standard perhaps represented the Achæmenian coinage for India'.[3] *But the penetration of Achæmenian art beyond the Punjab at this period has yet to be proved.* So that references to pre-existing stone columns in the edicts of Aśoka cannot be interpreted as denoting their existence *'much earlier than* the reign of Aśoka or *the Mauryan period'*,[4] though some of them may be assigned to the two preceding reigns.

India and the Hellenistic Orient

On the other hand, under the Mauryan empire, there existed considerable facilities for a more intimate cultural intercourse between India and the West. Parapanisadai, Aria, Arachosia and Gedrosia came to be included in the Mauryan empire as the result of Candragupta's treaty *'jus connubii'* with Seleucus. During the third century B.C. the caravan route from India[5] reached Seleukeia

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1 Georges Perrot & Charles Chipiez,—*History of Art in Persia*, pp. 339-40.

2 *A. S. I. R.*, part I, 1919-20, p. 23, plate XI, fig. 2.

3 *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. VI, 1927, p. 402 ; *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, 1922, pp. 319-44.

4 Codrington,—*op. cit.*, p. 18.

5 W. W. Tarn,—*Hellenistic Civilisation*, chap. VII, pp. 193-214 ; Pierre Jouguet,—*Macedonian Imperialism*, pp. 93-107, 353, 358.

on the Tigris via Candahar, Persepolis and Susa, while another, 'an old main road' ran via Candahar, Herat, Hecatompylos, Ecbatana, Seleukeia, and was joined by the Taxila-Cabul-Bactria road'. Taxila was then the seat of Mauryan province and communicated with Pāṭaliputra by a great highway. The Aramaic inscription of Taxila[1] which refers twice to '*mārāna Priyadars*' is accounted for by the above relations with the old Achæmenian provinces. The Indian sea-borne trade was carried to Seleukeia along the Persian gulf and up the Tigris and also to Egypt through Arabian intermediaries. The opening up of these trade routes appears to have resulted in arousing and increasing interest in India and in the Hellenistic world about each other. Candragupta is said to have been accustomed to offer sacrifices upon Alexander's altars on the Hyphasis in Hellenic fashion.[2] A few drugs were also sent by him to Seleucus.[3] The Rock Edict XIII of his grandson Aśoka betrays his knowledge of the Greeks.[4] From the Rock Edict II we learn that Aśoka, who evidently felt drawn to the Hellenistic world, arranged for the medical treatment of men and cattle in the dominions of Antiochus Theos and his neighbours.[5] His description of himself as '*Priyadarśi*' the beloved of the gods, recalls the deification of kings prevailing amongst the successors of Alexander the Great in the Orient. The world that he claims to have conquered by 'Dharma' was mainly the Hellenistic world[6] and he seems to have been inspired by Alexander's vision of Eurasiatic empire[7] based on a union of hearts (homonoia) and a joint Commonwealth of Macedonians and Persians, no less than by Achæmenian imperialism. His appointment of Tuṣaspha, a Yavana (Persian ?) to the governorship of an imperial

1 Marshall, *A Guide to Taxila*, pp. 9, 77-78, pl. XIII (a); Herzfeld, *E. I.*, vol. XIX, pt. VI, April, 1928, pp. 251-53 and plates.

2 Perrin Bernadotte, *Plutarch's Lives*, vol. VII, pp. 401-03. Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th ed., pp. 80-82 & fn.

3 *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, 1922, p. 431.

4 Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Aśoka* (*Corpus Ins. Ind.*, vol. I), pp. 44-47.

5 *Id.*, pp. 2-4.

6 *Id.*, pp. 66-70.

7 Tarn, *op. cit.*, pp. 69ff.



FIG. 4

A composite Mauryan Capital (height 1'2"). From Pataliputra.

(By kind permission of Swami Avyaktananda, of the Ramkrishna Ashram, Bankipore).

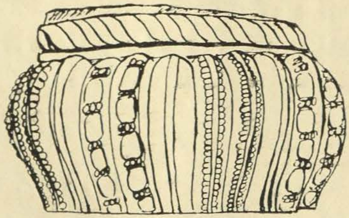


FIG. 5

Mauryan Capital, Sarnath.

(FRAGMENT)

province,[1] has numerous parallels in the history of Alexander,[2] whose policy in this respect was imitated by Antigonus I and the Seleucids,[3] though but sparingly. Like the Macedonian Conqueror who stood in the magnificently appointed tent of Darius and wondered, "this, as it would seem, is to be a king !",[4] both Candragupta and Aśoka appear to have been impressed by the dignity and splendour of Achæmenian imperialism as indicated by the Persian ceremonies prevailing in the Court of the former[5] and by the forms of the edicts of the latter resembling those of Darius.

Achæmenian art and Indian Antiquities of the Mauryan Period

The said affinities have to be considered, secondly, in relation to the history of Indian art and architecture of this period, which reflects the results of the above cultural intercourse in diverse ways. An authentic case of the importation of Achæmenian objects of art into India is recorded in 326 B.C. It is stated by Quintus Curtius, Diodorus and Arrian that Alexander's presents to the king of Taxila included many vessels of gold and silver and a vast quantity of Babylonian and Persian embroideries from the store-house of the old Persian kings.[6] The upper strata of the Bhir mound (4th or 3rd century B.C.) at Taxila has yielded 'a scaraboid of Chalcedony[7] graved mainly with the drill in the Achæmenian fashion', which is 'probably of Persian provenance' (depth 2′ below surface). A few minor antiquities found in the same strata reflect the influence of Achæmenian art. Among these are four bangles[8] of thin beaten gold shaped on a core of

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1 *E. I.*, vol. VIII, pp. 36-49 ; vol. X, Appendix (Lüders), p. 99, No. 965. Tuṣaspa is credited with the construction of certain sluices in the dam of the Sudarśanā lake at Girnar.

2 Pierre Jouguet, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-81.

3 Tarn, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-11.

4 Perrin,—*Plutarch's Lives*, Vol. VII, pp. 281-83.

5 Smith, Persian influence on Mauryan India—*I.A.*, 1905, pp. 201-3.

6 *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, 1922, p. 359 ; Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th ed., pp. 65-66.

7 *A. S. I. R.*, part I, 1920-21, pp. 17-18, 20, pl. XVII, fig. 1.

8 *Id.*, p. 20, pl. XVII, fig. 27.

shellac with their ends terminating in lions' heads (depth 9″ below surface), which recall Achæmenian gold armlets from Susa and in the 'Treasure of the Oxus'.[1] Of special interest is a fragment of pottery from the side of a vase,[2] decorated with 'the conventional leaf design (Fig. 6)............reminiscent of the capitals of the well-known Aśoka pillars'(depth 1′3″ below surface sq.25 × 51). Another vase from the same mound 'shaped like a modern *martban*, is 'stamped round the shoulder with bead and reel mouldings and bands of floral patterning', among which is the ring of leaves enclosed between festoons (cf. the Quasi-Ionic Capital of Pāṭaliputra) of Persian design.[3]

From Sārnāth, about 800 miles S. E. from Taxila as the crow flies, comes a polished sandstone head wearing a crenellated crown[4] which recalls the one on the figure of Darius above the Behistun inscription.[5] The Tytler statues from Patna[6] have on their hands coiled armlets decorated spirally and terminating in dragons' heads which recall Achæmenian ornaments.[7] Their waist-cloth, which is worn without the usual Indian '*kaccha*' is reminiscent of the Persian garb[8] and also recalls Alexander's experiments with the Persian dress. All these point to the source from which the Mauryan architect was likely to borrow his themes.

Mauryan Architecture

The Mauryan architect would appear to have been indebted to Medo-Persian sources, too, for certain architectural features from as early as the reign of Candragupta. The latter's palace at Pāṭaliputra comprised halls, their gilded pillars being adorned with golden vines and silver birds. Fragmentary remains of golden vines have

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1 O. M. Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. xiv, fig. 1 ; p. xv, fig. 2 ; p. xvii, fig. 3 ; and pp. 32-39 with plates.

2 *A. S. I. R.*, part I, 1920-21, p. 20, plate XVI, fig. 1.

3 *A. S. I. R.*, 1924-25, p. 48, pl. viii, fig. (d).

4 Bachhofer,—*op. cit.*, vol. I, pl. 13.

5 Dalton,—*op. cit.*, p. l, fig. 40.

6 Chanda,—*The Beginnings of Art in Eastern India* (*Memoirs of A. S. I.*, No. 30), p. 34, pl. iv.

7 Dalton,—*op. cit.*, nos. 118, 138, pl. xvii, no. 132, plate xx.

8 *Id.*, p. xlvi, fig. 28.

been discovered in the excavations of Kumrahr at Patna.[1] Polybius (x, 27, 9-10) mentions a temple at Aena which was surrounded by porticoes having entirely gilt columns.[2] The golden vines of the pillars 'recall the one overshadowing the royal couch of Darius', a gift of the Lydian Pythias and the product probably of some Ionian workshop.[3] The halls of Sandracottus may be compared in descriptions with those of Ecbatana, which were constructed of cedar and cypress and sheathed in silver and gold. "Neither Memnonian Susa with all its costly splendour", says Aelian, "nor Ecbatana with all its magnificence can vie (with them), for methinks only the well known vanity of the Persians could prompt such a comparison."[4]

From consideration of the bull capitals of the columns in the portico of the Sanctuary at Delos, Perrot and Chipiez arrived at the conclusion that "drawings of the oriental buildings eulogised by the companions of the Macedonian may have existed and were handed about in the days of the Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ."[5] This is borne out by the fact 'that the tablets dating from as late as the reigns of Antiochus the Great, Seleucus Philopater, etc. found by Loftus at Warka are sealed with rings engraved with Persepolitan subjects.'[6] A similar ring engraved with the Persepolitan bull capital (addorsed) which 'should probably be assigned to the 5th century B. C.', has been obtained at Rawalpindi. The fragment from the side of terracotta vase from Taxila, described above, which is decorated with arrises and festoons in the manner of the Persian pillar base and the Mauryan capital, points to the eastward migration of Persepolitan designs, in the same manner, during the 4th and 3rd centuries B. C. The restored ground plan of the hypostile hall at Kumrahr shows the distribution of pillars in square bays according to the Persian design.[7] Its pillars had been set up ten cubits apart from centre to

1 *A. S. I.*, Annual Report, Eastern Circle, 1913-14, p. 71.

2 Perrot and Chipiez,—*op. cit.*, pp. 99-100.

3 *Id.*, pp. 26-27.

4 McCrindle,—*Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, pp. 141-42.

5 Perrot and Chipiez,—*op. cit.*, pp. 56-57.

6 Dalton,—*op. cit.*, pp. xlvi, 29 ; No. 106, fig. 55, pl. xvi.

7 *A. S. I. R.*, 1912-13, pp. 53-86 and plates. *A. S. I.*, Annual Report, Eastern Circle, 1912-13, pt. II, chap. II, pp. 55-61 ; 1913-14, pp. 45-74.

centre measured by the Indian cubit of 18″, whereas in Darius' Hall of hundred columns they are 21′ or nearly ten cubits apart measured by the Persian unit of 25,1/3″. A mason's mark at the bottom of one of these pillars which has luckily escaped destruction from the conflagration which devastated the building, strongly resembles a similar mark from Persepolis. Dr. Spooner's explorations of the site disclosed the existence of an elevated platform (of earthwork) resembling that at Persepolis. Further excavation only can show whether the mounds at Kumrahr actually contain ruins corresponding in their relative positions to the complex of structure at Persepolis.

The silicious varnish appearing on the Mauryan monuments, for which Mr. K. P. Jayaswal advocates a prehistoric origin on the evidence of a polished neolith,[1] had been applied to the Behistun rock inscription, "apparently to give a finish and durability to the writing.........to give a clear outline to each letter, and to protect the surface against the elements" (Rawlinson).

Evidence is, therefore, not wanting to show not only the migration of Achæmenian arts including Persepolitan designs to India during the Mauryan period, but also the popularity of plans of Persepolitan buildings and characteristic Persian techniques in the capital city of of the empire. The Persepolitan capitals of some of the pillars in the Yusufzai reliefs and of Gandharan pillars of masonry work as the Surkh Minar and the Minar Chakri[2] denote that motifs of Achæmenian architecture continued to be a persistent source of inspiration to the Indian architect long after the downfall of that dynasty.

The Campaniform Moulding in Persia

Thirdly, the antecedents of the campaniform moulding are well-known in Persia and render it impossible that the Indian bell capital could have originated elsewhere. So far, no moulding corresponding to it is known to have been discovered in Mesopotamia or the Indus Valley. A short ring of pendant leaves terminating in a festooned border, bulging in outline, and distributed over Western Asia and Mesopotamia with marked local differences, appears to have inspired

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1 *J. B. O. R. S.*, vol. v, pp. 104-05 ; *J. R. A. S.*, 1847, pp. 192-3.

2 Cunningham,—*A. S. R.*, vol. v, pp. 185-89, pl. xlv ; Fergusson,—*History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 1876, p. 56.

the design of the lower member of the second order of Persian capitals.[1] But the Persian base, though decorated with petals disposed between festoons like the said member, differs from it in its characteristic shape and in the design of its petals, consisting in each case of a sharp ridge or arris enclosed between the usual festoons. It is held to be an indigenous product of Persia,[2] 'suggested to the architect by the rude stone block the rustic constructor was driven to employ, so as to save the wooden post of his humble house from coming in contact with the damp earth......The form maintains a physiognomy which is neither Assyrian nor Egyptian nor yet Greek. Nowhere else are the component parts exactly adjusted as these, and above all, turned in the direction we find them here. The decorative theme, the solid shape to which it is applied, every feature is original.'

The Mauryan Capital and the Persian Base Compared

The Mauryan bell has the same type of petals as the Persian base, the resemblance extending to the short leaves occurring between the festoons at their lower end. It differs mainly in not having a ring of leaves falling on its shoulder, the enrichment being obviously considered unnecessary at a height whence it could not be grasped by the eye. The Śuṅga architect, who must have been aware of the transposition of the Persian pillar base to the top of the Mauryan column, obviously lacked the judgment which made the Mauryan architect eliminate the ring of leaves and revert to the original Persian design, e.g., on the capital of the Heliodoros column. Another difference is in the higher accentuation of the curves of its outline, which it owes to its decorative function on the top of a pillar carrying no superincumbent weight. Its broader festoons and the bold execution of its petals must have been intended to throw the whole design into relief in the blazing Indian light, by inviting shadows in the hollows between the arrises and festoons. The resemblances between the Indian and the Persian mouldings, therefore, conclusively establish the indebtedness of Mauryan art to the Achæmenian. The divergences are only due to the fresh and living inspiration of Mauryan art, which deliberately adapted the Persian motif to Indian climate and purpose.

1 Perrot & Chipiez,—*op. cit.*, pp. 114-15.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 88-90, 118-19.

Hellenistic Influence

Finally, the Hellenistic treatment of some of the sculptures crowning the Mauryan columns constitutes a sort of birth mark for the capital themselves. For, as denoted by the fragmentary handle[1] of the above-mentioned vase from Taxila (depth 1′3″ below surface, sq. 25×51′), which is decorated with the head of Alexander the Great in the lion's skin (Fig. 7) and also by the laurel wreath represented below the mural crown on the Sārnāth head, the traditions of Hellenistic and Achæmenian arts had been migrating to India, during the Mauryan epoch, in the same current[2] along trade routes which started from Hellenistic cities as Ephesus, Antioch and Seleukeia on the Tigris and passed through Susa, Ecbatana and Persepolis to India.

Evidence for the presence of Hellenistic influences in the art of the Ganges Valley at this period is afforded by two terracotta heads from Sārnāth[3] and Basarh[4] respectively, of distinctively Greek appearance. But in view of Nearchus' statement that 'the Indians quickly learnt to make Greek articles such as the scrapers and oil-flasks used by atheletes,[5] it may not be warranted to trace such minor works of art to actual Græco-Bactrian artists. Two terracotta heads representing smiling children with quaint head-gears, done in a realistic manner, from Patna[6] and Basarh[7] evidently belong to the same class. The laurel wreath and rams' horns which decorate the Mauryan heads discovered by Mr. Hargreaves at Sārnāth (1914-15) are also Greek motifs. The chief contribution of Hellenistic art in the formation of that of the Mauryan lay in the 'advanced power of visualizing,' must have been acquired through the study of western plastic works by the Mauryan artists (Bachhofer). To such study is due the plurifaciality attempted in the sculptures. The animal figures of Mauryan art convey a sense of internal structure of bones and muscles, which is unmistakably Hellenistic. This applies also to the figures on the abacus of the

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1 *A.S.I.R.*, pt. I, 1920-21, p. 20, pl. xvi, fig. 2.
2 Elliot Smith,—*Human History*, pp. 474-80.
3 & 4 Bachhofer,—*op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 12, pl. 13.
5 *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, 1922, p. 418.
6 *A.S.I.R.*, pt. I, 1917-18, p. 27, pl. xvi, fig. 2.
7 *Id.*, 1913-14, p. 182, no. 791, pl. xliii, fig. (h).

Sārnāth capital,[1] which appear sloping off into the background without casting strong shadows so that their style can hardly be taken as 'purely Indian,' as supposed by Dr. Vincent Smith.[2] Dr. Bachhofer points out Hellenistic influences in the treatment of certain details of form, viz., the cheekbones, moustaches and the deeply imbedded eyes of the lions. The comparative freedom in the rendering of the manes of the Sārnāth lions as compared to the totally schematic and conventional representation of the same feature in the Sāñchi and Rāmpurvā lions is also significant. The most convincing proof of Hellenistic treatment is the entasis characterising the shaft of the Sāñchi column,[3] a distinctive feature of Greek architecture. A sandstone capital carved in low relief with the acanthus leaf is stated to have been discovered at Bankipore.[4]

Hellenistic tradition, affected no doubt later Achæmenian works as indicated by the Susa frieze of lions ; but the Mauryan lions differ from the Persian in their comparatively restrained naturalism, and in the suave treatment of their surface, which denote a fresh Hellenistic inspiration at work. On the other hand, a certain lifelessness is common to them and the Mauryan lions generally have their manes rendered in schematic and conventional manner. Again, the sense of volume and linear composition of the Sāñchi and Sārnāth capitals may be considered to be Indian traits. As the ratios of these columns differ from those of the Greek orders, they would seem to constitute an independent order by themselves. The variations noticeable in the said ratios and in the arrangements of the mouldings of the capitals imply that the 'style' cannot have 'taken centuries before it was brought to the state of perfection in which we find it at the time of Aśoka,' as maintained by Dr. Rajendralala. The conclusion is irresistible that Mauryan art and architecture represent a fusion of the Persian, Hellenistic and Indian traditions which

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1 Bachhofer,—*op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 6-7, 12-13, pl. 6.

2 Smith,—*A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, 2nd Edn. (Codrington), p. 19.

3 Cunningham,—*The Bhilsa Topes of Buddhist Monuments of Central India*, pp. 193-95.

4 Smith,—*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 'The Indian Empire,' vol. II, p. 109. Cf. R. Mitra,—*op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 16 ; Bhandarkar,—*Aśoka*, 1925, p. 214.

dates from the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. I have elsewhere tried to show that this original synthesis took place in the Gangetic plains.[1] Hence, if no monuments like the above have been as yet discovered on Bactrian soil,[2] it does not necessarily follow that Hellenistic influences had not been independently operating on the origins of the Mauryan art in the Ganges Valley. The latter, indeed, do not appear to have been virile enough to stamp out the Persian and Indian forms flourishing by their side. Their simultaneous presence in the same art and archtecture is, nevertheless, indicative of their correlation. Therefore, the undoubtedly Indian elements being left out of account, if the Hellenistic touches in Mauryan art are admitted to be imported features,[3] the same admission has to be made for the campaniform capital, due regard being had to the cultural relations existing between India and Persia at the time, to the Achæmenian influence generally noticeable in the Indian arts and architecture of those days, as well as the close affinities between the capital and the Persian base, the latter being a characteristic product of Persia (549-330 B. C.).

The Theory of Collateral Origin

When in 1875 the theory of the lotus origin of the bell capital was first formulated by Dr. Rajendralala Mitra, he simply rejected the supposed similitudes between the so called Aśokan and Assyrian capitals as inconclusive in character. Since then our knowledge of Mauryan art and architecture has been considerably enriched by various archæological discoveries and the resemblances between the Persian and Mauryan forms are obviously too close to be ignored. Hence, while claiming a non-Iranian origin for the bell capital, traceable to the Vedic lotus symbol, Dr. Coomaraswamy has tried to explain away the said resemblances as due to their collateral origin.[4] According to him the two forms are cognate, '*parallel derivatives from older forms current in Western Asia*; Northern India having

1 *I.H.Q.*, Vol. III, p. 548; vol. V, pp. 697-99.

2 Bhandarkar,—*op. cit.*, p. 214.

3 Cf. A. W. Lawrence,—*Later Greek Sculpture and its Influence on East & West*, pp. 77-79.

4 Cf. Codrington,—*op. cit.*, p. 19.

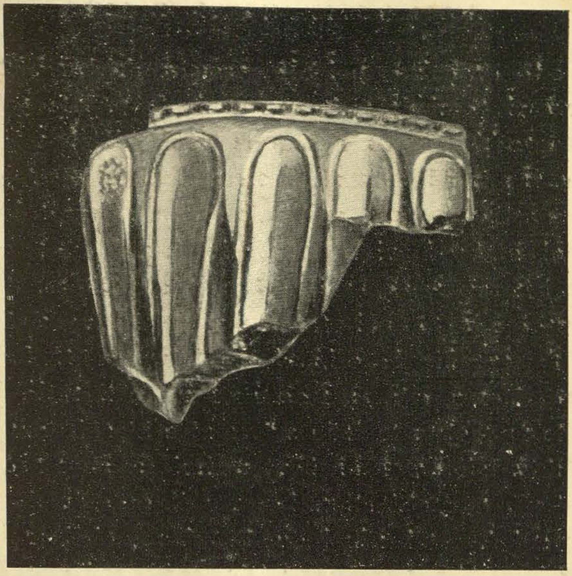


FIG. 6

Fragment from the side of a Terracotta vase (ht. 7").

From—TAXILA.

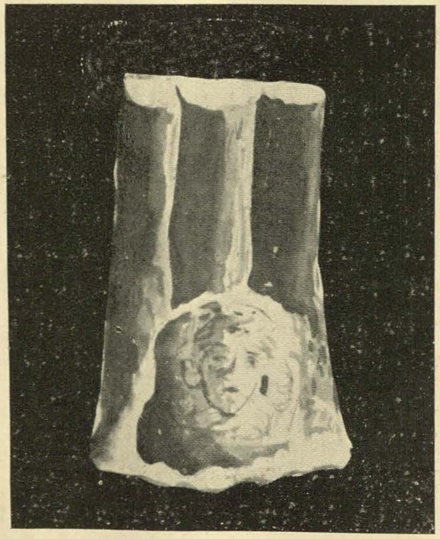


FIG. 7

Fragment of the handle of a Terracotta vase (ht. 5¾")

showing Alexander's head in lion's skin.

From—TAXILA.

long formed a part of the Western Asiatic Culture complex': or 'common inheritances from an Ancient Eastern Culture that extended from the Mediterranean to the Ganges Valley.........which may well have had a continuous history extending upwards from the stone age.' The moulding being thus admitted to be of W. Asiatic origin, the learned critic only arbitrarily rejects the data for its Achæmenian derivation and antedates its diffusion to India on totally inadequate grounds.

The above theories of the independent and collateral origins of the bell-capital are apparently supported on the plea of continuity of tradition in art. It is maintained rightly by Dr. Coomaraswamy that the whole group of motifs of Western-Asiatic aspect appearing in early Indian art need not be supposod to have been introduced by Aśoka's Persian craftsmen *en bloc.* Indeed, it is not improbable that these motifs were introduced in Indian art at different points of time and through different agencies. Hence the converse proposition that the whole group of the said motifs is derived from a common Eastern culture once distributed over India and Western Asia is equally open to objection. Consequently, each case of similitude between Indian, Persian and Western Asiatic motifs has to be considered individually and by itself, as well as in relation to the entire group of such motifs.

The survival of wooden forms and techniques in early Indian architecture certainly points to the existence of a contemporary or older wooden architecture. But until specimens have been discovered it is premature to maintain that it resembled Mauryan and Śuṅga architecture in every detail. Strictly speaking, archæology is neither in a position to define what was the state of pre-Mauryan arts, nor to enumerate the exact repertory of their decorative themes. The previous existence of decorated wooden rails, deduced by Prof. Chanda[1] from the ancient Indian Tree and Stūpa cults, is rendered doubtful by the absence of ornament on the earliest railings of stone construction,[2] such as the monolithic rail of Sārnāth,[3] the ground balustrades of the Great Stūpa of Sānchi,[4] as well as those surrounding the open court or hall no. 36 at Sārnāth, which have come down in some frag-

1 Chanda,—'The Beginnings of Art in Eastern India,' *Memoirs of the A. S. I.*, No. 30, pp. 3-8.

2 Cunningham,—*A. S. R.*, vol. III (1871-72), pp. 23 ff.

3 Sahni,—*op. cit.*, p. 3.

4 Sir John Marshall,—*A Guide to Sāñchi*, p. 34, Plates I & II.

ments bearing inscriptions in characters of the second century B.C.[1] In these circumstances Dr. Coomaraswamy's assumption that "the bell-capital must have been a common element of the craftsman's repertory under the Nandas as in the time of Aśoka," is hardly justified.

APPENDIX

Standards in the Mahābhārata and Their Significance

The standards described in the Mahābhārata are distinctive, and are chiefly of the war chariots (III. 173, 37 ; VI. 19, 27 ; VII. 105, 1-29 etc.)[2] ; they are also mentioned in connection with the battle elephants[3] (VIII. 22, 14-15 ; 77. 8 ; 81. 14, 34 etc.) and the horsemen[4] (VIII. 19, 45 etc.). In the war chariots, the standard consisted of a pole hoisted on the "*upastha*" part of the vehicles, crowned by an emblem or emblems of gold, silver, or inlaid work. Lower down were hung bells, garlands and flags of variegated colours, also bearing various emblems.

The standard was set up in position on the chariot on the eve of a battle (IV. 31, 18-22 ; 37, 25-26 ; 46, 1-7 ; V. 47, 102 ; 111, 3-5 ; VII. 2, 25 etc.), or of a journey (II. 24, 21-26 ; V. 82, 20). As in

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1 Sahni,—*op. cit.*, pp. 3, 210-12, 214-15, Nos. D/a 13-20, 39.

2 *Mahābhārata* edited by Pratap Chandra Ray, Calcutta, Sakābda 1809-11. Cf. *Rāmāyaṇa*, II. 67, 30 etc. ; *Matsya Purāṇa*, 173, 1-6 ; 174, 9.

3 Fergusson,—*Tree and Serpent Worship*, pls. xxxiii, xxxiv, xxxviii, and xl. ; Sahni,—*Sarnath Museum Catalogue*, pl. v ; Hamid, Kak and Chanda,—*Sanchi Museum Catalogue*, 1922, pl. x. ; Coomaraswamy,—*Indian and Indonesian Art*, pls. viii, xiii, fig. 48, xvi, fig. 54 ; O. M. Dalton,—*The Treasure of the Oxus*, 1926, pp. 52-53, pl. xxviii, figs. 199-200 ; Herringham,—*Ajanta Frescoes*, pl. xviii.

4 The riders carrying the *Garuḍa-dhvajas* on the Bharhut rails are examples. For ordinary standards, see Coomaraswamy,—*op. cit.*, pls. xii, fig. 42 and xix, fig. 70 ; Cunningham,—*Mahābodhi*, pl. viii, 3.

the Ṛg-veda (VII. 85, 2 ; X. 103, 11),[1] it was a part of the warfare to pierce or cut down the enemy standards.[2] It is interesting to note that the Kauṭhemi grant of Vikramāditya V of the Śaka Saṃvat 930 (A.D. 1008-9), mentions *'raṇastambhas'* set up by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kakka III which were cut asunder in battle by the Western Calukya king Taila II.[3]

The following are some of the standards :—

I. *Of gods and goddesses* :—

Vaijayanta (=Indra), of bamboo (?) with golden decorations and of the colour of the blue lotus (III. 42. 8). Bull (=Śiva, VIII. 34. 41).[4] Cock (=Skanda, III. 228. 32). Peacock's feathers (=Durgā, IV. 6. 14). The hoisting of the *Indradhvaja* (I. 63. 17-29) constituted an important cult stated to have originated in the kingdom of Cedi. According to the Mahābhārata it consisted in planting a bamboo pole on the ground 'for the celebration of Indra's worship. The next day..............it was decked with golden cloth, scents and garlands[5] and various ornaments.

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1 Macdonell and Keith,—*Vedic Index*, vol. I, p. 406.

2 *Mahābhārata*, IV. 57. 39 ; 58. 59, 78 ; 61. 31 ; 64. 6-7 ; VI. 54. 25, 62 ; 80. 13-15 ; 93. 39 ; 96. 75 ; 120. 23, 50 ; VII. 14. 41, 52 ; 92. 31, 37, 64 ; 97. 30 ; 107. 31 ; 108. 9 ; 123. 16, 32-33 ; 125. 21, 70 ; 146. 56 ; 156. 82, 157 ; 162. 18 ; 168. 5, 22 ; 169. 6, 40 ; 170. 14 ; 189. 18-21 ; 192, 14 ; 201. 42 ; VIII. 15. 38 ; 16. 7, 12 ; 20. 8 ; 21. 18 ; 22. 15 ; 24. 40; 25. 6-8, 21 ; 30. 22 ; 48. 27 ; 53. 7 ; 56. 35-36 ; 61. 20, 45-46, 51, 55 ; 77. 65 ; 78. 21, 22 ; 79. 71, 77, 78 ; 81. 5 ; 82, 12, 18 ; 89. 25-26, 64 ; 91. 33-38 ; IX. 10. 31 ; 12. 56-58 ; 16. 38-39, 63 ; 17. 61 ; 21, 21 ; 28. 53-54, etc.

3 Fleet,—*C. I. I.*, vol. III, p. 18.

4 Cf. *Matsya Purāṇa,* 133, 61.

5 This feature may be noted in connection with the *yūpa* worship described in the Rāmāyaṇa (see ante). Possibly herein we have a clue to the significance of the rosettes, palmettes, honeysuckles etc., carved on the abaci of the capitals of the Mauryan Lats, unless they were of purely decorative character. The worship of pillars with garlands is represented on some bas-reliefs of the Stūpa II at Sānchi (Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, Pl. XLIII) and some railing pillars at Sārnāth (Sahni, *Sarnath Museum Catalogue*, Pl.VI). Garlands are carved on certain fragmentary shafts of pillars, of late Mauryan date, from Sārnāth (*A. S. I. R.*, *1914-15*, pl. lxviii, nos. 16, 21). Cf. Bas-reliefs on the gateways and corner pillars of the Mahābodhi rails ; also *A.S.I.R.*, 1914-15, pl. lxvii, nos. 11, 12, and Mudrārākṣasa, act III, para 3.

....................and the god came himself, accepting the worship thus offered, in the form of a swan.' Kings celebrating this festival were said to secure happiness, prosperity and victory for their kingdoms. The celebration took place in the autumn and the Viṣṇu Purāṇa V. 10-13 seems to show its connection with the harvest festival.[1] In the Kālikā Purāṇa the pole is a trunk of the Arjjuna, Aśvakarṇa, Priyaka, Dhava, Audumbara, Deodar or the Sal tree, selected by the priest with elaborate ceremonies, and set up by the king, properly coloured, clothed and embellished with bells, flywhisks, gems, garlands, flowers, scents, etc.[2] According to the Matsya Purāṇa it is an evil omen to dream of the Śakradhvaja falling down (242. 9). Dreams about embracing the same dhvaja foretells victory in quarrels, at dice and in battle (242. 24-25).

II. *With effigies of gods and other emblems*: Dharma, Māruta, Śakra and the Aśvins (= 5 sons of Draupadī by her five consorts, respectively, said to be descended from the above gods, VII, 23, 85). The Sacrificial Post (=Saumadatti, VII, 105, 22-24, compared to the post erected in the Rājasūya ceremony). Kamaṇḍalu (=Droṇa, IV, 55, 45). Altar (=Droṇa, IV, 57, 2 ; 58, 3-4, VI, 17. 24-25). Fire (=King of Kaliṅga, VI, 17. 35). The Moon with planets and two drums (=Yudhiṣṭhira, VII, 23, 81-82). Malaya (=Pāṇḍya, VII, 20, 20). Plough (=Śalya, king of the Madras, VII, 105, 18-20).

III. *With trees*: Palm and the sun and stars (=Bhīṣma, IV, 55, 56-60 ; VI, 16, 23 ; 17, 18 ; 46, 50). Palm (=Baladeva, IX, 37, 20 XVI 3, 6). Karṇikāra (=Abhimanyu, VI, 47, 7-8).

IV. *With birds, animals, etc.*: Garuḍa (=Kṛṣṇa, I, 33, 13-18 ; II, 2, 15 ; 24, 22-23, V, 82, 20, VII, 79, 36-37 ; VIII, 40, 14 ; X, 13, 4-5 ; XII, 46, 34 ; XVI, 3, 6). Vulture (=Ghaṭotkaca, VII, 23, 87 ; Alambuśa, VII, 168, 18). Peacock (=Vṛṣasena, VII, 105, 17-18). Swan (=Sahadeva, VII, 23, 84). Śarṅga (=Abhimanyu, VII, 23, 86). Sāraṅga (=Pāṇḍya, VII, 23, 69). Śarabha (=Nakula, VII, 23, 83). Elephant and peacocks (=Śalya, VII, 105, 24-25). Elephant (=Duryodhana, IV, 55, 51-52 ; VI, 17, 26 ; VII, 105, 26-27 ; VIII, 56, 35-36).

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1 *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Wilson (Edited by F. Hall), 4, 308-9.

2 Radhakanta Bahadur,—*Śabdakalpadruma*, Kāṇḍa VII, Calcutta, Saṃ, 1934, pp, 4699-4701, quoting *Kālikā Purāṇa*, chap. 88. See also pp. 4696-4698, quoting *Devī Purāṇa*, chap. 21.

Elephant's rope (=Karṇa, IV, 55, 54-55; VII, 2, 25; 105, 12-13; VIII, 12, 17; 56, 87-88; 86, 5; 87, 87-93). Bull (=King of Magadha VI, 17, 28; Gautama, VII, 105, 14-16). Lion (=Uttara, IV, 37, 25-26), 46, 2; 67, 13; Bhīma, VII, 23, 80; Sātyaki, VII, 112, 57-58). Lion's tail (=Aśvatthāmā, VI, 17, 21; VII, 105, 10-12). Boar (=Jayadratha, king of the Sindhus, VI, 17, 30; 93, 39; VII, 105, 20-21). Monkey[1] (=Arjjuna, I, 227, 1-17; III, 151 15-18; VI, 46, 3-6; 53, 4, 5, 27; 66, 28; 67, 13; V, 47, 102; 53, 13; 55, 7-12; 137, 5-6; 141, 3-5; VI, 50, 43-44; 71, 2-4; monkey with lion's tail, VII, 88, 26; 100, 36; 105, 8-10; VIII, 40, 14; 46, 51-55; flags with bells, the sun, the moon and stars, 53, 7-9; 76, 27; 87, 88-93; IX, 4, 16; 62, 12).[2] Jackals (=Alāyudha, VII, 177, 19).

Various beliefs relating to the Standard: The standard appears to have been regarded as an auspicious emblem (V, 85, 18; XIV, 70, 15, etc.).[3] Bhīṣma refuses to fight at the sight of an inauspicious standard (VI, 108. 79). The falling down of standards forebodes evil unto the Bharatas (II. 80. 24). The imminent death of kings is prognosticated when the standards tremble and give off smoke and when crows perch on them (VI, 3. 42-45). The trembling of the standards when Karṇa goes out to battle is evidently an evil omen (VIII, 37. 8).[4]

Some of the chariots and standards are stated to have been gifts from the gods or else made by the celestial craftsman, e.g. the chariot of Vasu and the Indradhvaja worshipped by him (I, 63. 13-29); of Arjjuna (I, 227. 1-17, etc.); of Jarāsandha (II, 24. 11ff,), and the standards of Skanda (III, 228. 32) and Kṛṣṇa (X, 13. 4-5). On the termination of the battle of Kurukṣetra, Arjuna's chariot is mysteriously consumed by flames and the Monkey with the standard disappears (IX, 62. 12). The chariot of Kṛṣṇa vanishes when the doom of the Yādavas is imminent. The standards of Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva are also removed by the Apsaras at that time (XVI. 3. 5-6).

1 Cf. Monkey Pillar from Koṇārak, Mitra, *Antiquities of Orissa*, vol. II, pp, 113-14.

2 *Matsya Purāṇa*, ch. 281-82, describes the '*Aśvaratha*' and '*Hastiratha*' rites in which the dedication of chariots having the lion and the Garuḍa standards is enjoined for propitiating Divākara and Mādhava respectively. Cf. Legge, *Travels of Fa-Hien*, pp. 18-19, 79.

3 Cf. *Rāmāyaṇa*, II, 6, 13; 7, 3.

4 Cf. *Matsya Purāṇa*, 230, 3; 243, 11-12.

Arjjuna's standard is the most powerful of all and Yudhiṣṭhira is considered the stronger for its possession (V, 53. 13; 137. 5-6; VI, 19,-29). The circumambulation of the chariot and the standard (I, 227. 17; IV, 46, 6, etc.) recalls the similar worship of the Buddhist Stūpas. The Palm and the Garuḍa standards were worshipped by Baladeva and Kṛṣṇa respectively (XVI, 3. 6). The latter, about to perform a journey in the car of Jarāsandha, reflects on Garuḍa which appears at once with the Spirits that dwell in the standard and takes its usual place on the flagstaff (II, 24. 22-23). Arjjuna will not fight under the standard of Uttara; but by pursuing the magical rites formulated by Viśvakarman invokes the Monkey and propitiates the Firegod, who at once bids the Spirits to their place on the standard (IV. 46, 3-6). The Monkey appears on the flagstaff, only to disappear with the spirits after the battle is over (IV. 67, 13). The standard urges Arjjuna on to war (V. 47, 102). The Monkey with its host of Spirits, gaping and of fierce mien, setting up terrific roars, is time and again described as overawing the enemies.[1] The standard emblems of Karṇa and Arjjuna combat each other when their owners engage in battle (VIII. 87, 87-93). The legend associating Hanumat with the Monkey standard is rather unskilfully woven into the context and might be a later accretion (III, 151, 15-18).

The standards mentioned in the Mahābhārta are thus not only associated in some cases with the cults of Śiva, Skanda and Durgā, with tree worship and the harvest festival, but also appear independently with a characteristic body of beliefs, which point to the prevalence of their independent worship as some period of antiquity.

The inclusion of the Yūpa or sacrificial post (compared in the text to that of the Rājasūya ceremony, among the standard emblems, the occurrence of the Dhvaja in the Ṛg-veda in the sense of banners used in battle as stated above, as well as the mythical association of some of the chariots and standards with Vedic gods, viz., Indra and Agni, indicate that the Vedic people might have been a factor in the diffusion or the elaboration of the trait. Further, its minor importance in the

1 Fa Hien records a legend about how the lion on the Saṅkāśya pillar once frightened the Brahminical opponents of the Buddhists by giving a great roar.—Legge, *Travels of Fa Hien*, pp. 50-51. The function of the Spirits is clearly defined in the *Mahābhārata*, v. 141.4.

दिव्यानि भूतानिजयावहानि ।

दृश्यन्ति चैवात्र भयानकानि ॥

Ṛg-veda as denoted by the small number of references, considered together with its existence in the Indus Valley culture, would make it appear that the Vedic people had imbibed the trait from among their neighbours.[1] The animal standards mentioned in the Mahābhārata, not subordinated to other cults, are best explained as ultimately derived from an older culture, surviving in a modified form, in that of the Kuru-Pañcāla country.

It is noteworthy that the distribution of the early Indian monumental pillars considerably overlies that of the chariot standards of the Great Epic and a connection between them may be reasonably postulated. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that during the Gupta period when the '*Dhvaja-stambha*'[2] had been long in the services of Buddhism, Jainism and Brahminism, something of the old significance of the standards appears to persist in the custom of recording '*Praśastis*' of kings who had won fame and victory in arms,

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1 For standards used by the princes of the Sindhu and the Madra kingdoms of the Epic which lay in the zone of the Indus Valley culture, see ante. Though domesticated, the elehpant does not appear on the few Indus Valley standards, so far known. On the other hand, the domestication of the animal is noted only in later Vedic literature. See *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, 1922, pp. 100-137 ; Macdonell & Keith,—*Vedic Index*, 1912, vol. I, 'Nāga', p. 440 ; vol. II, 'Hastin', p. 501. But the people of the Gangetic plains must have been accquainted with the animal from much earlier times. A rock painting depicting the elephant at Mirzapore and a terracotta elephant and rider toy discovered at Bhita in the Allahabad District, dateable at the circa 8th century B. C., are noteworthy in this connetion. See, Mitra,—*Prehistoric India*, plate facing p. 154 ; and *A.S.I.R.*, 1911-12, pp. 71-72, no. 1, pl. xxii, fig. 1. The accredited origin of the Indradhvaja in the Cedi country shows how the worship of new '*dhvajas*' had been springing up.

The palm and the Karṇikāra standards of the Mahābhārata and the palm and the Kalpa Vṛkṣa capitals of Pawaia and Besnagar offer interesting parallels to the prehistoric tree ensigns and the nome emblems of Egypt, the XXth and XXIst nomes being represented by the Palm tree. Moret,—*The Nile and Egyptian Civilisation*, pp. 40-59.

2 The Eran pillar of Budhagupta is described as "*Dhvajastambha Janārddanasya*" in line 9 of the record on the shaft.—no. 19 of Fleet,—*C.I.I.*, vol. III.

on the shafts of the pillars, e.g., the Allahabad pillar of Samudra Gupta,[1] the Bhitari pillar of Skanda Gupta, the Eran pillar of Budha Gupta, the Meherauli pillar of Candra, the Mandasor Lion pillars of Yaśodharman and the Pahlādpur pillar.[2] The lines nos. 29-30 of the Allahabad pillar inscription and no. 9 of the Mandasor pillar inscription leave no room for doubt that the pillars were intended as emblems of victory gained in war.

It is the standards mentioned in the Epic, therefore, and not the Vedic Lotus symbol nor the Lotus supports of Bharhut, that can throw any light on the morphology and significance of the '*Dhvajastambhas*'. So far our knowledge goes, the lotus is not mentioned in connection with any of the above standards. Due regard being had to the case for the migration of the campaniform moulding from Persia to India, the probability lies, therefore, that the said moulding was not of Indian origin and was taken over for enhancing the decorative effect of the *dhvajas* and the structural pillars which had all been assuming lithi and monumental forms with the rise of early Indian art and architecture. The morphological and functional divergences of the moulding from the Achæmenian design, as well as the many variations in form and decoration that appear during its long history as an element of ancient Indian architecture, are explained as due to the natural modification of a trait in course of diffusion.*

ACHYUTA KUMAR MITRA

1 It was originally a Mauryan pillar, but was re-used for incising inscription.

2 Fleet,—*op. cit.*, nos. 1, 13, 19, 32, 33, 34 and 57.

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Topography in the Purāṇas

Veṅkaṭācala

In the Caitanya Caritāmṛta (ii. 9) it is said that Caitanya after visiting Purī crossed the river Godāvarī, passed through various tīrthas, and subsequently, arrived at Veṅkaṭācala. Veṅkaṭācala appears to have been a very sacred place ; it is worth while, therefore, to see what information the Skanda Purāṇa furnishes us with, regarding the location of that tīrtha. The first canto of the second volume (Viṣṇu Khaṇḍa) of the Skanda Purāṇa describes the māhātmya of Veṅkaṭācala. The identification of the hill, however, is not very difficult if the inaccuracies which have crept into the passages concerned are eliminated, but considerable difficulties seem to lie in the task of reconciling the present position of Veṅkaṭācala with the position given in our Purāṇa. Thus in ii, i, i, 43-44, 46 is given the topograhical details of Veṅkaṭācala as follows :—

Veṅkaṭācala in the Skanda Purāṇa.

Hastiśailāduttarataḥ pañcayojanamātrataḥ,
Suvarṇamukharī nāma nadīnāṃ pravarā nadī. 43

Tasyā evottare tīre Kamalākhyaṃ sarovaraṃ,
Tattīre Bhagavānāste Śukasya varado Hariḥ. 44

Kamalākhya sarasa uttare kānanottame,
Krośadvayārddhamātre tu haricandana-śobhite,
Śrīveṅkaṭācalo nāma Vāsudevālayo mahān. 46

Here it is said that there is a śaila called Hastiśaila, on the north of which is a river called Suvarṇamukharī. On the north of that river is a sarovara called Kamala, on the north of which stands Śrī Veṅkaṭācala, seven yojanas in length and one yojana in height. That Veṅkaṭācala lay on the north of Kamala sarovara,, on the south of which the river Suvarṇamukharī was flowing is made further clear in ii. 19 where it is said that one Raṅgadāsa, wishing to visit Veṅkaṭācala from Pāṇḍya country, arrived on the bank of the river Suvarṇamukharī where he bathed. He then crossed it (19) and came to the sacred Kamala sarovara where he again bathed and performed pūjās. He crossed it (20-21) and gradually advanced towards Veṅkaṭācala. All these clearly show that

Veṅkaṭācala was situated on the north of Kamala sarovara, by the south of which flowed the river Suvarṇamukharī, keeping Hastiśaila on the south.

Hastiśaila is perhaps still to be found in modern Kālahasti, a small range of hills, an off-shoot of the Nagari hills, spreading from Kālahasti on the north to Candragiri on the south-west in the North Arcot district (Ep. Ind., vol. I, p. 368; vol. III, pp. 116, 240) of the Madras Presidency. On the north of this range of hills from Kāla-hasti to Candragiri still flows a river called Svarṇamukhī, which is undoubtedly the river Suvarṇamukharī of our Purāṇa (ii, i, 113). It can, therefore, be said that the Purāṇic Hastiśaila and Suvarṇamukharī are occupying the same position with regard to each other as they possibly occupied at the time of the Purāṇa. The river Suvarṇamukharī rising from the Velikond range (southern spurs) of the Madras Presidency flows in a north-eastern direction and falls into the Bay of Bengal. But somewhere at a place on the north of the modern Kāla-hasti railway station of the M. & S. M Ry., it bifurcates and one branch flows first southwards by the western side of the Kāla-hasti railway station and then takes a south-western course by the northern side of the off-shoots of the Nagari Hills. Thus we see that the river Suvarṇamukharī or Svarṇamukhī flows by the north of Hastiśaila as stated in the Purāṇa.

But there are some inaccuracies regarding the course of the river. In ii. 1, 22, 33-4 of the Skanda Purāṇa it is said that Agastya Āśrama was on the bank of the river Suvarṇamukharī. Again in ii. 1, 33, 18 & 31 it is stated that the river originating from Agastya-śaila falls in Dakṣiṇasāgara. Dakṣiṇasāgara refers to the Bay of Bengal as has been found in many cases, and so the river Suvarṇamukharī falls in the Bay of Bengal. The other statements of the Purāṇa, however, are highly improbable. There were many Agastya-Āśramas, but if it was the Āśrama of the Nasik division of the Bombay Presidency, it is not possible that the river Suvarṇamukharī flowed as the far as Bombay Presidency to meet the Agastya Āśrama. The river in question does not reach the western part of the North Arcot district, not to speak of the far western part of the Bombay Presidency. Agastya-Āśrama may also probably be the Agastya-Śaila, wherefrom the river originated as stated above. But Agastya-Śaila is the Agastya-kūṭa mountain of the Tinnevelly district in the Madras Presidency. But this is also highly improbable for the river Suvarṇa-

mukharī does not flow even beyond the Madras Presidency. These inaccuracies, which have crept into the Purāṇa, either through textual corruption or on account of the ignorance of the compilers, must be eliminated in order to find out the true position of the river. A similar mistake occurs again in ii, 1, 30, 24 where it is said that Bharadvāja-Āśrama was on the bank of Suvarṇamukharī. Evidently the river could not have flowed northwards up to Prayāg where the Āśrama was situated (*Rāmāyaṇa*, Ayodhyā k., ch. 54). Again in ii. 1, 34, 25f. it is said that the river Suvarṇamukharī after its confluence with the river Veṇā flowed northwards with great force by the side of many tīrthas, through many dense forests and through the Udakhala country, until its confluence with the river Vyagrapadā after which it flowed towards Vṛṣabhācala. There are various Veṇās but taking it to be the river Kṛṣṇā which is nearest to Svarṇamukhī, no such confluence can be found. The river (Svarṇamukhī) has not even joined the various southern branches of the river Penner which flows on the immediate north of it, not to speak of the far more northern river Kṛṣṇā and also the river Kālindī, with which a confluence of the river Suvarṇamukharī is also described (ch. 25). These are some of the inaccurancies which must be eliminated to find out the real course of the river. It is impossible to think of a river, which flowed through Tinnevelly, Nasik and Madras and at the same time extended up to the United Provinces to meet the river Yamunā.

So the statement of the Purāṇa that Suvarṇamukharī flows by the north of Kālahasti is a geographical fact. It is said that on the north of the river Suvarṇamukharī was a sarovara called Kamala sarovara. About 3 miles to the north of the Suvarṇamukharī there is a town called Tirpadi or Tirpati or Tripati in the district of North-Arcot, 72 miles north-west of Madras, and at a short distance from the Renigunta Railway station of the M. & S. M. Ry. Between Tripati and the river Svarṇamukhī there are still about 32 ponds and large tanks, the most famous of which is Svāmī puṣkariṇī. It is therefore probable that one of these ponds was called Kamala in those days. It is said that on the north of that Sarovara lay Veṅkaṭācala. On the east of Tripati at a distance of about six miles there stands a range of mountains called Tirumala giri consisting of seven ranges, running from north to south and the northern range is called Veṅkaṭagiri. The Padma

Purāṇa (Uttara kh., ch. 90) also mentions Veṅkaṭa hill. But it gives no topographical details. Veṅkaṭagiri is also called Śeṣācala in the Purāṇas and nowadays it is also known as Śeṣādri (Ep. Ind., vol. III, p. 240). In the Skanda Purāṇa (ii. 1, 1, 51 f.) it is said that there are many tīrthas in Veṅkaṭācala such as Ākāśagaṅgā, Pāpanāśana, Kumāradhārikā, Pāṇḍava tīrtha. The Tīrthas are all to be found more or less near the Veṅkaṭagiri i.e. the first (north) range of the Tirumali hill, although Ākāśagaṅgā and Kumāradhārikā are now called Viradgaṅgā and Kumāravārikā. On the top of the Veṅkaṭagiri there is the celebrated image of Nārāyaṇa called Veṅkaṭeśvara or Bālāji Viśvanāth. It was also visited by Caitanya (Cai. Caritā. ii. 1) so it can be safely established that the first (northern) range of the Tirumali hill which is still called Veṅkaṭagiri is the Veṅkaṭācala of our Purāṇa situated on the north of Kamala sarovara. On the south of this hill is the river Svarṇamukhī (Suvarṇamukharī), flowing by the northern side of Kāla-hasti. So we see that the position of Veṅkaṭācala as described in the Purāṇa exactly coincides with the present position of the same hill; on the north of Veṅkaṭācala therefore flowed the river Penner which was known in ancient times as the river Pinākinī (Sewell's Arch. Surv. of S. India, vol. 1, pp. 123, 129). That in ancient times it occupied the very same position is corroborated by the following description of the journey of Arjuna from Indraprastha to Veṅkaṭācala (Skandapurāṇa, ii. i. 29): Arjuna first arrived at the river Bhāgīrathī, and then pursuing a course along her bank gradually passed through Gaṅgādvāra, Prayāg and Kāśikā, and arrived at the Dakṣiṇasāgara (39-40). He gradually advanced and by crossing on his way the famous river Mahānadī he came to the sacred place Puruṣottama and thence to Siṃhācala (41). Afterwards he came to the bank of the river Godāvarī, crossed it and after seeing the river Malāpahā on his way, arrived at the bank of the river Kṛṣṇā-Veṇī (42-44). He then came to Śrīparvata (45). After passing that Parvata he crossed the river Pinākinī and arrived at Veṅkaṭācala, the abode of Nārāyaṇa. After alighting from the highest peak of Veṅkaṭagiri, he advanced towards the river Suvarṇamukharī (48).

Arjuna's pilgrimage.

This survey of the position of Veṅkaṭācala from the north exactly coincides with the position of the same as surveyed from the south by the route of pilgrimage of Raṅgadāsa. Arjuna, it seems, started from Indraprastha i.e., modern Delhi and came to Gaṅgādvāra i.e., Māyāpurī,

which included Hardwar (Mbh., Vana, 84). The Kur-P. also says (ii, 42) that Gaṅgādvāra and Haridvāra are identical. The Vāmana (4&34) and Liṅga Purāṇas also seem to testify to this (e.g. i, 100). So from Haridvāra, Arjuna pursued a course along the banks of the Ganges and came to Prayāg i.e., Allahabad and then came to Kāśikā i.e., Benares. From Kāśikā it is said that he arrived at a place close to Dakṣiṇasāgara, i.e. the the Bay of Bengal.[1] Travelling southwards from that corner of India Arjuna crossed the river Mahānadī and came to Puruṣottama Kṣetra i.e. Purī.[2] From Purī he came to Siṃhācala, a place (hill) which still now bears that ancient name.[3] To come to Veṅkaṭācala from Siṃhācala, he had to cross the river Godāvarī. Then it is said that he crossed one river Malāpahā and then the river Kṛṣṇā-Veṇī. Kṛṣṇā-Veṇī, must be the river Kṛṣṇā itself, which flows by the south of Godāvarī, and as such it must have intervened Arjuna's way. It appears therefore that the river Malāpahā lay between Godāvarī and Kṛṣṇā. It is probable that the river Muner which meets Kṛṣṇā at Kondapalli is the same as Malāpahā. It should be noticed that from Bezwada to the Sea, Kṛṣṇā becomes wider and wider, and so perhaps Arjuna had to abandon the coastal route and go further up the river Kṛṣṇā to cross it which he could not do without crossing the river Muner which lies between Godāvarī and Kṛṣṇā. After crossing the river Muner or Malāpahā, he crossed the river Kṛṣṇā-Veṇā i.e. Kṛṣṇā, and then came to Śrīparvata and subsequently to the river Pinākinī. The river Pinākinī is the river Penner on the south of which Nellore is situated. Śrīparvata therefore might be a mountain on the north of Penner and south of Kṛṣṇā. On the immediate south side of the river Kṛṣṇā there is a Śaila called Śrī Śaila in the Karnal Country in the Balaghat ceded districts (De, Dict., p. 193). This Śrīśaila is also called Śrīparvata and Parwattam. Caitanya visited that hill (Ca-Ca. ii. 9). It was perhaps a sacred place and it is but natural that Arjuna would visit that hill, and more so because the parvata lay almost on his way to Veṅkaṭācala from the river Kṛṣṇā. Thus he passed through the Śrīparvata and then crossed the river Pinākinī or Penner. After

1 Dakṣina Prayāga means the Triveṇī on the north of Hugli in Bengal (Bṛ-Dharma-P., i, 6 ; A.S.B., vol. VI, 1910, p. 613).

2 For a detailed topographical description of Purī, see Indian Historical Quarterly, Dec. 1929, p. 659.

3 A railway station of the B. N. Ry, some five miles to the north of Waltair, also bears this name.

that he arrived at Veṅkaṭācala which as shown above was on the south of the river Pinākinī. It thus clearly follows that the topographical records contained in the description of Arjuna's pilgrimage evince a fairly good geographical knowledge of the compilers of the Skandapurāṇa.

We have further evidences regarding the corroboration of the present position of Veṅkaṭācala. In chapter 79 of the tenth canto of the Bhāgavata-purāṇa, is described a journey of Baladeva. It is said that Baladeva first arrived on the bank of the river Kauśikī and then went to that Sarovara wherefrom the river Sarayu has sprung. He then travelled along the banks of Sarayu and subsequently arrived at Prayāg. There he visited the Pulahā Āśrama. From that place he continued his journey, bathing on his way in the rivers Gomatī, Gaṇḍakī, Vipāśā and Śoṇa, till he arrived at Gayā where he performed Pitṛ worship. From Gayā he came to Gaṅgā Sāgara Saṅgama, whence he travelled southward and reached the Mahendra Parvata. From Mahendra Parvata he respectively passed through the rivers Sapta Godāvarī, Veṇā, Pampā and Bhīmarathī and then arrived at Śrīśaila. Travelling south from Śrīśaila he arrived at Veṅkaṭagiri.

Baladeva's pilgrimage to Veṅkaṭācala.

The river Kauśikī is perhaps the river Kuśi or Kauśaki mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa (Ādi, 34) and also in Var. P. (140). All the Purāṇas agree that the river has taken its rise from the Himālayas and so probably had a course through the United Provinces. It can be supposed therefore that the river Kauśikī of Baladeva was the river Kośi, which now flows through the Rāmpur state of the United Provinces. So from the Kośi river of Rāmpur, Baladeva started and arrived at the Sarovara, wherefrom the river Sarayu originates. The river rises in the mountain of Kumaun, but the traditional belief is that the river issues from the Mānasa Sarovara (Mbh., Anuśā., 155). So it seems that Baladeva went straight north from the river Kośi and arrived at the Mānasa Sarovara. From that lake he followed a course along the bank of Sarayu or Gogrā as it is called nowadays, and then came to Prayāg i.e. modern Allahabad. It is said that there he visited Pulahāśrama. The Var. P. says (143) that Pulahāśrama and Śālagrāma are one and the same place. According to Pad. P. (Pātāla. kh. 78) and Bhāg. P. (v. 7) Śālagrāma is placed near the source of the river Gandak where ṛṣi Pulaha performed asceticism. It is not reasonable to think that Baladeva travelled northwards as far as the slopes of the Himālayas from Prayāg and

then again descended southwards to bathe in the river Gomatī which was his next halting station from the Pulahāśrama. The inclusion of Pulahāśrama in the list is therefore a textual corruption which should be eliminated. So it stands that from Allahabad, Baladeva marched along the northern bank of the river Ganges, and then reached probably Bhitri where the river Gomatī joins the Ganges, and crossed it after bathing there. From that place he continued his march for Gaṇḍakī. Gaṇḍakī is the present river Gaṇḍak which joins the Ganges flowing from the north, at Sonepur in the district of Muzaffarpur in Bihar. And so when it is said that Baladeva bathed in that river, it follows that after crossing the river Gomatī near Bhitri he journeyed through Ballia and Saran and then came to Sonepur, which seems to be the shortest way from Gomatī to Gaṇḍak. Probably, at Sonepur, Baladeva bathed in the river Gaṇḍak. It is said that he also bathed at Vipāśā. Vipāśā or the Beas or the Hyphasis of the Greeks is in the Punjab. This inclusion of Vipāśā in the list is therefore essentially a textual corruption like the Pulahāśrama which is placed near Allahabad. So if we omit Vipāśā from the list it stands that Baladeva after bathing in the river Gaṇḍak, bathed at Śoṇa, which was regarded as a sacred river and then marched straight east to Gayā. From Gayā he went to Gaṅgā Sāgara Saṅgama, which probably meant a place somewhere near the confluence of the Ganges with the sea, like Arjuna's Dakṣina Sagāra. So from Gayā, Baladeva probably marched southwest and arrived somewhere near the mouth of the Ganges in the Bay of Bengal and then followed a coastal route and reached the Mahendra Parvata. Mahendra Parvata was used by the ancient Indians as a sort of generic term denoting the whole range of hills extending from Orissa to the district of Madura. It probably meant the hill of Kaliṅga (see Raghuvaṃsa, vi, 54) and the Uttara-Naiṣadha-carita (canto XII, 24) also supports it. However, Baladeva arrived at Kaliṅga and then came to Sapta Godāvarī. It was a place of pilgrimage and is mentioned often in the Purāṇas (Pad., Svarga, 19). According to the Rājataraṅgiṇī, (bk. viii, s. 34449, Dr. Stein's trans., vol. ii, p. 271) it meant the modern Dowlaishwerani 6 miles to the south of Rajahmundry. We have seen Baladeva following a coastal route and so it is but natural that he would come to the mouth of Godāvarī, and cross it at Sapta Godāvarī or Dowlaishewerani as it was considered a sacred place. After crossing the river Godāvarī, it would have been the easiest route for Baladeva to cross

the river Kṛṣṇā and come directly to Śrīśaila which was to the immediate south of the river. But we have seen that Arjuna, after crossing the river Godāvarī, avoided a strictly coastal route and so was entangled in the crossing of the river Malāpahā or the river Mener, before he could cross the river Kṛṣṇā. Baladeva also avoided a coastal route after crossing the river Godāvarī and came across the rivers Veṇā, Pampā, Bhīmarathī before he could reach Śriśaila. It appears therefore that Baladeva was entangled in a South-western route instead of following a strictly southern route. There are many Veṇās, one is Veṇī, a branch of the Kṛṣṇā itself (Padma, Uttara, 74) which rises in the Western Ghats. But it is impossible to think that Baladeva went as far as the Western Ghats to cross it in view of the fact that there are other Veṇās which lay near him.

There is another river called Veṇā or Veṇvā or Veṅgā or Veṇi-gaṅgā which is identified with the river Wain-Gaṅgā of Central Provinces, being a tributary of the river Godāvarī (Mbh., Vana, 85 ; Padma, Ādi, 3). It rises from the Vindhyāpada range. But we have seen that Baladeva arrived at the mouth of the Godāvarī and probably crossed it. So no longer perhaps it was possible for him to retrace his steps north-west up to the northern border of the Hyderabad State to meet the river Wain-Gaṅgā. Veṇā of Baladeva was therefore the Kṛṣṇā itself. Pampā has still retained that ancient name being a tributary of the river Tuṅgabhadrā. It flows by the side of Kampli in the district of Bellary (Bom. Gaz., vol. I, pt. II, p. 369). The river Bhīmarathī is the river Bhīmā of the Hyderabad State which joins Kṛṣṇā near about the Kistna railway station of the G. I. P. Ry. But it appears that the rivers are not placed in proper setting so far as their geographical position is concerned. For once Baladeva crosses the Veṇā, i.e., Kṛṣṇā and Pampā, than he comes to the Bellary district and then again reverts northwards as far as Kistnā to cross Bhīmā in the Hyderabad State, seems improbable specially in view of the fact that after crossing the river Pampā his aim was to go to Śrīśaila. The rivers might therefore be placed in this order, Bhīmarathī, Veṇā and Pampā. So it appears very certain that after crossing the river Godāvarī, Baladeva instead of following a strictly southern route journeyed westward through the Hyderabad State and arrived at the confluence of the rivers Bhīmā and Kṛṣṇā or Veṇā. Then he continued his march in a south-western direction through the Madras Presidency, by crossing the river Tuṅgabhadrā, which of course is not mentioned, and perhaps by the western side of the

Anagundi hills. This took him to the Bellary district, and he was thus face to face with the river Pampā in order to go to Śrīśaila. Naturally, therefore, Baladeva crossed the river Pampā and probably took a direct eastern course which took him to Śrīśaila standing, as we have pointed out, on the south of the river Kṛṣṇā. Thus we see that Baladeva was entangled in a very round about course, only because he abandoned the coastal route. It is said that from Śrīśaila he arrived at Veṅkaṭagiri and so from Śrīśaila Baladeva took a direct southern route and arrived at the first (northern) range of the Tirumalagiri which is called Veṅkaṭagiri. It thus clearly follows that the topographical records contained in this description of the journey of Baladeva, with the exception of some few textual corruptions, and the literary evidences adduced in this paper to locate Veṅkaṭācala from Hardwar on the one hand and Pāṇḍya on the other evince the fairly good geographical knowledge of the Hindus regarding the upper and middle portion of India.

SASHI BHUSAN CHAUDHURI

Dvaidhībhāva in the Kauṭilīya

When a king takes to dvaidhībhāva, he enters into sandhi with one hostile power, and proceeds to meet another. The sandhi may be a hīna-sandhi, i.e., by which the hostilities are ended ; it may also be an alliance which takes place before any war is waged between the king and the enemy. The hīna-sandhi is humiliating to the weaker party proposing the peace. But if the king be powerful and be attacked by two enemies simultaneously, he can defeat one of them causing him to enter into a humiliating hīna-sandhi, and turn his energies against the other enemy. The mere cessation of hostilities on one side, be it through hīna-sandhi or an alliance, is a source of of relief and the removal of a handicap in his operations against the other hostile power. The alliance however may be of such a form that the enemy is won over not merely to stop his hostile activities but to render positive help by giving him army and bearing losses of various descriptions. All this assistance may be rendered in exchange for a material gain present or future. The ways in which this alliance may take place and the means by which one party may take advantage

over the other party, and such other topics, will now be dealt with. The sambhūyayāna mentioned by K. has resemblance to an aspect of dvaidhībhāva. In the former, a sandhi precedes the joining of the combination by a king invited to do so on terms settled by him and the convener of the combination. In the latter also, sandhi takes place between the king and the dvitīyā prakṛti[1] (the second rājaprakṛti i.e., a king in the zone next to the kingdom of the king who makes the sandhi); this sovereign in the first zone is, according to the Kauṭilīya, a 'natural enemy' of the former, and hence one of the features distinguishing dvaidhībhāva from sambhūyayāna is the presence of at least two hostile kings attacking a third king, while in sambhūyayāna, there may be only one enemy, and the king making the combination enters into an alliance with another king who need not necessarily be an enemy. In sambhūyayāna again, active help of the party to the sandhi is in the forefront, while in dvaidhībhāva, the cessation of hostility between a king and one of his enemies is most wanted, no matter whether or not the latter actively co-operates with him in facing the onrush of the other enemy.

Some of the advantages, one or more of which can be had by a sovereign, who wants to have recourse to dvaidhībhāva, from a sandhi with a neighbouring king as mentioned already, are : The king entering into the sandhi will be prevented thereby from attacking the sovereign's kingdom from the rear ; will resist an invader from the rear ; will not join the other enemy of the sovereign ; the strength of the sovereign will be doubled by the sandhi ; the transport of supplies and the receipt of help will be facilitated, while those of the enemy will be obstructed ; the party to the sandhi will overcome the various obstacles on the way ; will guard, with his own army, the army of the sovereign while marching from one fort to another or through forests ; will facilitate the conclusion of a treaty of peace with the enemy in case anything unexpected and detrimental to the interest of the sovereign comes to pass ; or will, at the conclusion of the operations when he has received his share in the gain, or his remuneraton for the labours undergone by him, speak well of the sovereign and thereby enlist in his favour the confidence of other neighbouring kings.[2]

Some advantages of a sandhi in dvaidhībhāva.

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1 For the definition, see *K.*, XV. ch, 1, p, 430.

2 *K.*, VII. ch. 7. I have here followed the text of the Kauṭilīya as settled in the Trivandrum edition. The explanations of Mm. T.

If, however, the sovereign, wanting to have dvaidhībhāva, has any reason for suspecting that a sandhi, by which an army can be had for money, or money in exchange for an army, will work better with a king than his personal co-operation, he should have recourse to same.

Having army for money, or vice versa by sandhi.

In this connexion, the Kauṭilīya speaks of sama-sandhi, viṣama-sandhi and ati-sandhi. When a king superior in power (jyāyas) gets a consideration that is deserved by one who is equal to or inferior in power to the sovereign taking to dvaidhībhāva, it is called viṣama-sandhi. It is also viṣama-sandhi when a king equal in power to the aforesaid sovereign gets the share deserved by a superior or an inferior power, as also when an inferior power happens to receive a remuneration or a share in the gain proper for a king of equal or superior strength. The sandhi is called sama when the remuneration or the share in the gain allotted to a party to the sandhi is commensurate with his status as a power. When a party to the sandhi gets an advantage in his remuneration or share in the gain, not noticed by the other party to the alliance, it is called ati-sandhi.

Allotment of remunerations or shares in the gains.

A king of inferior strength intending to adopt dvaidhībhāva can offer different shares in the gains or different remunerations to the parties to the alliance according to their status, and also according to the circumstances in which each of them may happen to be at the moment. He can, for instance, offer a sovereign of superior power a consideration deserved only by one of equal power for entering into the sandhi, if the sovereign of superior power be in calamities, too much addicated to hunting, drinking, etc. jeopardising his health and life, and has acquired such wealth as has created enemies and for these reasons weaker than what he should be normally.

A hīna king offering sama gain to a jyāyas.

If, on the other hand, the king of inferior strength finds that he is almost sure to have the expected gain, and that for recuperating his lost power and increasing his influence or for protecting the rear of his kingdom, a sandhi with a king of superior strength is needed with the offer of a viśiṣṭa (special) consideration i.e., more than sama (commensurate with the power of the party invited into the alliance), he should do so.

A hīna king offering viśiṣṭa gain to a jyāyas.

Ganapati Sastri have thrown much light on the intricacies involved in the inter-state relations comtemplated in the text.

The king of inferior strength should offer a king of superior power, for entering into a sandhi, a consideration less than what is commensurate with the latter's power if it be found, on the one hand, that he is in calamities and his subjects have grown disaffected and disloyal, while, on the other, the king himself is well-circumstanced so far as fortresses and friendly kings are concerned, will have to march only a short distance to fight the enemy, and is sure to have complete victory over him.

A hīna king offering hīna gain to a jyāyas.

In the sets of circumstances described above, the party to the sandhi to whom terms are offered being an amitra, he can accept them if he thinks them advantageous, or reject them carrying on the hostility (vikrameta) if he thinks otherwise, and at the same time, be powerful enough to do so.

A king taking to dvaidhībhāva should offer a remuneration or share in the gain proportionate to the power of a king of equal status, when he finds that the latter is able to cope with the army of the enemy or that of the ally of the enemy, or with the enemy's troops recruited from among wild tribes, and is well acquainted with the topography of the region which is difficult to negotiate, and through which the army will have to pass or upon which the fight is likely to take place, or can guard the rear of his kingdom during his absence.

A king offering sama gain to a sama king.

When a king finds that in adopting dvaidhībhāva, he has to enter into a sandhi with another king of equal power, who is in calamities and whose subjects have grown disaffected, then he can offer a remuneration or a share in the gain less than what would have been otherwise commensurate with his status.

A king offering hīna gain to a sama king.

If, however, the king having recourse to dvaidhībhāva be himself in calamities and with subjects grown disloyal but has to increase his military strength to avert the present danger, which cannot be accomplished without the help of an ally, then he should offer a special remuneration or a share in the gain to a king of a status equal to his to utilize his co-operation.

A king offering viśiṣṭa gain to a sama king.

In the three cases mentioned above, the offers of the king should be accepted by the other parties who are of course amitras, if he be found to be well-meaning; otherwise, the hostile actions may be continued (vikrameta) if strength permits.

An offer of a special gain may be made by a superior king adopting dvaidhībhāva to an inferior king to attract him into a sandhi with him with the ostensible object of facing the former's enemy. There may be a sinister motive on the part of the king of superior strength to bring to book the inimical king of inferior power by crushing him after defeating his enemy or by realizing from him what he has given away as consideration after the victory over the enemy is achieved. The Kauṭilīya cautions the king of inferior rank against such a contingency, and asks him to continue his hostile operations (vikrameta) as an amitra if he finds himself strong enough to do him harm and at the same time feels that the sinister motive is at the back of the offer made to him. Otherwise he may accept the terms. Other alternatives open to him in the former case are either to join the powerful king's enemy against whom the preparations are being made or to send to the powerful king in return for the consideration only the portion of the army that is recalcitrant or is composed of men captured or obtained from an enemy and therefore unsubmissive.

A jyāyas king offering a viśiṣṭa gain to a hīna king.

A king of superior power taking to dvaidhībhāva can offer to a king of inferior strength a remuneration or a share in the gain commensurate with the latter's status as a power, if the former be in calamities and his subjects be recalcitrant.

A jyāyas king offering sama gain to a hīna king.

If a king of superior power adopting dvaidhībhāva finds that the king of inferior strength whom he wants to enter into a sandhi with him is in calamities and has to deal with recalcitrant subjects, he can offer the latter a remuneration less than what his rank deserves.

A jyāyas king offering hīna gain to a hīna king.

The kings in the last two cases, amitras as they are, were advised to continue their hostile operations (vikrameta), if they find themselves strong enough to do so. Otherwise, the offers are to be accepted.

There may be occasions when it is advisable for a well-meaning and peace-loving superior king to accept a share in the gain (offered by a *hīna* king) less than his position demands. Such occasions are: (1) When the superior king, whose subjects are not disloyal and who is not addicted to drinking, etc., wishes to involve his enemy (who also happens to be the enemy of the *hīna* offerer), engaged in ill-commenced works, in further losses of men and money, (2) when he wishes to send away the recalcitrant portion of his army, (3) when he wishes to bring to his side the recalcitrant portion of the army of his

enemy, (4) when he wishes to cause trouble to his *pīḍanīya* (oppressible) and *ucchedanīya* (exterminable) enemy with the help of the *hīna* offerer.

There may also be occasions when irrespective of the relative positions of the king taking to dvaidhībhāva and the king to whom offer is made by the former to enter into a sandhi with him, the latter may demand a very large remuneration or share in the gain for the help rendered. One or more of the reasons that actuate the latter to demand a very large consideration or to enter into the alliance are : (1) the offerer is in calamities with his subjects grown disloyal, and therefore this is the opportunity for ruining him, (2) the well-commenced works of the offerer sure to be crowned with success can be destroyed, (3) the latter can be attacked within his kingdom or during march towards the enemy, when the king accepting the offer comes near unsuspected, and (4) there is the chance of having a large gain from the offerer's enemy (yātavya) to be attacked immediately. The offering party is also advised to accede to the aforesaid demand to have a very large consideration for the military help in view of (1) the protection of his army from annihilation, (2) the prospect of destroying the impregnable fortress of the enemy, and crushing the forces sent to the enemy by his ally for his assistance as also the enemy's forces composed of wild tribes, (3) the chance of the loss and expenditure that will have to be borne by the party to the sandhi on account of the long distance to be traversed and the long time that will be required for the various purposes, (4) the acquisition of the help of the yātavya (the enemy against whom he is now about to march) after he is subdued, enabling the offering king to bring to book the party who is demanding such a large consideration for rendering him assistance, and (5) the prospect of capturing the troops of the enemy with the help of the party to the sandhi.[1]

NARENDRA NATH LAW

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1 For the passages relating to the sandhi in dvaidhībhāva followed by vikrama, see *K.*, VII, ch. 7. Here vikrama is not the component of dvaidhībhāva called vigraha ; it is the vikrama (i.e., prakāśa-yuddha, kūṭa-yuddha, or tuṣṇīṃyuddha) of the party invited to help the king taking to dvaidhībhāva. It should be borne in mind that the party so invited is an amitra who carries on the hostility if he does not accept the terms of an alliance. (See also *K.*, VII, ch. 6, pp. 280, 283).

Bodhisattva Prātimokṣa Sūtra

Prātimokṣasūtra of the Hīnayānists

The *Prātimokṣasūtra* forms the keystone of the disciplinary literature of the Buddhists. It is fortunate that not only the *Pātimokkhasutta* of the Theravādins in Pali but also the *Prātimokṣasūtra* of the Sarvāstivādins in Sanskrit are available for study. The latter has been discovered by the Pelliot mission in the ruins of Douldour-âquor at Koutcha, and edited and published by Monsieur É. Huber in the *Journal Asiatique* (1913) along with a French translation of Kumārajīva's Chinese version of the work. This has been supplemented by Prof. La Vallée Poussin and Herr E. Waldschmidt. Prof. Poussin has published a fragment of the *Prātimokṣa* manuscript and the Sanskrit "*Kammavācā*"[1] belonging to the Stein Collection, as also a fragment of the Sanskrit *Bhikṣuṇī Karmavacana* (Oxford Sanskrit Ms. 1442) in collaboration with Miss C.M. Ridding, while Mr. Waldschmidt has brought out with ample philological and comparative notes the *Bhikṣuṇī-Prātimokṣa* and *Bhikṣuṇī-Vibhaṅga* of the Sarvāstivādins from the fragmentary manuscripts discovered and collected by the Prussian Turfan-expedition. The manuscripts of the *Bhikṣuṇī-Prātimokṣa* were found in Qyzil and Sangim, while those of the *Bhikṣuṇī-Vibhaṅga* were traced in the collection of paper manuscripts at Murtuq. The Chinese and Tibetan sources have also furnished us with ample materials for an exhaustive study of the *Prātimokṣasūtra*, and therefore, of the *Vinaya* of the various Hīnayānic schools. Waldschmidt has fully utilised the Chinese and Tibetan versions of the *Bhikṣuṇī-Prātimokṣa* and *Bhikṣuṇī-Vibhaṅga* in his work mentioned above. The editions of the *Prātimokṣa-sūtras* have greatly advanced our knowledge inasmuch as they have thrown light on the question of the probable form and language of the original *Prātimokṣasūtra* of the 4th or 3rd century B. C., and have thus served to suggest a solution of the knotty problem as to the language of the original Tripiṭaka.[2]

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1 *JRAS.*, 1913, p. 843 ff: Nouveaux fragments de la collection Stein.

2 See Sylvain Lévi, *JA.*, 1912; Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature in Eastern Turkestan*, pp. 173-5.

Prātimokṣasūtra of the Mahāyānists

Though our knowledge of the Hīnayānic *Prātimokṣasūtras* has made a fair progress, we are yet in the dark about the *Prātimokṣasūtra* of the Mahāyānists. It is only through the citations made by Śāntideva in his *Śikṣāsamuccaya* and *Bodhicaryāvatāra* that we are aware of the existence of a *Bodhisattva-Prātimokṣa-sūtra*. Very likely it is this *Sūtra* that corresponds to the Chinese Sūtra no. 1500 (Pu-sa-chieh-pen) of the Taisho edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka (vol. xxiv) which treats of Pārājikā and such other offences falling within the scope of a Prātimokṣa-sūtra. The only other Mahāyānic book that can be treated as a Prātimokṣa-sūtra is the Chinese *Brahmajāla Sūtra*, of which we have a French translation (*Le code du Mahāyāna en Chine*) by De Groot.[1]

At the Library of the Cambridge University, there is a manuscript entitled *Bodhisattva Prātimokṣa Sūtra* in the collection made by Bendall from Nepal. Through the courtesy of Dr. E. J. Thomas I have been able to take a rotograph of the manuscript. It contains only ten leaves with six lines in each page. The size of the leaves is 10 inches by 2 inches. The right-hand end of almost every leaf is so much damaged that the last word of almost each line is either lost or illegible. In the appended edition I have supplied the words as far as possible in the light of their Chinese translations where available as also of their context, and the manner of wording usual in the Buddhist Sanskrit texts.

In line 1 of the last leaf (obverse side) of the ms., we find "*Iti Bodhisattva-Prātimokṣaḥ*" (see the attached plate) showing that the writer wanted to call the work a *Bodhisattva Prātimokṣa Sūtra*. Whatever may be the writer's intention, it is evident from the contents that the present manuscript has very little to do with the *Bodhisattva Prātimokṣa Sūtra* cited in the works of Śāntideva.

The Present Manuscript

This manuscript is divided into two parts, of which the first is intended to serve as a manual for the initiation of devotees, lay or recluse, into the Mahāyānic rules of discipline, and the second is a dissertation on the *āpattis* (offences) and *anāpattis* (non-offences) of a

1 For further particulars, see my *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism etc.*, pp. 293-5.

Bodhisattva, The whole manuscript is really a compilation of extracts from different works, two of which evidently are the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* and the *Upālipariprcchāsūtra*. The citations from the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* appear in the first part and have been marked in the appended text. The *Upālipariprcchāsūtra* commences from leaf 5 (reverse side—see the attached plate). Judging by the contents, the first part should be called a *Karmavākya*, corresponding to the *Kammavācam* of the Burmese and Ceylonese Buddhists, and not a Prātimokṣa Sūtra, the second part being a supplement to it. The first part corresponds roughly to the first chapter (Ordination service) of the *Kammavācam*, detailing the formalities through which a candidate is to pass to undertake the discipline of a Bodhisattva. In the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* we have an account of the ceremony of initiation of a Bodhisattva but it is written not in the characteristic form and style of a manual of initiation—the form and style in which the present ms. is written. It is in this manuscript that we for the first time come across the formal requests and announcements necessary for the initation of a devotee into the Mahāyānic rules of discipline, and I think, this is the earliest book of its kind so far discovered.

Probable age of the Ms.

The ms. is written, as will be seen from the attached plates, in Rañjā character, a very old script prevalent in Nepal about the 11th or 12th century A.D. Prof. Bendall has rendered easy our task of fixing the dates of Nepalese manuscripts by furnishing us with the tables of letters and numerals from dated mss. of various times from the 9th to the 18th century A.D.[1] If the present manuscript be placed by the side of this table, it will be apparent that its letters and numerals are similar to those of the Cambridge University Library Mss. Nos. Add. 1693 and 1686, both of which have been dated by Bendall to be 1165 A.D. Of the letters, the following may be particularly mentioned as bearing the closest resemblance to those of Ms. No. 1686 :—*e*, *ja*, *tha*, *dha*, *śa*, *ṣa* and *sa*. Of the numerals, 2, 3, 4, 8 and 9 are exactly similar to those of Ms. No. Add. 1693, and 5 and 6 to those of Ms. No. Add. 1644. The date of the former ms., according to Bendall, is 1165 A. D. and that of the latter is 1139 A.D. Hence, we shall not be wide of the mark if we put the date of the present manuscript as

1 Bendall, *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts*.

In the manuscript of the *Kriyāsaṅgraha*[1] (leaf 36b = *Pañjikāsaṅgraha*, leaf 198b) preserved in the Bibliotheque Nationale, there is a passage containing a description of *Saṃvaragrahaṇa* written in the same style as that in the present manuscript. It runs as follows :

एवं विंशतिप्रकारपूजाभिः सर्वतथागतान् संपूज्य आत्मानं निर्यातयेत्। आत्मानं सर्वबुद्धबोधिसत्त्वेभ्यो निर्यातयामि। सर्वदा सर्वकालं प्रतिगृह्णन्तु मां महाकारुणिका नाथा महासमयसिद्धिश्च मे प्रयच्छन्तु।

तच्च कुशलमूलं सर्वसत्त्वसाधारणं कर्तव्यम्। अनेन कुशलमूलेन सर्वसत्त्वाः सर्वलौकिकलोकोत्तरविपत्तिविगता भवन्तु। सर्वलौकिकलोकोत्तरसम्पत्तिसमन्विताश्च सहैव सुखेन सहैव सौमनस्येन बुद्धा भगवन्तो भवन्तु नरोत्तमाः।

अनेन चाहं कुशलेन कर्मणा भवेयं बुद्धो, न चिरेण लोके देशयेयं धर्म्मं जगतो हिताय, मोचयेयं सत्त्वान् बहुदुःखपीड़ितान्। नित्यानुत्तरायां सम्यक्सम्बोधौ परिणामयेत् ॥ इतिं बोधिचित्तोत्पादः ॥ उत्पादयामि परमं बोधिचित्तमनुत्तरम् ॥ इति संवरग्रहणम् ॥

(Translation : After worshipping all Tathāgatas in twenty different ways, one should offer himself up, saying "I dedicate myself to all Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. Accept me always and for all times, O Merciful Lords, and give me the Mahāsamayasiddhi (lit. perfection in the great doctrine).[2]

He should wish that the merits thus acquired be shared by all beings, and thereby may all beings be free from their calamities, worldly or transcendental, and be possessed of prosperity, worldly or transcendental, and may they, easily and happily, become Buddhas, the Blessed Ones, the best of men.

By this good action may I become a Buddha, and soon preach the doctrine for the benefit of the world, and rescue beings from their many sufferings. Thus he should always direct his merits to the imcomparable highest knowledge. This is called the 'Development of Bodhicitta'. This is acquiring 'Bodhisattva-discipline'.

This passage is preceded by a formulary ending with the remark इति पापदेशना and is followed by a description of the ceremony with the ending इति आचार्य्याभिषेकः.

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1 It is a part of the *Pañjikāsaṅgraha,* commencing at leaf 163.

2 There is a Tibetan text called *Mahāsamayasūtra,* for details of which see Wassiljew, *Der Buddhismus,* p. 176.

In this description, the rituals for *Saṃvaragrahaṇa* occur in the following order :—

(1) Pāpadeśanā,
(2) Pūjana and Vandanā,
(3) Pariṇāmanā,
(4) Bodhicittotpāda and
(5) Ācāryābhiṣeka.

In the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* also, Śāntideva treats of the formalities to be undergone by a Bodhisattva for initiation. As they have been dealt with at length in my book, *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism* (pp. 302-5), I shall mention here only the rites composing the ceremony :

(1) Vandanā and Pūjana (worshipping Buddhas and Caityas) ;
(2) Śaraṇagamana (taking refuge in Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha),
(3) Anumodanā or Puṇyānumodanā (expressions of sincere approval of others' good deeds),
(4) Adhyeṣaṇā or Yācanā (entreating Buddha to be the guide of all beings ignorant as they are),
(5) Pariṇāmanā (offering up one's merits to all beings for the sake of bodhi)[1] and then
(6) Bodhicittotpāda (development of Bodhicitta).

First Part of the Ms.

The contents of the first part, in short, are as follows :—An adept approaches a qualified Bodhisattva, and entreats him in set words for initiation into the disciplinary rules of a Bodhisattva. Then he confesses his sins (pratideśanā) formally and takes refuge in the Triratna by uttering the Triśaraṇa formulæ. He now develops Bodhicitta, and transfers (pariṇāmanā) the merits so far acquired by the above rites to all beings of the world and takes the vow of looking upon all beings as his very near kith and kin. He then formally chooses (*ācāryābhiṣeka*) his Ācārya who presents him to all the Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas and announces before them that so and so has been ordained by him called so and so.

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1. Cf. *Sūtrālaṅkāra*, p. 147 : क्षिप्राभिसंबोधे सर्वं पापं प्रतिदेशयामि यावत् भवतु मे ज्ञानं संबोधायेति प्रतिदेशनाऽनुमोदनाध्येषणा परिणामना ।

It adds that if an adept cannot find a qualified Bodhisattva to give him the initiation, he should present himself before the image of a Tathāgata and declare his intention. He should then proceed with the ceremonies described above.

From this account it is apparent that the present manuscript served only as a manual of ordination, containing as it does, the formulæ for the rites mentioned in the Mahāyāna works noticed before. The rites mentioned above are arranged thus :—

(1) Yācanā (entreating a Bodhisattva for initiation),
(2) Pāpadeśanā,
(3) Śaraṇagamana,
(4) Pariṇāmanā,
(5) Bodhicittotpāda,
(6) Ācāryābhiṣeka, and
(7) Vijñapti (=Pāli : Ñatti=Announcement).

The Second Part of the Ms.

The second part, as stated above, is made up of extracts from the *Upālipariprcchāsūtra*, from which citations are found in the *Mādhyamikavṛtti*, *Śikṣāsamuccaya* and *Bodhicaryāvatāra*.

In leaf 5b, line 5, it is stated that Upāli had some doubts in his mind regarding the Vinaya of the Mahāyānists and wanted to have them removed by the Teacher. His request to Buddha "*vyākarotu tathāgato vinayaviniścayam*" leads us to identify the work with the Chinese translation *Yiu-po-li-hwui* or *Fo-shwo-chüe-tiṅ-phi-ni-kiṅ* restored by Nanjio as *Vinayaviniścaya Upāli Paripṛcchā* [Nanjio, nos. 23 (24) & 36].[1] These two Chinese translations correspond to the Sūtra no. 325 [no. 310 (24)] of the Taisho edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, vol. XII, pp. 37-42—*Fo-shui-chüeh-ting-phi-ni-king*. On a comparison of the Sanskrit text as given in the present manuscript with the Chinese translation (Taisho ed., XII, no. 325), we notice that it corresponds to the Chinese translation not from the beginning but from page 39, sec. iii, line 15 up to page 40, sec. iii, line 16, including the inquiry of Mañjuśrīkumārabhūta. This comparision reveals that the present ms. gives only extracts from the *Upālipariprcchāsūtra* and not the

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1 Cf. Tib. *Vinayaviniścaya Upālipariprcchānāma* (f. 220-243) of the Narthang edition of Kañjur (Ratnakūṭa section), vol. XXIV.

whole of it. The original was larger and contained a versified portion, from which quotations are found in the *Mādhyamikavṛtti* (pp. 53, 121, 155, 191, 234, 256, 408). The last portion (Taisho ed., vol. XII, p. 41, sec. 2 to p. 42, sec. 3) of the Chinese version clearly shows that there were many verses in the original *Sūtra* towards its end. The quotations given in the *Mādhyamikavṛtti* from the *Sūtra* are authentic because the Sanskrit verses agree with those of the Chinese, e.g., in page 155, the verse: Iha śāsani suramaṇīye etc. agrees literally with its Chinese version (p. 42, sec. i, last line & fol.).

Now, if we take into consideration the quotations found in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* and the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, we cannot have any room for doubt as to our manuscript presenting us only with extracts from the original *Upālipariprcchāsūtra*. In three places, the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* has quoted the *Sūtra*. Two (pp. 164,* 178) of the three passages appear in the present manuscript. On comparison it becomes evident that in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* there is an attempt to put the quotations in an abridged form. The passage cited on pp. 168-9 of the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*[1] when compared with its Chinese version (p. 38, sec. iii, ll. 4 ff.) shows also that the quotation is given in a very concise form; so also is the citation[2] at p. 178.

The main object of the second part of the manuscript is to point out the two standpoints, from which the disciplinary rules were viewed by the Hīnayānists and the Mahāyānists.[3] In short, the pith of the disciplinary rules of the Mahāyānists lay in service to all beings, while that of the Hīnayānists was self-purification. This has been clearly brought out in the second portion of the manuscript, where we find the following comparisons:

1. That which is meritorious for a Bodhisattva is demeritorious for a Śrāvaka, and *vice versa*: To wit, a Bodhisattva desires for repeated births in order to be able to render service to all beings while a Śrāvaka cannot even for a moment cherish thoughts for rebirths.

2. The aim of a Bodhisattva is to work for the good of other beings (सानुरक्षा शिक्षा) but this is not necessary for a Śrāvaka (निरनुरक्षा शिक्षा).

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* Cf. *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, p. 139.

1 Cf. *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, pp. 153-4.

2 See text, leaf 7a, l. 5 f.n.

3 For further elucidation, see my *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism, etc.*, ch. V.

3. If a Bodhisattva, after committing an offence, strives for a while to develop and maintain the Bodhicitta (=sarvajñatācitta), he can absolve himself from the offence (सपरिहारा शिक्षा) but this is not possible for a Śrāvaka (निःपरिहारा शिक्षा), for the latter should always be on the alert to get rid of *kleśas* (afflictions) like a man whose head-dress is burning.

4. A Bodhisattva may partake of worldly enjoyments but he should at the same time maintain the *Bodhicitta*, and try to get rid of his *kleśas* (afflictions) by undergoing many births and not one (दुरानुप्रविष्टा शिक्षा). A Śrāvaka, however, should acquire all the *kuśalamūlas* (merit-roots) and be always vigilant like the man with a burning headdress (सावदाना शिक्षा).

5. If a Bodhisattva be guilty of actions done through *rāga* (attachment) and *dveṣa* (hatred), he is exonerated from sin in regard to those done through *rāga* but not in regard to those done through *dveṣa*, because *rāga* makes him attached to his fellow beings (सत्त्वसंग्रहाय वर्त्तते) while *dveṣa* makes him dissociated (सत्त्वपरित्यागाय वर्त्तते) from them, for a Śrāvaka, however, offences committed either through *rāga* or through *dveṣa* are equally blamable.

The Third Part of the Ms.

We are at present unable to give any particulars about the third part of the manuscript as there are only a few lines of it on the last leaf. From these few lines, it is however clear that the writer wanted to explain here the *Bodhicitta*, *Dharmanairātmya*, etc. by commenting upon some texts. It is rather striking that in the manuscript of the *Kriyāsaṅgraha* belonging to the Bibliotheque Nationale, there appears also a dissertation on Śūnya as similar to Ākāśa and so forth just after the ceremony of *Saṃvaragrahaṇa*. Other scholars will, I hope, take up this clue in future and complete the work by tracing the missing pages at least its contents.[1]

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1 A photoprint of the leaf where the comment is found is attached hereto.

बोधिसत्त्व-प्रातिमोक्ष-सूत्रम्

Leaf 1b ॐ नमः सर्व्वबुद्धबोधिसत्त्वेभ्यः। ये च ते बोधिसत्त्वानां त्रयः शीलस्कन्धा a[2]

उक्ताः। संवरशी[*लं कुशलधर्म्मसंग्राहकशीलं सत्त्वार्थक्रियाशीलं[1] च ते]षु

* The passages within brackets [ ] have been supplied by me as the ms. is either broken or illegible at these places.

1 The passage, marked *a-d* (see leaf 2b), occurs almost *verbatim* in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (edition of Wogihara—Tokyo 1930), pp. 152-3, where it is preceded by a detailed explanation of the three *Śīla-skandhas*, which, in short, are as follows :—

(i) संवरशीलाः are all those disciplinary (Prātimokṣa) rules given in the seven (?) *nikāyas* and meant for the Bodhisattvas ; they are to be practised by monks and nuns, male and female novices and lay-devotees.

(ii) कुशलधर्म्मसंग्राहकशीलाः are all those good deeds performed by a Bodhisattva, physically or verbally, for attaining the highest wisdom (mahābodhi) after taking the śīlasaṃvaras (disciplines). To wit : a Bodhisattva after being well-established in śīlas, applies himself to study and contemplation, meditation (शमथः चित्तैकाग्रतालक्षणः समाधिः—*Bodhic.*, p. 287) and insight (विपश्यना—यथाभूततत्त्वपरिज्ञानस्वभावा प्रज्ञा—*Ibid.*) and finds pleasure in loneliness ; shows respects to his guru in time and so forth.

(iii) सत्त्वानुग्राहकशीलाः—These śīlas or good deeds are of eleven kinds, as follows :—

(1) rendering friendly help (sahāyībhāvaḥ) to beings in their various useful works ;

(2) rendering friendly help to beings suffering from disease and so forth ;

(3) giving just admonition to persons through religious discourses, or discourses on ways and means in their mundane or supramundane objects ;

शिक्षितुकामेन गृहिणा वा प्रव्रजितेन वाऽनुत्तरायां सम्यक्सम्बोधौ कृतप्रणिधानेन

[3]

सहधार्म्मिकस्य बोधिसत्त्व[स्य[1] महापुण्यनिधा]नस्य [2]वाग्विज्ञप्त्यर्थग्रहणावबोध-

समर्थस्य[3] पादयोर्न्निपत्याध्येषणा कार्य्या। तवाहं कुलपुत्रायुष्मन् भदन्तेति

(4) not only remaining grateful to a benefactor but also giving him a suitable return ;

(5) protecting persons from various causes of fear, e.g., lions, tigers, kings, thieves, fire, etc.

(6) consoling persons suffering on account of loss of property or relatives ;

(7) offering justly (न्यायपतितः) all the necessary means of livelihood to persons who have been deprived of them ;

(8) correcting a body of persons by means of proper gifts and religious discourses (सम्यङ्निश्रयदानतो धर्म्मेण गणापरिकर्षणा)

(9) pleasing others by conversations,exchange of greetings, timely visits, acceptance of others' invitations to food and drink, joining, if invited, the people's worldly celebrations, in short, to avoid all actions which might displease others and to gladden them by one's own qualities ;

(10) subduing, fatiguing, punishing and exiling people in order to turn them from evil to good actions by making patent to them things manifest or unmanifest and by good and tender inner will ;

(11) frightening people from evils and establishing them in Buddha's doctrine by showing them hells through supernatural power and thereby causing astonishment.

1 *B. Bh.*, p. 152 reads :—सत्त्वस्य कृतप्रणिधानतया विज्ञस्य प्रतिबलस्य वाग्-।

2 Cf. *Bodhic.*, p. 72 :—देशयामीति वाग्विज्ञप्तिमुत्थापयति। कृताञ्जलिरिति काय-विज्ञप्तिः।

3 *B. Bh.*, p. 153 :—बोधाय इत्येवंरूपस्य बोधिसत्त्वस्य पूर्वं पादयोः-।

[4]
वाऽन्तिकात[1] बोधिसत्त्व[शीलसं]वरसमादानमाकाङ्क्षाम्यादातुम् । तदर्हस्य-
नुपरोधेन मुहूर्त्तं [2]मदनुकम्पया दातुं श्रोतुञ्चेति ॥ त्रिरेवमध्येष्य[3] एकांस-
[5]
मुत्तरासङ्गं कृत्वा [द]शसु दिक्ष्वतीतानागतप्रत्युत्पन्नानां बुद्धानां भगवतां महा-
भूमिप्रविष्टानां[4] च[5] बोधिसत्त्वानां सामीचीं कृत्वा तेषां गुणानामुखीकृत्य
[6]
[घन]रसं चेतःप्रसादं संजनय्य[6] नीचैर्जानुमण्डलेनोत्कुटुकेन वा स्थित्वा
तथागतप्रतिमां पुरतः संस्थाप्य संपूज्य पुरस्कृत्यैवं स्याद्वचनीयः। अनु-
[1]
Leaf 2a प्रयच्छ मे कुलपुत्रायुष्मन् भदन्तेति वा बोधिसत्त्वशीलसंवरसमादानमिति।
[2]
तत[7] एकाग्रां स्मृतिमुपस्थाप्य चित्तप्रसादमेवानुवृंहयत। न चिरस्येदानीं
मेऽक्षयस्याप्रमेयस्य निरुत्तरस्य महापुण्यनिधानस्य प्राप्तिर्भविष्यतीति। [8]एव-
[3]
मेवार्थमनु[वि]चिन्तयता तूष्णीं भवितव्यम्। तेन पुनर्व्विज्ञेन बोधिसत्त्वेन
स तथा प्रतिपन्नो बोधिसत्त्वोऽविक्षिप्तेन चेतसा स्थितेन वा निषण्णेन वा
[4]
एवं स्याद्वचनीयः। शृणु त्वमेवन्ना[मन् कुलपुत्रायुष्मन्[9] भदन्तेति वा[10]

1 *B. Bh.*, p. 153 :—अध्येषणां कृत्वा यथा त्वाहं कुलपुत्रान्तिकात्।

2 *Ibid.* अस्माकं। 3 *Ibid.* श्रोतुञ्चेत्येवं सम्यगध्येष्य।

4 महाभूमि evidently refers to the last of the ten bhūmis. Other names of this *bhūmi* are :—परमविहार, निष्ठागमन, तथागतभूमि, बुद्धभूमि, अभिषेक-भूमि।

5 *B. Bh.*, p. 153 adds here महाज्ञानप्रभावप्राप्तानां।

6 *Ibid.* adds परीत्तं वा यस्य वा यावति शक्तिर्हेतुबलं च स विज्ञो बोधिसत्त्वो नीचै।

7 *B. Bh.*, p. 153 : इत्युक्ता। 8 *Ibid.* एतमेवार्थं।

9 Ms. आयुष्मंत।

10 *B. Bh.*, p. 153 : एवं नाम कुलपुत्र धर्म्मभ्रातरिति वा।

बोधिसत्त्वोऽसि बोधौ च कृतप्रणिधानः। तेन ओमिति प्रतिज्ञातव्यं। स
[5] *b*
पुनरुत्तरि एवं स्याद्व[चनीयः।] प्रतीच्छसि त्वमेवन्नामन् कुलपुत्रायुष्मन्
c
भदन्तेति वा बोधिसत्त्वोऽसि बोधौ कृतप्रणिधानो[1] ममान्तिकात् सर्व्वाणि बोधि-
[6]
सत्त्वशिक्षा[पदानि] सर्व्वञ्च बोधिसत्त्वशीलं संवरशीलं कुशलधर्म्मसंग्राहक-
शीलं सत्त्वार्थक्रियाशीलं च यच्छीलमतीतानां बोधिसत्त्वा[नामभूत् यानि च
[1]
Leaf 2b शिक्षापदानि।] यच्छीलमनागतानां बोधिसत्त्वानां भविष्यति यानि च शिक्षा-
पदानि। यच्छीलमेतर्हि दशसु दिक्षु प्रत्युत्पन्नानां बोधिसत्त्वानां [भवति
[2]
यानि च शिक्षापदानि। येषु] च शिक्षापदेषु येषु शीलेष्वतीताः सर्व्वबोधिसत्त्वाः
शिक्षितवन्तः। अनागताः सर्व्वबोधिसत्त्वाः शिक्षिष्यन्ते। प्रत्यु[त्पन्नाः सर्व्वबोधि-
[3] *d*
स]त्त्वाः शिक्षन्ते। तेन प्रतिगृह्णामीति प्रतिज्ञातव्यं[2]॥ त्रिरेवम्॥

समन्वाहरन्तु[3] मां दशदिग्लोकधातुसन्निपतिता बुद्धा भगवन्तो बोधि-
[4]
[सत्त्वाः। स]मन्वाहरत्वाचार्य्योऽहमेवन्नामा यत्किञ्चित्कायवाङ्मनोभिर्बुद्ध-

1 *B. Bh.*, p. 153 omits *b-c*.

2 *B. Bh.*, p. 154 here has the following few lines : एवं द्विरपि त्रिरपि तेन च विज्ञेन बोधिसत्त्वेन वक्तव्यम्। तेन च समादापकेन बोधिसत्त्वेन यावत् त्रिरपि प्रतिज्ञातव्यं पृष्टेन। एवं हि तेन विज्ञेन बोधिसत्त्वेन तस्य परिग्राहकस्य बोधिसत्त्वस्य यावत् त्रिरपि बोधिसत्त्व-शीलसंवरसमादानं दत्त्वा प्रतिज्ञां च प्रतिगृह्य व्युत्थिता एव तस्मिं (*sic.*) प्रतिग्राहके बोधिसत्त्वे तस्या एव तथागतप्रतिमायाः and then as given in this text leaf 4a, line 4 up to बोधिसत्त्वशीलसंवरसमादानं समात्तमिति in leaf 4 b, line 3.

3 For almost a *verbatim* correspondence of certain portions of this passage, see *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, p. 170.

बोधिसत्त्वान् मातापितरौ तदन्यान् वा सत्त्वान् समागम्येह[ज]न्मन्यन्येषु वा
[5]
[जन्मां]तरेषु मयापायं कृतं कारितमनुमोदितं वा तत् सर्व्वमैकध्यमभिसंक्षिप्य
[6]
पिण्डयित्वा तुलयित्वा सर्व्वबुद्धबोधिसत्त्वानामाचार्य्य[स्य चा]न्तिकेऽग्रया
प्रवरया प्रतिदेशनया प्रतिदेशयामि जानन् स्मरन् न प्रतिच्छादयामि[1] ॥

त्रिरेवम् ॥[2]

[1]
Leaf 3a सोहमेवंनामा एवंदेशितात्यय इमं दिवसमुपा[दा]य आबोधिमण्डनिषदनात्
बुद्धं भगवन्तं महाकारुणिकं सर्व्वज्ञं सर्व्वदर्शिनं सर्व्ववैरभयातीतं महापुरुषम-
[2]
भेद्यकायमनुत्तरकायं धर्म्मकायं शरणं गच्छामि द्विपदानामग्र्यम् ॥ सोऽह-
मेवंनामा एवंदेशितात्यय इमं दिवसमुपादाय आबोधिमण्डनिषदनाद्धर्मं[3] शरणं
[3]
गच्छामि शान्तं विरागाणां प्रवरम्। सोऽहमेवंनामा एवंदेशितात्यय इमं
[4]
दिवसमुपादाय आबोधिमण्डनिषदनादवैवर्त्तिकबोधिसत्त्वसंघं शरणं गच्छामि
गणाणां श्रेष्ठम्[4] ॥ त्रिरेवम् ॥[5]

1 Ms. प्रतिच्छादहयामि ।

2 These few lines, omitted in the *B. Bh.*, speak of the mode of confession (pāpadeśanā) adopted by the Bodhisattvas. See my *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism etc.*, pp. 304-5 ; *Bodhic.*, p. 154 ; *Śikṣā.*, pp. 160ff. ; 168-9 ; *Svayambhū P.*, pp. 116-8.

3 Ms. निषदाना ।

4 For a parallel passage, see *Kriyāsaṅgraha-Pañjikā*, an extract from which is given in Mm. H. P. Sastri's *Catalogue of Buddhist Manuscripts*, p. 123.

5 Here we find the formula for *Triśaraṇagamana* of the Bodhisattvas. Cf. *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, p. 58 :

बुद्धं गच्छामि शरणं यावदाबोधिमण्डतः ।
धर्मं गच्छामि शरणं बोधिसत्त्वगणं तथा ॥

सोहमेवंनामा एवंदेशितात्ययस्त्रिशरणगतोऽनन्तसत्त्वधातूत्तारणायाभ्युद्धर-

[5]

[णाय] संसारदुःखात् परित्राणाय सर्व्वज्ञज्ञाने अनुत्तरे प्रतिष्ठापनाय। यथा

[6]

ते अतीतानागतप्रत्युत्पन्ना बोधिसत्त्वा बोधिचित्त[मुत्पाद्य बुद्ध]त्वमधिगतवन्तोऽधि-

गमिष्यन्ति अधिगच्छन्ति च। यथा सर्व्वबुद्धाऽनावरणेन बुद्धज्ञानेन बुद्ध-

[1]

Leaf 3b चक्षुषा जानन्ति पश्यन्ति यथा धर्म्माणां [निःस्वभावताम (?)] नुजानन्ति।[1]

तेन विधिना अहमेवंनामा एवंनाम्न आचार्य्यस्यान्तिकात् सर्व्वबुद्धबोधि-

[2]

सत्त्वानां च पुरतोऽनुत्तरायां सम्यक्सम्बोधौ चित्तमुत्पाद[यामि ॥ त्रिरे]वम् ॥[2]

इदं चाहमत्ययदेशनात्रिशरणगमनबोधिचित्तोत्पादजनितं कुशलमूल-

[3]

मनुत्तरायां सम्यक्संबोधौ परिणामया[मि[3] यदहं] लोके अशरणे अलयने

1 I am indebted to Mr. D. A. Dharmacarya for helping me in the decipherment of the first three leaves, before I received Mr. Wogihara's edition of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi.*

2 After Triśaraṇagamana, a Bodhisattva utters this formula for developing *Bodhicitta.* The commentator of the *Bodhic.* (p. 4) remarks that the बोधिसत्त्वशिक्षासमादानम् precedes बोधिचित्तग्रहणम्।

The *Bodhicitta* consists in the candidate's taking the vow that he will attain *bodhi* not so much to save himself as to save the wordly beings from their wordly miseries and lead them ultimately to Buddhahood. See *Bodhic.*, ch. 1; *Śikṣā.*, pp. 5ff. Cf. *Bodhic.*, p. 14:

भवदुःखशतानि तर्त्तुकामैरपि सत्त्वव्यसनानि हर्तुकामैः।
बहुसौख्यशतानि भोक्तुकामैर्न विमोच्यं हि सदैव बोधिचित्तम् ॥

3 By *Pariṇāmanā* a Bodhisattva transfers the merits acquired by him to all living beings; he should wish it from his inmost heart and not by words alone. See *Bodhic.*, p. 79, quoting *Vajradhvajasūtra* and *Śikṣā.*, pp. 29f. तच्चाध्याशयतः परिणामयति न वचनमात्रेण। तच्चोदग्रचित्तः परिणामयति। हृष्टचित्तः प०। प्रसन्नचित्तः प०। etc.

अपरायणेऽद्वीपे त्राणं शरणं लयनं परायणं द्वीपो भवेयम्। सर्व्वसत्त्वांश्च

[4]

भवार्णवादतीर्णांस्तारयेयम्। [अप]रिनिर्वृताननावरणेन धर्म्मधातुपरिनिर्व्वाणेन

परिनिर्व्वापयेयम्। अनाश्वस्तानाश्वासयेयम्॥ त्रिरपि॥

[5]

सोहमेवंनामा ए[वमु]त्पादितबोधिचित्तोऽनन्तसत्त्वधातुं[1] यथा माता-

[6]

पितृभगिनीभ्रातृपुत्रदुहित्रन्यतमान्यतमज्ञातिसालोहितस्थानीयांस्तथा प्रतिगृह्णामि।[2]

प्रतिगृह्य च यथाशक्ति यथाबलं यथाज्ञानं[3] कुशलमूलं समारोपयामि।

इतः प्रभृति यत्किञ्चित् दानं दास्यामि शीलं रक्षिष्यामि क्षां[तिं]

[1]

Leaf 4a संपादयिष्यामि वीर्यमारभ्य ध्यानं समापत्स्ये प्रज्ञया व्यवचार्य्य[4] उपाय-

कौशल्यं वा शिक्षिष्ये तत् सर्व्वसत्त्वानामर्थाय हिताय सुखाय॥[5]

[2]

[उत्त]रां च सम्यक्संबोधिमारभ्य तेषां महाभूमिप्रविष्टानां बोधिसत्त्वानां

1 Ms. अनन्त।

2 Cf. *Bodhic.* p. 72 : i.e. जानामि पश्यामि (op. cit).

One of the essential conditions for becoming a Bodhisattva is that he must not distinguish himself or his relatives from the other wordly beings, i. e. he must think himself as one with all the beings of the world. Just as one takes care of the various limbs of his body and do not distinguish the limbs from the body, so also a Bodhisattva must look upon all the beings as parts and parcels of his body and hence any of their sufferings is his suffering. See *Bodhic.*, pp. 326 ff. ; *Śikṣā.*, p. 19. : तेन तथा तथा चित्तमुत्पादयितव्यं यथा यथास्य सर्व्वसत्त्वेषु पुत्रप्रेमानुगता मैत्र्युत्पद्यते।

3 Ms. यथाजामानं। 4 Ms. व्यवचारयिष्य।

5 The formula of *Pariṇāmanā* ends here. In the *Kriyāsaṅgraha* (see Intro.) it will be observed that this is one of the many declarations necessary for developing Bodhicitta.

[3]
महाकारुणिकाणां महायाने सामिचीमनुप्रव्रजामि। अनु[प्रव्रज्य] बोधिसत्त्वोऽहं
बोधिसत्त्व इति मामितः प्रभृत्याचार्य्यो धारयतु[1] ॥ त्रिरेवम् ॥

[4]
ततस्तेनाचार्य्येण तस्याः प्रतिमायाः[2] पुरतो दशसु दिक्षु [बु]द्धबोधि-
सत्त्वानां तिष्ठतां ध्रियतां यापयतां; पादयोर्न्निपत्य सामिचीं कृत्वा एवमारो-
[5]
चयितव्यम्। गृहीतमनेनैवंनाम्ना बोधिसत्त्वे[न म]मैवंनाम्नो बोधिसत्त्व-
स्यान्तिकात् यावत् त्रिरपि बोधिसत्त्वशीलसंवरसमादानम्। सोहमेवंनामा
[6]
बोधिसत्त्व[3] आत्मानं साक्षिभूतं प्रजा[नन्][4] [5]अस्यैवंनाम्नो बोधिसत्त्वस्य
परमार्य्याणां विपरोक्षाणामपि सर्वत्र सर्व्वसत्त्वानां विपरोक्षबुद्धीनां दश
[1]
Leaf 4b दिक्ष्वनन्तापर्य्यन्तेषु लोकधातुष्वा[रोचयामि। अ]स्मिन बोधिसत्त्वशीलसंवर-
समादानम् ॥ त्रिरेवम् ॥

एवं पुनः शीलसंवरसमादानकर्म्मसमाप्त्यनन्तरं धर्म्मता खल्वेषा यद्
[2]
दशसु दिक्ष्वनन्ता[पर्य्यन्तेषु लोक]धातुषु तथागतानां तिष्ठतां ध्रियतां यापयतां
महाभूमिप्रविष्टानां च बोधिसत्त्वानां तद्रूपं निमित्तं प्रादुर्भवति येन तेषामे[वं

1 Here we find the formula for आचार्य्याभिषेकः। Cf. *Kriyāsaṅgraha* (Bibl. Nat. ms.), leaf 44.

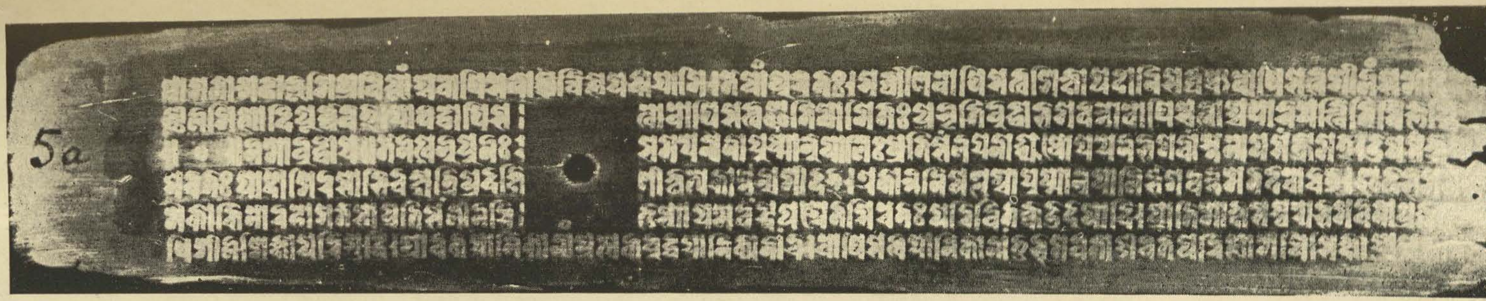
2 From here, the *B. Bh.*, (pp. 154-5) again corresponds up to समादानं समात्तमिति in the next page.

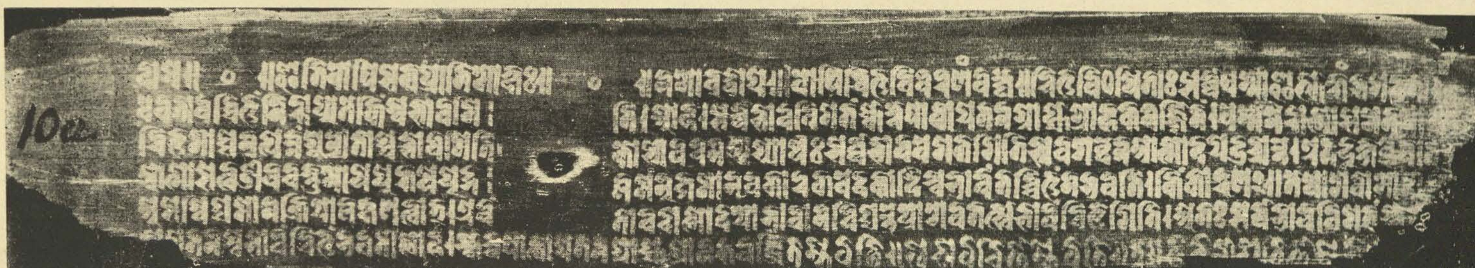
3 Omitted in *B. Bh.*, p. 154.

4 Omitted in *B. Bh.*, p. 154.

5 *B. Bh.*, p. 154: अस्यैतन्।

बोधिसत्त्व-प्रातिमोक्ष-सूत्रम्





[3]a b
भवति। एवंनाम्ना बोधिसत्त्वेन एवंनाम्नो बोधिसत्त्वस्यान्तिकात्[1] बोधिसत्त्व-
[4]
शीलसंवरसमादानं समात्तमिति ॥[2] एवं तावत् परतः समादान[विधिरु]क्तः ॥[3]

यदि तैर्गुणैर्युक्तः पुद्गलो न सन्निहितः स्यात् ततो बोधिसत्त्वेन
[5]
तथागतप्रतिमायाः पुरतः स्वयमपि बोधिसत्त्वशी[लसंवर]समादाने वचनीयम्।
एवं च करणीयम्। एकांसमुत्तरासङ्गं कृत्वा दशसु दिक्ष्वतीतानागतप्रत्युत्पन्नानां
[6]
बुद्धानां भगवतां महा[भूमि]प्रविष्टानां च बोधिसत्त्वानां सामीचीं कृत्वा दक्षिणं
जानुमण्डलं पृथिव्यां प्रतिष्ठाप्य उत्कुटुकेन वा इदं स्याद्वचनीयम्। अहमेवंनामा
[1]
Leaf 5a दशसु दिक्षु [सर्व्वत]थागतान् महाभूमिप्रविष्टांश्च बोधिसत्त्वान् विज्ञापयामि।
तेषां पुरतः सर्व्वाणि बोधिसत्त्वशिक्षापदानि सर्व्वं च बोधिसत्त्वशीलं समाद[दे]।
[2]
यच्छीलमित्यादि पूर्व्ववत्[4] यावत् बोधिसत्त्वो बोधिसत्त्व इति। मामितः
प्रभृति बुद्धा भगवन्तो बोधिसत्त्वाश्च धारयन्त्विवति विज्ञप्तिः ॥ ० ॥

1 *B. Bh.*, p. 155 drops this line *a-b*.

2 Correspondence with the *B. Bh.*, p. 155 ends here.

3 The directions given in the following few lines are intended for one who cannot find a suitable Bodhisattva preceptor to give him formal initiation into the disciplinary conduct of a Bodhisattva.

4 See before leaf 2b line 1 up to मामितः प्रभृतिः in leaf 4a l. 3.

[विनयविनिश्चय उपालिपरिपृच्छा *]

[3] नमो बुद्धाय ॥ तेन खलु पुनः समयेनायुष्मानुपालिः प्रतिसंलयनात
व्युत्थाय येन भगवांस्तेनोपसंक्रामत् । उपसंक्र[म्य [4] भ]गवतः पादौ शिरसाभि-
वन्द्य [1]त्रिः प्रदक्षिणीकृत्यैकान्तं न्यसीदत् । एकान्तनिषण्णश्चायुष्मानुपालिः
भगवन्तमेतदवोचत् । इह भगव[न्म] [5] मैकाकिनो रहोगतस्य प्रतिसंलीन-
चित्तस्यायमेवंरूपश्चेतसि चेतःपरिवितर्क उदपादि । प्रातिमोक्षसंवरो भगवता
[6] प्रज्ञ[प्तश्चा]धिशीलशिक्षापरिशुद्धिः श्रावकयानिकानां प्रत्येकबुद्धयानिकानां च ।
बोधिसत्त्वयानिकानां तु भगवता [2]जीवितपरित्यागेऽपि [3]शिक्षा[प्यत्र परि-
Leaf 5b [1] दे]शिता निर्दिष्टा । तत् कथं भगवतः परिनिर्वृतस्य तिष्ठतो वा श्रावकयानिकानां
प्रातिमोक्षसंवरो वक्तव्यः । कथं प्रत्येकबुद्धयानिकानाम् । क[थं [2] महाया]न-
संप्रस्थितानां बोधिसत्त्वानां प्रातिमोक्षसंवरो वक्तव्यः । अहं भगवता विनय-
पराणामग्रो निर्दिष्टः । तस्य मे भगवन् वि[ज्ञापयतूपा] [3] यकौशल्यं सम्प्रकाशयतु
भगवन् यथा भगवतः सकाशात् सम्मुखं श्रुत्वा सम्मुखं प्रतिगृह्य वैशारद्य-
प्राप्तः पर्षत्सु [4] विस्तरेण संप्रकाशयेयम् । अयं मे भगवन्नेकाकिनो रहोगतस्य
प्रतिसंलीनस्यैवंरूपश्चेतसि चेतःपरिवितर्क उदपादि यत्वहं भगवन्तमुपसंक्र[म्य]

* This heading has been supplied by me ; it is not given in the ms. See the attached plate.

1 Ms. त्रि for त्रिः   2 Ms. जीवत   3 Ms. सिक्षा

[5]
विनयविनिश्चयं परिपृच्छेयमिति। तत् साधु भगवन् व्याकरोतु तथागतो
[6]
विनयविनिश्चयं विस्तरेण महती भिक्षुपर्षत् सन्निपति[ता] बोधिसत्त्वपर्षच्च।

एवमुक्ते भगवानायुष्मन्तमुपालिमेतदवोचत्। तस्मात्तर्हि त्वमुपाले अन्येन
[1]
Leaf 6a प्रयोगेणान्येनाध्याशयेन श्रावकयानिकानां [शिक्षा]परिशुद्धिं वद। अन्येन
प्रयोगेणान्येनाध्याशयेन महायानसंप्रस्थितानां शिक्षापरिशुद्धिं वद। तत्
[2]
कस्माद्धेतोः। अन्यो ह्युपाले श्रावक[या]निकानां प्रयोगोऽन्योऽध्याशयः।[1] अन्यो
महायानसंप्रस्थितानां बोधिसत्त्वानां प्रयोगोऽन्योऽध्याशयः। तत्रोपाले या श्रावक-
[3]
यानिकस्य परिशुद्धशीलता सा महायानिकस्य बोधिसत्त्वस्यापरिशुद्धशीलता
[4]
परमदौःशील्यञ्च। या महायानसंप्रस्थितस्य बोधि[सत्त्वस्य] परिशुद्धशीलता सा
श्रावकयानिकस्यापरिशुद्धशीलता परमदौःशील्यञ्च। तत् कस्माद्धेतोः। इहोपाले
[5]
श्रावकयानिकस्तत्क्षणि[कञ्चित्तेऽ]पि भवोपपत्तिं[2] न परिगृह्णाति। इयं श्रावक-
यानिकस्य परिशुद्धशीलता सा महायानिकस्य बोधिसत्त्वस्यापरिशुद्धशीलता
[6]
परम[दौः]शील्यञ्च। कतमोपाले महायानसंप्रस्थितस्य बोधिसत्त्वस्य परिशुद्ध-
[1]
Leaf 6b शीलता या श्रावकयानिकस्यापरिशुद्धशीलता परमदौःशील्यञ्च। इहोपाले
महायाने संप्रस्थितो बोधिसत्त्वो महासत्त्वोऽप्रमेयासंख्येयान् कल्पान् भवोप-
[2]
पत्तिं परिगृह्णाति अपरिखिन्नचित्तोऽपरिखिन्नमानसः। [इ]यं महायानसंप्रस्थितस्य

1 Ms. अध्यासयः   2 Ms. भावोत्पत्तिं

बोधिसत्त्वस्य परिशुद्धशीलता सा श्रावकयानिकस्यापरिशुद्धशीलता परम-दौःशील्यश्च ।

[3]
तस्मात्तर्हि [त्वमुपा]ले सानुरक्षां शिक्षां महायानसंप्रस्थितानां बोधि-सत्त्वानां वद । निरनुरक्षां शिक्षां श्रावकयानिकानां वद । सपरिहारां शिक्षां
[4]
महा[यानसं]प्रस्थितानां बोधिसत्त्वानां वद । निःपरिहारां शिक्षां श्रावकयानिकानां
[5]
वद । दूरानुप्रविष्टां शिक्षां महायानसंप्रस्थितानां बोधिसत्त्वानां वद । सावदानां शिक्षां श्रावकयानिकानां वद ।

कथं चोपाले सानुरक्षा शिक्षा महायानसंप्रस्थितानां बोधिसत्त्वानां
[6]
[निरनुरक्षा शि]क्षा श्रावकयानिकानाम् । इहोपाले महायानसंप्रस्थितेन बोधिसत्त्वेन परसत्त्वानां परपुद्गलानां हितमनुवर्त्तितव्यं न पुनः श्रावक[यानिकेन]।
[1]
Leaf 7a अनेनोपाले पर्य्यायेण सानुरक्षा[1] शिक्षा महायानिकानां बोधिसत्त्वानां निरनु-रक्षा शिक्षा श्रावकयानिकानाम् ।

[2]
कथं चोपाले सपरिहा[रा शिक्षा महा]यानसंप्रस्थितानां बोधिसत्त्वानां निः-
a
परिहारा शिक्षा[2] श्रावकयानिकानाम् । [3]इहोपाले महायानसंप्रस्थितो बोधिस[त्त्वोऽपि
[3]
सचेत् पूर्व्वा]ह्णसमये आपत्तिमापद्येत मध्याह्नकाले[4] सर्व्वज्ञताचित्तेनाविरहितो

1 Cf. *Sūtrālaṅkāra*, p. 130 : सानुरक्षं परिजनस्याविघातं कृत्वा अन्यस्मै दानात् ।

2 Ms. omits it.

3 The passage marked *a* - *b* is cited in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, p. 178.

4 *Śikṣā.*, p. 178 : कालसमये throughout.

विहरेदपर्य्यन्तः। एवं महायानसंप्रस्थितस्य बोधिसत्त्वस्य शीलस्कन्धः। [4] सचेन्म-ध्याह्नसमये आपत्तिमापद्येत सायाह्नकाले सर्व्वज्ञताचित्तेनाविरहितो विहरेद-पर्य्यन्तः। एवं महायानसं[5][प्रस्थि]तस्य बोधिसत्त्वस्य शीलस्कन्धः[1]। सचेत् सायाह्नसमये आपत्तिमापद्येत रात्र्याः पुरिमयामे सर्व्वज्ञताचित्तेनाविरहितो [6][विहरे]दपर्य्यन्तः। एवं महायानसंप्रस्थितस्य बोधिसत्त्वस्य शीलस्कन्धः। सचेत्

Leaf 7b रात्र्याः पुरिमयामे आपत्तिमापद्येत रात्र्याश्च मध्यमयामे सर्व्वज्ञता[चि]त्तेना-[1] विरहितो विहरेदपर्य्यन्तः। एवं महायानसंप्रस्थितस्य बोधिसत्त्वस्य शीलस्कन्धः। सचेत् रात्र्या मध्यमयामे आपत्तिमा[प]द्येत रात्र्याश्च [पश्चिम]यामे [2] सर्व्वज्ञता-चित्तेनाविरहितो विहरेदपर्य्यन्तः। एवं महायानसंप्रस्थितस्य बोधिसत्त्वस्य शील-स्कन्धो वेदितव्यः। एवं ह्युपाले [3] [सप]रिहारा शिक्षा महायानसंप्रस्थितानां बोधिसत्त्वानाम्। तत्र बोधिसत्त्वेन [2]नात्र कौकृत्यपर्य्युत्थानमुत्पाद्यं नातिविप्रति-[4]सारिणा भवितव्यम्। तत्रोपाले[3] [4]सचेच्छ्रावकयानिकः पुनः पुनरापत्तिमापद्येत नष्टः श्रावकयानिकस्य[5] *b* शीलस्कन्धो वेदितव्यः।[6] [5] तत् कस्माद्धेतोः। आदीप्त-शिरश्चैलोपमेन[7] हि श्रावकयानिकेन भवितव्यं सर्व्वक्लेशप्रहाणाय। एवं निः-परिहारा शिक्षा श्रावकयानिकस्य [6] [ह्युपाले [8]प]रिनिर्व्वाणकामस्य।

1 *Śikṣā.*, p. 178 abridges the remaining few lines by saying एवं यामे यामे विधिरुक्तः।

2 *Śikṣā.*, p. 178 : नाति

3 Omitted in *Śikṣā.*, p. 178.

4 *Śikṣā.*, p. 178 : सचेत्पुनः श्रावकयानीयः पुद्गलः

5 *Śikṣā.*, p. 178 : श्रावकस्य पुद्गलस्य

6 Here ends the citation of the *Śikṣā.*, p. 178.

7 Ms. चिलो

8 Ms. परिनिर्व्वान्त

कथं चोपाले दूरानुप्रविष्टा शिक्षा महायानसंप्रस्थितानां बोधिसत्त्वानां
[1]
Leaf 8a सावदाना शिक्षा श्रावकयानिकानाम्। इहोपाले महायानसंप्रस्थितो बोधिसत्त्वो
गङ्गानदीवालिकासमान् कल्पान् पञ्चभिः कामगुणैः क्रीड़ित्वा रमित्वा परिचार-
[2]
यित्वा¹ बोधिचित्तं नोत्सृजति। [अयमुपाले म]हायानसंप्रस्थितस्य बोधिसत्त्वस्य
शिक्षा वेदितव्या। तत् कस्माद्धेतोः। भविष्यत्युपाले स कालः स समयो
[3]
यन्महायान[संप्रस्थितो बोधिस]त्त्वस्तेनैव बोधिचित्तेन सुपरिगृहीतेन स्वप्नान्तर-
गतोऽपि सर्व्वक्लेशैर्न्न संहरिष्यते। अपि च महायानसंप्रस्थितेन बोधिसत्त्वेन
[4]
[नैकस्मि]न्नेव भवे सर्व्वक्लेशाः क्षपयितव्याः। अनुपूर्व्वेण बोधिसत्त्वानां
क्लेशाः क्षयं गच्छन्ति। परिपक्वकुशलमूलेन च श्रावकयानिकेनादी[प्त-
[5]
शि]रश्चैलोपमेन हि ²तत्क्षणिकोऽपि भवोपपत्तिर्न्नोत्पादितव्या³। एवमुपाले
[6]
दूरानुप्रविष्टा शिक्षा महायानसंप्रस्थितानां बोधिसत्त्वा[नां साव]दाना शिक्षा
श्रावकयानिकानाम्।

तस्मात्तर्हि त्वमुपाले सानुरक्षां सपरिहारां दूरानुप्रविष्टां शिक्षां
[1]
Leaf 8b महायानसंप्रस्थितानां बोधिसत्त्वानां [वद। निरनु]रक्षां निःपरिहारां
सावदानां शिक्षां श्रावकयानिकानां वद। तत् कस्माद्धेतोः। महासंभारा
[2]
ह्युपालेऽनुत्तरा सम्यक्सम्बोधिर्न सुकरा एकान्तनि[विष्टेन] महायानसंप्रस्थितेन
बोधिसत्त्वेनाप्रमेयासंख्येयान् कल्पान् संधारयितुं संसरितुम्। इदं चोपालेऽर्थ-

1 Ms. परिचायित्वा 2 Ms. तत क्षणिको
3 Ms. नोपादितव्या

[3]
वशं[1] सम्पश्यन्[2] तथा[गतः सम्य]क्सम्बुद्धो महायानसंप्रस्थितानां बोधिसत्त्वानां नैकान्तनिर्व्वेदकथां कथयति नैकान्तविरागकथां कथयति नैकान्तसंवेग-
[4]
कथां [कथ]यति। अपि तु खलु पुनः प्रीतिकथां प्रामोद्यकथां प्रतीत्यसमुत्पाद-सम्प्रयुक्तकथां कथयति।[3] गम्भीरामसंक्लिष्टां सूक्ष्मां निः[कौकृत्यकथां] कथयति। निःपर्य्युत्थानकथां कथयति। असङ्गामनावरणां शून्यताकथां
[6]
कथयति। त इमां कथां श्रुत्वाऽभि[रताः संप्राप्ता न प]रिखिद्यन्ते बोधिसम्भारश्च परिपूरयन्ति।

अथ ह्यायुष्मानुपालिः भगवन्तमेतदवोचत्। या इमा भगवन्नापत्तयः
[1]
Leaf 9a काश्चिद्राग[संयुक्ताः काश्चित्] द्वेष[सं]युक्ताः काश्चिन्मोहसंयुक्ताः। तत्र कतमा भगवन् महायानसंप्रस्थितस्य बोधिसत्त्वस्य गुरुतरा आपत्तयः।[4] किं
[2]
रागसंप्रयुक्ता उताहो द्वेषसंप्रयुक्ताः उताहो मोहसंप्रयुक्ताः। एवमुक्ते
a
भगवानायुष्मन्तमुपालिमेतदवोचत्। सचेदुपाले[5] महायानसंप्रस्थितो

1 Ms. वसं   2 Ms. सपश्यन्

3 Cf. the corresponding Hīnayānic expression in *Vinaya*, I, p. 15; *Dīgha Nikāya*, I, p. 141; दानकथं सीलकथं सग्गकथं कामानामादीनवमोकारं संकिलेसं नेक्खम्मे आनिसंसम्पकासेसि। अथ या बुद्धानं सामुक्कंसिका धम्मदेसना तं पकासेसि, दुक्खं समुदयं निरोधं मग्गम्।

4 *Śikṣā*, p. 164: का पुनर्गुर्वी मूलापत्तिः॥ सामान्यतस्तु तत्रोक्तं। सचेदुपाले etc.

5 The portion marked *a - b* appears in the *Śikṣā*., p. 164 with the undernoted variant readings.

[3]
बोधिसत्त्वो [गङ्गान]दीवालिकासमा रागसंप्रयुक्ता[1] आपत्तीरापद्येत याश्चैकां
[4]
द्वेषसंप्रयुक्तामापत्तिमापद्येत बोधिसत्त्वयानं प्रमाणीकृत्येयं[2] ता[भ्यो गुरु]तरा
आपत्तिर्येयं द्वेषप्रयुक्ता। तत् कस्माद्धेतोर्द्वेष उपाले[3] सत्त्वपरित्यागाय
[5]
संवर्त्तते रागः सत्त्वसंग्रहाय संवर्त्तते इति। तत्रोपाले [यः] क्लेशः
b
सत्त्वसंग्रहाय संवर्त्तते तत्र बोधिसत्त्वस्य न छलं न भयम्। यः क्लेशः
[6]
सत्त्वपरित्यागाय संवर्त्तते तत्र बोधिसत्त्वस्य छलञ्च भय[ञ्च]। अपि
तूपाले उक्तं पूर्व्वमेव रागो [4]बन्धविरागोऽल्पसावद्यो द्वेषः क्षिप्रविरागो
महासावद्यः। तत्रोपाले यो बन्धविरागोऽल्पसावद्यः संक्लेशः [[5]...........]
[1]
Leaf 9b बोधिसत्त्वस्य। यः क्षिप्रविरागो[6] महासावद्यः क्लेशः स[7] बोधिसत्त्वस्य
c
स्वप्नान्तरगतस्यापि नैव युक्तः। तस्मात्तर्हि त्वमुपाले बोधिसत्त्वानां[8] याः
[2]
का[श्चिद् रा]गसंप्रयुक्ता आपत्तयः सर्व्वास्ता अनापत्तय इति धारय। तत्रोपाले
[3]
येऽनुपायकुशला बोधिसत्त्वास्ते रागसंप्रयुक्ताभ्य आप[त्तिभ्यो वि]भ्यति न द्वेष-

1 *Śikṣā.*, p. 164—वालिकोपमा रागप्रतिसंयुक्ता।

2 *Ibid.* कृत्य॥ पे॥ इयं।

3 *Ibid.* संयुक्ता। तत् कस्य हेतोः। योऽयं द्वेष उपाले।

4 I was feeling tempted to read it as *dandha* as opposed to *kṣipra*, but as the Chinese translation supports the reading *bandha*, I have retained it.

5 नायुक्तः स may supply the sense here.

6 Ms. यः क्षप्रतिरागो। 7 Ms. श।

8 *Śikṣā.*, p. 164 omits the portion marked *b* - *c* by putting पे।

संप्रयुक्ताभ्यः। ये पुनरुपायकुशला बोधिसत्त्वास्ते द्वेषसंप्रयुक्ताभ्य आपत्तिभ्यो
[4]
बिभ्यति न रागसंप्रयुक्ताभ्यः। अथ [खलु त]स्यामेव पर्षदि मञ्जुश्रीकुमारभूतः
सन्निपतितोऽभूत्। स निषण्णः भगवन्तमेतदवोचत्। अत्यन्तविनीतानां भगवन्
[5]
सर्व्वधर्म्माणां [बोधाय] विनयः। एवमुक्ते भगवान् मञ्जुश्रियं कुमारभूतमेतद-
वोचत्। सचेन्मञ्जुश्रीर्ब्बालपृथग्जनाऽत्यन्तविनीतान् सर्व्वधर्म्मान् जानीयु-
[6]
[स्तदपि] न भूयस्तथागतो विनयः प्रज्ञप्येत। सत्त्वा न प्रीणन्ति[1] तस्मात् तथा-
गतोऽत्यन्तविनीतानां सर्व्वधर्म्माणां बोधाय विनयं प्रज्ञपयत्यनुपूर्व्वेणेति योनिशमु-
[1]
Leaf 10a पादाय ॥ ० ॥ इति बोधिसत्त्वप्रातिमोक्षः ॥ ० ॥

Here ends this book, and another commences. The scribe wrote only on one side of this leaf and then probably found out that it was a different book altogether. A photoprint of the leaf is attached hereto. I am giving below the reading as far as it has been possible for me to read, hoping that it will give clue to some other manuscript.

नमो बुद्धाय ॥ बोधिचित्तविवरणं वक्ष्ये ॥ चित्तविठपिताः सर्व्वधर्म्मा
[2]
इत्युक्तं भगवता। देवतावच्चित्तं निरुध्यते। किं स्वभावमिति। आह। सर्व्व-
भावविगतं स्कन्धधात्वायतनग्राह्यग्राहकवर्ज्जितं धर्म्मनैरात्म्यसमतया [...]
[3]
चित्तमाद्यनुत्पन्नं शून्यतास्वभावमिति । कोऽस्य वचनस्यार्थः सर्व्वभावविगत-
[4]
मिति। भावशब्देन आत्मादय उच्यन्ते। एतदुक्ते ब्रुवति[...]आत्मासत्त्वजीव-
जन्तुपोषपुरुषपुद्गलमनुजमानवकारकवेदकादिस्वभावं तच्चित्तं न भवति। किं

1 Ms. प्रीनन्ति

[5]
कारणम्। तेषामेवमादी[...]असंविद्यमानक्रियालक्षणत्वात्। एवं तावदात्मादयो भावा न विद्यन्ते प्रागेव तत्स्वभावं चित्तमिति। अतः सर्व्वभावविगतं
[6]
[...]तेन स्वभावं चित्तं भवतीत्याह। स्कन्धधात्वायतनग्राह्यग्राहकवर्ज्जितं भवति॥ स्वभावचित्तं भवति॥[...............].

NALINAKSHA DUTT

The First Sākā of Citoḍ

Tradition informs us that Cītoḍ, the mediæval capital of the Rajput principality of Mevāḍ, was sacked by its Moslem enemies 'three and a half times.' In 1567, the Mughal Emperor Akbar captured this stronghold after a brief investment which was accompanied by circumstances unhappily not experienced for the first time in the life of this citadel. While its brave defenders died fighting against the enemy, their women and children immolated themselves into the fire, in accordance with the age-long custom of *Juhar*, to save themselves from dishonour. A still worse fate awaited those that survived, for, Akbar ordered a general massacre of those that were left. This incident is the traditional 'third sākā' of Cītoḍ. Prior to this, in 1534-35, Bāhādur Shāh, Sultān of Guzrat, had also taken possession of the same fort, after a heroic resistance on the part of its defenders and the inevitable holocaust of men, women as well as children, which is therefore known as the 'second sākā.' Just a year before this, in the winter of 1533-34, the same Sultān had attacked the place which had, however, saved itself at the cost of some of its most prominent heroes, so that Rajputs came to look upon this as the half 'sākā.' Exactly 130 years before this incident, again, it had undergone the experience of another blockade and its concomitant slaughter of fighters and non-fighters at the hands of Sultān 'Alāuddīn Khiljī. This, being the first occasion when the Moslems were victorious over Cītoḍ, is regarded as the 'first Sākā.'[1]

Around the history of the first Moslem conquest of Cītoḍ has developed in course of centuries a mass of romance which till quite recent times was looked upon as sober history. Quite recently, Rai Bahadur Pandit Gaurisankar Ojha of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmere, has tried to examine critically and unravel the truth underlying the traditions.[2] Two other writers, Messrs. Haldar[3] and

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1 Col. Tod gives a slightly different version.

2 *Udayapur Rājya Kā Itihāsa* in Hindi by Mahāmahopādhyāya Rai Bahadur Gaurisankar Hirachand Ojha.

3 *Indian Antiquary*, 1929 and 1930.

Qanungo[1] have followed in the footsteps of that eminent scholar and lent—the former fully and the latter partly—their support to his findings. But the matter cannot be said to have been settled beyond all doubt as the divergence in the views of Messrs. Ojha and Qanungo shows. Besides, an examination of the whole episode with reference to the original sources makes it clear that even in matters in which the above writers agree, they have not followed the earliest evidence faithfully.

Our earliest information of the incident is furnished by two Moslem writers—Amīr Khusrau and Ziyāuddīn Baranī. The former, 'the greatest of all the poets of India who had written in Persian,' died in 1325 A.D. Two of his works, so far as they are known now, supply information on the subject—the *Khazainul Futuh*[2] (also known as *Tārīkh-i-Ālāi*) written after 1310 A.D., and the *Ashikā*[3] (otherwise known as *Dewal Rāni*), written apparently after 1318 A.D. Ziyāuddīn Baranī finished his *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz-Shāhī*[4] about 1357 A.D. Both of them were contemporary writers, and what is more, Amīr Khusrau accompanied 'Alāuddīn Khiljī in the expedition concerned, while Ziyāuddīn Baranī, in the course of his narrative, says,[5] 'the events and affairs of the reign of Jalāluddīn (Khiljī) and from that period until the end of the work, all occurred under his own eyes and observation.' The accounts given by these two writers must therefore be accorded the foremost place of consideration in any attempt to reconstruct the history of this episode.

It is rather unfortunate that from the point of view of the Rajputs, the other and more important party in this affair, no account has so far been unearthed that can be placed in the same category with the above. The earliest Hindu version of the incident is that which can be gathered from the Kumbhalgaḍh Praśasti[6] of 1460 A.D. that

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1 Vide the Bengali monthly magazine, *Prabāsī*, Phālgun, 1337 B.S.

2 For a correct translation of the relevant parts of this work see the *Journal of Indian History*, December, 1929, pp. 369-373. Elliot's rendering is extremely misleading. Elliot, *History of India*, vol. III, pp. 67, 68.

3 Ibid. Also, Elliot, *History of India*, vol. III, p. 550.

4 Elliot, *History of India*, vol. III, p. 265. Also, *JASB.*, vol. XXXIX.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 135.

6 (page 3). This is still unpublished. I secured a copy of it through

is more than 150 years later. But, besides being the earliest Hindu reference, it deserves our serious consideration due to the fact that it was written at the instance of Rāṇā Kumbhā of Mevāḍ (1433-69) in whose time a careful investigation into the records of the state seems to have been made with a view to rectify the current inaccuracies in the early chronology of the family to which this prince himself belonged.

There are of course references to the same event in other and later works—such as the *Padumāvat*,[1] the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*[2], the *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*,[3] the *Khyāta* of Muhaṇote Neṇsi,[4] the *Rājapraśasti*[5] and the *Annals of Rājasthāna*.[6] But it is admitted on all hands that these later records are based, more or less, upon traditions current in the time of the respective authors, and that, in the interval of 240 years, as in the case of the *Padumāvat*, and more, in that of others, popular imagination tampered considerably with the original account, so much so indeed, that, truth has been thrown far into the shade. In spite of this defect, no one will deny that there is a kernel of fact in these later accounts, and the problem, therefore, is, how much of these latter we are to rely upon as authentic. Obviously, we cannot accept any portion of the later stories as historical if it is not corroborated directly or indirectly by the evidence furnished by the contemporary writers such as Amīr Khusrau and Zīyāuddīn Baranī, or the earliest Hindu record on the episode, viz., the Kumbhalgaḍh Praśasti.

The vast difference between later tradition and early history will be evident to all, if a comparison be made between the version of the incident as contained in the *Annals of Rājasthāna* and that of the same as gathered from the epigraphic records which are contemporary, or nearly so, of the event they deal with. Fortunately, since Col. Tod wrote nearly a century ago, Indian epigraphy has made considerable progress and it is no longer possible to fall into the errors to which Tod was misled by the uncritical annals on which

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the courtesy of Pandit Ram Karna of Jodhpur. The relevant verses are also quoted in the footnotes at pages 180, 81 of Ojha's *Udayapur Rājya Kā Itihāsa*,

1 Written in 1540 A. D.
2 About 1590 A.D.
3 About 1612 A.D.
4 C. 1650 A.D.
5 Composed about 1675 A.D.
6 1829-32 A.D.

he relied. Nobody will now maintain with Tod that Lakṣmaṇasiṃha, a minor, was the Rāṇā of Mevāḍ, and Bhīmasiṃha his uncle, regent, at the time when 'Alāuddīn Khiljī attacked Cītoḍ. It has now been definitely established with the help of inscriptions, supported by records earlier than the annals on which Tod relied that Samarasiṃha (1273[1]-1302[2]) died leaving the state to his son Ratnasiṃha in whose reign the invasion of 'Alāuddīn took place.

Even the circumstances that induced 'Alāuddīn to undertake the Cītoḍ expedition have been misrepresented in the later records. Traditions current in Tod's time and even as early as the middle of the sixteenth century[3] attribute it to 'Alāuddīn's desire to secure Padminī, reports of whose extraordinary beauty had reached the ears of the Sultān. But, it should be noted that the contemporary writers like Amīr Khusrau and Ziyāuddīn Baranī do not refer to any such consideration as having at all influenced the determination of 'Alāuddīn. It is possible to argue that *argumentum ex silentio* is no conclusive proof. There is, however, independent evidence to show that other and contradictory causes prompted 'Alāuddīn to undertake the expedition. Ziyāuddīn Baranī mentions that some time in 1297 A.D., the Sultān urged on by his ambition of world conquest sought the advice of his Kotwāl when the latter replied that the conquest of Hindusthan, 'of such places as Ranthambhor, Citor, Canderi, Malwa, Dhar, and Ujjain' 'ought to receive attention before all others.'[4] It is clear that the idea of the conquest of Cītoḍ had been formed more than five years before the expedition took place, and, as we know from the inscriptions, at a time when Samarasiṃha, father of Ratnasiṃha, was ruling over the principality. This precludes the possibility of the Padminī episode as having effected 'Alāuddīn's determination which is stated by this contemporary writer to have been actuated solely by his overwhelming ambition.

The Sultān did not sleep over his scheme of conquest. By the year 1302, the whole of North India, except Mevāḍ acknowledged

1 Cirwā Inscription of Guhila Samarasiṃha, Vienna Oriental Journal, 1907.

2 Unpublished Cītoḍ inscription quoted by Pandit G. H. Ojha in his work. Vide p. 178, fn. 1.

3 The *Padumāvat* and the *Āīn-i-Akbari.*

4 *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz-Shāhī.* Elliot, *History of India*, vol. III, p. 171; also, *JASB.*, vol. XXXVIII, p. 207.

the supremacy of the Sultān and that state itself was surrounded by a ring of states subject to his authority when one by one Malwa, Canderi, Marwar, Guzrat, Jalor, Nagor etc. had been conquered. The Sultān was now casting his ambitious looks upon the virgin lands of South India. Here, it must have been apparent to him that before his army could be sent to that quarter, Mevāḍ, which had so long defied attacks, must be crushed lest it afforded to others the example of defiance and created troubles in the rear of his army. Accordingly, in 1303, 'Alāuddīn, says Firishta,[1] 'sent an army by way of Bengal to reduce Warungole while he himself marched towards Chittoor.'

Moreover, the rulers of Mevāḍ seem to have furnished him with causes of grievance. While the Rajput states were crumbling before 'Alāuddīn's attacks, refugees from them as well as other refractory subjects sought shelter at Cītoḍ which still remained independent. Thus, a tradition preserved by the bards of Rajputana mentions that after the capture of Ranthambhor by 'Alāuddīn, the son of the Hindu Rājā of that place fled for protection to Mevāḍ.[2]

Thus ambition was primarily responsible for the expedition. It is possible that political necessity and the desire of crushing a party which gave shelter to his enemies might also have induced 'Alāuddīn to make up his determination.

Having thus resolved on the conquest of Cītoḍ, the Sultān started with his army from Delhi on January 28, 1303, and after some time reached 'the confines of Cītoḍ'. The imperial pavilion was pitched up in that territory between the two rivers', probably the Berach and

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1 Briggs, *Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India*, vol. I, p. 353.

2 *Māhārāṇāyaśaprakāśa*, pp. 14, 15. The collector and editor of these old bardic poems regarding the rulers of Mevāḍ is unwilling to accept the accuracy of the information contained in the piece referred to. But there is no reason to discredit it. On one occasion in reply to 'Alāuddīn Khiljī's question, what gratitude would he evince if the King should command his wounds to be immediately healed to a rebel Mughal who had been captured after the fall of Ranthambhor, the Sultān was told, 'I will put you to death and raise the son of Hammir Deo to the throne'. This shows that Hammir Deo's son was still alive and apparently had taken shelter somewhere, most likely at Cītoḍ according to the tradition. *JIH.*, 1929, p. 365 n.

the Gambhīrī.[1] The fort itself stood on the further side of the latter river. It is clear that the rivers presented no obstacles to the invading army, for, Amīr Khusrau clearly indicates that both of them were 'fordable'—it being the end of the winter. 'Alāuddīn now sent 'the two wings of the army which were ordered to pitch their tents on the two sides of the fort.'

The first plan of the Sultān was clearly to overpower the defence and wrest the place by direct attack. This policy was persisted in for two months without success. 'For two months' says Amīr Khusrau, who accompained the expedition, 'the flood of the swords went up to the waist of the hill but could not rise any higher.' The strength of the fort and the gallant defence offered by the garrison evoked the praise of this eye-witness of the incident. 'Wonderful was the fort which even hailstones were unable to strike'. Allowing one month for the march of the army from Delhi to Cītoḍ and two months for the unsuccessful direct assault, we may assume that the first stage of the operations was over by the end of April, 1303.

The failure of the direct attack led 'Alāuddīn to revise his policy and adopt a new plan which consisted in a regular investment of the place. Catapults were raised so that stones and other missiles might be thrown at the besieged. No detailed account of the progress of the siege during the last four months is, however, given in the *Khazainul Futuh.* Amīr Khusrau after referring to the construction of the catapults says abruptly that on August 26, 1303, the Sultān accompanied by the author 'went into the fort'. 'It was the rainy season when the white cloud of the ruler of land and sea appeared on the summit of this high hill. The Rai struck with the lightning of the Emperor's wrath and burnt from hand to foot, sprang out of the stone gate; he threw himself into the water and flew towards the imperial pavilion, thus protecting himself from the lightning of the sword'.[2]

1 The quotations, except where otherwise stated, are all taken from the *Khazainul Futuh*, for which see the *Journal of Indian History*, 1929, pp. 369ff.

2 Sir H. Elliot puts it as 'the Rai *fled, but afterwards surrendered himself*, and was secured against the lightning of the scimitar'. The original has been entirely misunderstood. Ojha, having followed the inaccurate translation by Elliot, has fallen into a great blunder as is shown later on. Messrs. Haldar and Qanungo have only reiterated Ojha's mistake.

'On the day the Rai sought refuge in the red canopy from fear of the swords, the great Emperor was still crimson with rage. But though the Rai was a rebel', 'royal mercy' was conferred upon him. 'The storm of the emperor's wrath vented itself against the other rebels. He ordered that wherever a Hindu was found, he was to be cut down like dry grass. Owing to this stern order, thirty thousand Hindus were slain in one day.'

Although the name of the Rāya who surrendered to 'Alāuddīn is not mentioned by Amīr Khusrau, it will be clear from what follows that he was none other than the ruling prince Ratnasiṃha. The *Khazainul Futuh* clearly indicates that the person who surrendered was the Rāya or ruler of Cītoḍ who had been defending himself against 'Alāuddīn. Now, all our relevant authorities agree in saying that the hostilities commenced when Ratnasiṃha was the ruling prince and that they continued till the time of Lakṣmaṇasiṃha who maintained the defence of the fort after Ratnasiṃha. Apparently, therefore, the person who surrendered must have been either of these two princes. But since the Kumbhalgaḍh Praśasti distinctly states that Lakṣmaṇasiṃha died along with seven of his sons at the hands of the Moslems, it must have been the latter who tendered his submission to 'Alāuddīn Khiljī. Curiously enough, while the above inscription applies the clause 'departed for heaven' to indicate the termination of Lakṣmaṇasiṃha's career, regarding Ratnasiṃha the same authority uses the phrase '*tasmin gate*,' which should therefore be understood in the literal sense of 'after he had gone' and *not* 'after he had died.'[1]

1 Ojha has translated the words '*tasmin gate*' as 'after he had died,' and Haldar and Qanungo have accepted his translation. Although in inscriptions the verb 'gam' is sometimes used in the sense of 'to die,' yet, under the circumstances mentioned above, it must be taken to have been used in the literal sense. Ojha seems to have been misled by the incorrect translation of the *Khazainul Futuh* by Elliot. Qanungo, following Ojha, opines that the Rāya who fled (?) was Ajayasiṃha, who alone of the several sons of Lakṣamaṇasiṃha is said to have escaped the sack of Cītoḍ, and, supports his contention by saying that Amīr Khusrau must have committed a mistake. But are we justified in finding fault with the evidence of the contemporary writer in the absence of other stronger

But here we are faced with a great difficulty. In Amīr Khusrau's version of the story, the Rāya (who, as we have just seen, was Ratnasiṃha) surrendered, after the Sultān had 'appeared on the summit of the hill,' that is to say, after the fort had been practically won. But, the inscription of 1460 clearly indicates that even after the departure of Ratnasiṃha, Lakṣmaṇasiṃha maintained the defence and that he died fighting against the Moslems; after which, presumably the fort was captured. Thus the chronology of the events that took place in Cītoḍ might appear to be differently given in the two records. There is however no real difficulty in reconciling the two versions.

We must remember that Amīr Khusrau wrote his *Khazainul Futuh* at least seven years (if not more) after the incident and it is only reasonable to infer that when he wrote he did so from his memory. It is very likely, therefore, that though all the facts are there, yet, writing from his memory, he failed to observe the exact chronological sequence of the events. Hence, the surrender of Ratnasiṃha which really took place *during the course of the siege* is inadvertently put as having taken place after the capture of the fort itself. That although a contemporary writer, such mistakes were not only possible but actually committed by him will be clear from a comparison between the account of the conquest of Cītoḍ as given in the *Kkazainul Futuh* and that in his other work, namely, the *Dewal Rānī* or the *Ashikā.* In the latter work[1] the author says, 'the Emperor did not waste much time; the fort was reduced in *two* months,' whereas in the former we are told that it took him at least *six* months to capture the fort.[2]

Besides, there is evidence in the *Khazainul Futuh* itself to show that there was a confusion of chronology in Amīr Khusrau's mind. The Rāya is said to have 'flown' 'towards the imperial pavilion,' after 'springing out of the stone-gate'. The reference to the *imperial pavilion* clearly points to the camp from which Alāuddīn was directing the blockade. Again, we are also told that the Rāya himself was pardoned,

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reasons? As pointed above, the Rāya who surrendered was the person who led the hostilities against the Sultān.

1 *Journal of Indian History*, 1929, p. 372, f.n. 2; Elliot, *History of India*, vol. III, p. 550.

2 The Sultān started on his expedition on Monday, the 8th Jamādussāni, 702 A.H. (January 28, 1303) and captured it on Monday, 11 Muharram, 703 A. H. (August 26, 1303).

but the other rebels, 'thirty thousand in number' (who must have been the Rāya's followers), were ordered to be put to the sword. To accept this version of the story is to be drawn into the rather illogical conclusion, viz., that the arch-culprit secured pardon but the rank and file of his followers were punished.'[1]

On the above considerations, it is clear that we must rearrange the chronology of the expedition as it is recounted in the *Khazainul Futuh*. Otherwise, we cannot possibly explain the inconsistencies of Amīr Khusrau himself and reconcile the Hindu version of the story with that of the Moslem.

The most probable account of the operations would therefore be as follows. When attacks had failed, 'Alāuddīn, by the end of April 1303, ordered the place to be put under blockade. Catapults were accordingly raised. This new development dismayed Ratnasiṃha, the ruling prince, and coming 'out of the stone-gate', he 'flew towards the Imperial pavilion' and surrendered himself to the Sultān. This of course meant submission of that Rajput prince and, consequently, a cessation of hostilities. That there was a temporary cessation of hostilities is also indicated by Amīr Khusrau. After describing the futile attacks of the first two months, the author says: 'Nevertheless......the fort......would have bowed to the ground at the strokes of the Maghrabi stones. But Jesus from Baitul Ma'mār sent the good news of the building of Mohammad's faith ; consequently, the stones..........remained intact.'

The learned translator of the above piece explains it as follows :

'Though the attack sword in hand had failed, it still lay in 'Alāuddīn's power to knock down the fort with his Maghrabis. But he refrained from the step owing to a spiritual message that the building would turn Muslim later'.

This truce following upon the surrender of Ratnasiṃha no doubt implies the commencement of negotiations for a lasting peace. What the terms, dictated by 'Alāuddīn to his erstwhile foe, were, contemporary evidence does not, it must be admitted, tell us distinctly. But

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1 As will be shown later, what really took place seems to have been this. The garrison continued to withstand Alāuddīn even after the surrender of Ratnasiṃha. Hence the Sultān's anger was aroused and he passed a general order for their slaughter after the capture of the place.

the inscription of 1460 A.D. throws an interesting clue which has been entirely overlooked by Ojha (and, following him, Haldar and Qanungo). While mentioning that after Ratnasiṃha had departed (surrendered), Lakṣmaṇasiṃha of the Khumāṇa family maintained the citadal, the inscription relates the reason, namely that 'considerate men do not abandon family honour when it is forsaken by cowards'.[1] Clearly enough, therefore, Ratnasiṃha had done something for which one of his successors on the throne of Mevāḍ could find no better epithet than 'coward' to be applied to him. Besides, he is said to have distinctly thrown away the 'family prestige' which was held so dear by the Rajputs. No doubt his surrender to the enemy earned him a notoriety, but the very strong epithets used indicate that he had done something much more heinous than mere surrender to the enemy in face of great difficulties.

Here the question necessarily suggests itself, is it possible to find out from our records any idea of the nefarious action which brought upon him this lasting opprobrium ? I think it is possible to do so. The *Tārīkh-i-Firishtā* says[2] :—

"After the Rājā had been in jail for some time, it came to the Emperor's ears that among the Rājā's women there was one Padminī, a woman of fine stature, with dark eyes and moonlike face, and adorned with all the accomplishments of beauty. The Emperor sent the Rājā a message that his release would depend on his presenting her (to the Sultān). The Rājā consented and sent messengers.........But the Rājā's relatives were shocked at the message. They reproached him severely and wished to mix a little poison in some food and send it to him ; he would take it and withdraw into the world of the dead without *becoming notorious for his dishonour*".

Neither does Ferishtā's account stand alone ; for a critical examination of the *Khazainul Futuh* shows that there is a distinct echo of the siege of Cītoḍ, after the surrender of Ratnasiṃha, being

1 Kulasthitiṃ kāpuruṣair vimuktāṃ na jātu dhīrāḥ puruṣās tyajanti—Verse 177. See Ojha, vol. I, p. 180, f.n. 2.

2 For a corrected translation of the piece in question, see *J.I.H.*, 1929, p. 372 f. n.

persisted in on account of a woman, possibly Padminī. Amīr Khusrau observes :[1]

"The army of Solomon dealt strokes, like those of David, on the fort that reminded them of Seba".

Here 'Alāuddīn is compared with Solomon and his attack on Cītoḍ, with Solomon's attempt on Seba. Going further on, Amīr Khusrau compares himself with the bird 'hudhud' which formed one of the vast retinue of Solomon.

This analogy, coming as it does from the pen of Amīr Khusrau, the most learned of the Indian poets, must be taken to be pregnant with significance for a clear appreciation of which the reference should be closely followed.

The story[2] relates how Solomon, son of David, set out in an expedition accompanied by a vast retinue including soldiers, animals and birds of which 'hudhud' was one. While he was encamped near a desert, he missed the 'hudhud' and declared that he would punish it severely unless the bird could explain his absence satisfactorily. 'Hudhud'[3] appeared immediately and informed that he brought in the news of the land of Seba and its queen Balquis who worshipped the Sun. Solomon at once sent 'hudhud' with a letter asking Balquis to submit to himself. She assembled her advisers and sent an envoy with presents to Solomon who, however, declared that he would not be satisfied with anything else than the personal submission of Balquis.

The analogy between 'Alāuddīn's operations against Cītoḍ and Solomon's expedition against the land of Seba would be justifiable only if Balquis of Seba had a prototype in Cītoḍ. Apparently, therefore, Amīr Khusrau implies that 'Alāuddīn insisted on the surrender of a woman, possibly Padminī, of the ruling family at

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1 Here it is necessary to remember what Elliot writes about the mode of composition of the book in question. 'The style in which it is composed is, for the most part, difficult as the whole is constructed of a series of fanciful analogies···But we can forgive that for the solid information we are occasionally able to extract from it." Elliot, *History of India*, vol. III, pp. 67, 68.

2 Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, *sub voce* Solomon, pp. 601 ff.

3 Amīr Khusrau's comparison of himself with the bird 'hudhud' apparently took, in the later romantic accounts, the shape of Hīrāman Tota.

Cītoḍ. What, it may be asked, was the real desire behind this demand for the surrender of Padminī? Was it due to the lustful desire of 'Alāuddīn or anything else? No definite answers are possible. But the balance of the evidence at our disposal would seem to attribute this demand to a political motive. We have seen already that the expedition was launched with the object of bringing Mevāḍ under the subjection of Delhi and that, in origin, it had nothing to do with 'Alāuddīn's desire to secure Padminī. From this point of view, the Sultān's purpose was virtually achieved when Ratnasiṃha submitted to him. But at this stage the situation was again clouded by 'Alāuddīn who brought in the question of Padminī in the course of the negotiations with that Rajput prince. It is possible that thereby 'Alāuddīn aimed at humiliating this arrogant Rajput state which had so long defied the Sultān of Delhi.[1]

Whatever may have been the motive, it is almost sure that 'Alāuddīn's demand which was forwarded to the besieged through Ratnasiṃha, now a prisoner in the Sultān's hands, was refused by the latter. Thereupon the truce came to an end and hostilities were resumed.

Meanwhile, 'Lakṣmanasiṃha of the Khumāna family' had succeeded or been raised to the throne of the baleagured city after the withdrawl of Ratnasiṃha.[2] The new ruler continued to uphold the

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1 An examination of Akbar's relationship with the Rajput princes shows that this Mughal Emperor insisted upon the Rajput families which accepted submission to his authority sending a bride to the imperial harem. Did 'Alāuddīn anticipate Akbar's policy?

2 Kumbhalgaḍha Praśasti, verse, 177; vide *op. cit.*, p. 180 f.n. 2. Ojha is unwilling to accept the view that Lakṣmaṇasiṃha was raised to the throne. But the epithet 'Nṛpa' applied to him in the Praśasti in question on several occasions leaves no room for doubt (*Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1928). Besides Ojha's chronology is open to serious objections on other considerations as well. It is admitted that Cītoḍ fell into Moslem hands in 1303 and continued to be ruled by officers on behalf of the Sultāns of Delhi for about 25 years. But what happened to the freedom-loving Guhilotes who had fled to the Aravallis and taken shelter there to save themselves from subjection to the Moslem power? Tradition tells us that they continued to defy the Moslem power under their leaders

'family prestige' and defy the renewed Moslem attacks. But all in vain. Along with seven of his sons, he died in the conflict and 'Alāuddīn captured the citadel. There can be no room for doubt that the stubborness of the defence, after the negotiations for peace had fallen through, infuriated the Sultān. This circumstance alone enables us to understand why, while 'royal mercy did not allow any hot wind to blow upon' Ratnasiṃha, 'all the storm of the Emperor's wrath vented itself against the other rebels,' so that, 'he ordered that wherever a Hindu was found he was to be cut down like dry grass,' and, 'owing to this stern order thirty thousand Hindus were slain in one day.

From what has been said above it will be clear that the causes of the expedition were ambition and political necessity. The operations which continued for more than six months passed through three distinct stages. The first stage was one of direct attack which was persisted in for two months, but failed to achieve the object. The intermediate stage consisted of preparation for siege followed by the surrender of Ratnasiṃha, the ruling prince, and negotiations for a permanent peace. This also failed owing to the Rajputs in the garrison not accepting the ignominous term of surrendering a princess of the royal family. The last stage of renewed attack culminated in the defeat of the defenders and the consequent occupation of the fort by 'Alāuddīn.

A comparison of the above account with what we gather from the later records affords an interesting study.

Thus, in the *Padumāvat*, the cause of the expedition is said to be the lustful demand for Padminī by 'Alāuddīn. The first stage of the attack continued for eight years. During the intermediate period, Ratnasiṃha is said to have been captured by the Moslems through a stratagem and his release was made conditional upon the surrender of Padminī which, of course, was refused. 'Alāuddīn marched off with his prisoner to Delhi from which place he was rescued by a

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Ajayasiṃha, son of Lakṣmaṇasiṃha, and his nephew Hammīra. This is the most logical account we have and there is no reason to discredit it. Ojha's view would lead to the conclusion that there was an *interrugnum* in the Mevāḍ *gadi* after Lakṣmaṇasiṃha's death. But is it possible that people who were fighting for their independence were without any leader? Whoever that leader might have been was no doubt the lawful ruler of the clan.

counter-ruse adopted by the Rajputs only to die shortly at the hands of a personal enemy. 'Alāuddīn renewed his attack on Cītoḍ which was immediately captured.

In the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* the cause is the same as in the *Padumāvat.* The first stage of futile attacks was followed by the capture of Ratnasiṃha as well as his rescue by the Rajputs as before. A further period of war followed till the fort was captured. No idea of the time spent in three stages of the expedition is given.[1]

Ferishtā does not explicitly state the reason but conveys the idea that the expedition was undertaken in pursuance with 'Alāuddīn's idea of conquest. After six months the fort is said to have been captured and Ratnasiṃha taken prisoner. In the following year, the Rajput prince whose release was made conditional upon the surrender of Padminī, was rescued by a stratagem.[2]

In the *Annals of Rājasthāna*, Padminī's beauty is said to have aroused the passion of 'Alāuddīn so that he invested the fort but to no effect. Thereupon, he played a stratagem and captured Bhīmasiṃha, the husband of Padminī and regent at Cītoḍ on behalf of his nephew, the minor ruler Lakṣmaṇasiṃha. The period of negotiations followed and the Rajputs rescued their leader by a counter stratagem. 'Alāuddīn pursued the Rajput prince and again invested Cītoḍ and after Lakṣmaṇasiṃha and his twelve sons had died in the conflict the fort was captured.

SUBIMAL CHANDRA DATTA

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1 A comparison of the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* version with the *Padumāvat* will make clear that the former was indebted immensely to the latter. In fact, Abul Fazal's reference to 'ancient chroniclers' from whom he took the story probably points to the same conclusion, *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, vol. II, p. 269.

2 Firishtā seems to have followed Amīr Khusrau in his account.

Maṇḍana, Sureśvara and Bhavabhūti: the Problem of their Identity

In Canto VII of the *Śaṅkara-digvijaya* of *pseudo*-Mādhava it is recorded that the famous Maṇḍanamiśra had a second name Viśvarūpa and yet a third "vulgar" name Umbeka and after his conversion by Śaṅkara came to be known as Sureśvara. This tradition has been generally accepted by modern scholars who have been freely exchanging the two names Maṇḍana and Sureśvara for a long time past. Credit is due to Prof. Hiriyanna of Mysore who disputed the identity for the first time in the J.R.A.S., 1923 (pp. 259-263), almost simultaneously, it seems, with Dr. Jha's declaration that "there are no reasons for disputing its historical foundation" (Intr. to *Bhāvanāviveka*, pt. II, 1923). Prof. Hiriyanna notes three points of doctrinal divergence between the two great thinkers. Before we discuss them it is necessary to ascertain the authorship of one important work on the Vedānta, viz., the *Brahmasiddhi* which has not yet seen the light inspite of the assurances of Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri (Proc. of the 3rd Orien. Conf. at Madras, p. 480). While eagerly awaiting the publication of this important work, we may be pardoned for offering the following notes on the external evidence regarding its authorship. It is well known that after his conversion by Śaṅkara, Sureśvara wrote a number of works on the *Vedānta*—the five *Vārtikas* and the *Naiṣkarmya-siddhi*; but the *Brahmasiddhi* is not one of them (*Śaṅkara-digvijaya*, XIII. 63). On the other hand, Citsukhamuni, who quotes Sureśvara and Maṇḍana separately (vide Citsukhī, Comy., Nirn. ed., pp. 9, 112 & 340 for Sureśvarācārya, and pp. 155, 164ff. for Maṇḍanamiśra), ascribes the *Brahmasiddhi* to Maṇḍanamiśra (p. 140). In his commentary on the Nyāyamakaranda there are frequent references to Maṇḍanamiśra or the Brahmasiddhi-kāra (pp. 35, 52, 74-5, 225, 290, etc.) but none to Sureśvara. Vidhiviveka is professedly a work of Maṇḍana, and Vācaspatimiśra in his commentary thereon refers to the *Brahmasiddhi* as apparently a work of the same *sampradāya* (pp. 80, 281) and it is known that Vācaspati wrote a commentary on the *Brahmasiddhi*. It can, therefore, be safely concluded that Maṇḍana and not Sureśvara was the author of the *Brahmasiddhi*.

(*i*) The first point of difference between Maṇḍana and Sureśvara noted by Prof. Hiriyanna is that according to Maṇḍana *āśraya* (seat) of *avidyā* is the Jīva (cf. Nyāyamakaranda, p. 312 "Brahmasiddhikāra-matam utthāpayati" : also Citsukhī, pp. 361-2 (comy.)—"maṇḍana-miśroktim anuvadati") ; while according to Sureśvara and most other followers of Śaṅkara, it is Brahma itself (Naiṣkarmyasiddhi, pp. 157-162). Prof. Hiriyanna is, however, wrong in his second point. For, *avidyā-nivṛtti*, according to Maṇḍana also, is identical with Brahma itself. Thus in the *Siddhānta-leśa-saṅgraha* (chap. IV) we read—"keyam avidyā-nivṛttiḥ, brahmaiveti Brahmasiddhi-kārāḥ". In the Citsukhī (p. 381) there is the actual quotation of the *Brahmasiddhi* ("vidyaiva vādvayā śāntā tadastamaya ucyate") which identifies avidyā-nivṛtti with Brahma-jñāna. Either way, it is not according to Maṇḍana an abhāva and Prof. Hiriyanna is misled by quite a modern work on the point.

(*ii*) The second point of difference, therefore, is that Sureśvara maintains immediate knowledge of Brahma acquired directly through verbal statements (śabdasya aparokṣa-jñāna-janakatā : cf. Naiṣkarmyasiddhi, chap. III, p. 280). Among the opponents of the theory, the commentator on the Citsukhī (p. 32) expressly mentions "Maṇḍana-miśra-prabhṛtayaḥ", whose theory is explained by the analogy of ratna-tattvādhigama ('upadeśasahitaṃ pratyakṣam eva sākṣātkārahetuḥ na kevalaḥśabdaḥ'). We have given additional references on these two points to show that Prof. Hiriyanna is substantially correct when he opposes the current view about Maṇḍana's identity. Two other points of difference are noted below.

(*iii*) Śaṅkara and his host of followers generally favours *Ekajīva-vāda*. In the Citsukhī (p. 375) this theory is discussed with reference to a passage of the *Iṣṭasiddhi-kāra* ('Brahmaiva svāvidyayā saṃsarati sva-vidyayā ca vimucyate', p. 363 ; 'iti ekavidyāpakṣe na kaścit doṣaḥ' p. 375 ; cf. *Vivaraṇa-prameyasaṅgraha*, p. 225). The original source of the theory is, however, clearly indicated in the *Siddhānta-leśa-saṅgraha* (Viz. ed., p. 20) where both Śaṅkara and Sureśvara are quoted ('Brahmaiva svāvidyayā &c. iti Bṛhadārṇyaka-bhāṣye pratipādanāt. rājasūnoḥ smṛtiprāptau vyādhabhāvo nivartate । tathaivam ātmano 'jñasya tattvam asyādi-vākyataḥ ॥ iti Vārtikokteś ca'). Against this universally accepted theory stands the *Nānājīvavāda* which is expressly identified with the names Maṇḍana and Vācaspati (Citsukhī, p. 380 : Comy. 'Maṇḍanamiśra-Vācaspatimiśra-matāvalambinaḥ'). This

vāda has been partly quoted in the *Vivaraṇa-prameya-saṅgraha* (p. 224) under the name of Brahmasiddhi-kāraḥ.

(*iv*) A set of Vedānta thinkers does not accept *Jīvanmukti*. In the *Siddhānta-leśa-saṅgraha* (p. 107), the theory is found to be opposed by Sarvajñātma-guravaḥ i.e. Sureśvara himself. As a matter of fact Sureśvara disproves the existence of avidyāleśa (the cause of jīvanmukti) in the *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi* (chap. IV, p. 216 'avidyāyāḥ pradhvastattvan na kiñcid avaśiṣyate'). Against this *sadyomukti* of Sureśvara, the existence of *avidyāleśa* and *jīvanmukti* of Maṇḍanamiśra stands in bold opposition. For, in the Citsukhī-ṭīkā (p. 385) the explanation of avidyāleśa as a saṃskāra on the analogy of 'the continuity of fear etc. even after the snake is gone' is regarded as peculiar to Maṇḍanamiśra. This very analogy is referred to in the *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi* (chap. IV, verse 60) as "aparaḥ sāmpradāyikaḥ". This is therefore a decisive point to show that Maṇḍana is not only different from Sureśvara but belongs to an (earlier) school of the Advaita-vedānta other than that of Śaṅkara.

This differentiation of Maṇḍana and Sureśvara happily derives 'orthodox' support from the recently published *Guruvaṃśa-kāvyaṃ* (Srirangam Ed.) where Śaṅkara met both Maṇḍana (Canto II, v. 47) and Viśvarūpa (Ib., vv. 50-60). Though the work was written only 3 or 4 generations ago its authenticity is greatly ensured by its being written under the auspices of the Sringeri Mutt and by the fact that the succession list of *Gurus* of the Sringeri Mutt given in this work substantially agrees with that given in a Tantrik work named *Gadyavallarī* written in 1435 Śaka (*Notices of Sans, Mss.*—R. L. Mitra, No. 2261).

II

The publication of the *Bhāvanāviveka*, a recognised work of Maṇḍana "renders another part of the tradition untenable, viz., the identity of Umbeka and Maṇḍana" (cf. Prof. K. Śāstrī: Proc. 3rd Or. Con., pp. 480-81). Umbeka in several places notes different readings in the text of Maṇḍana (cf. pp. 17, 28, 63, 77,81 and 82) and attempts alternative interpretations of single passages (pp. 7 and 18). In one place he clearly disagrees with Maṇḍana (p. 92 'ato na vidmaḥ katham audāsinyavicchedaḥ karoter artha iti') and in another he adds an argument of his own in support of Maṇḍana and shows a peculiar humility in doing so by the interesting remark 'tad āstāṃ tāvad idaṃ bālabhāṣitaṃ' (p. 110). So, clearly, Umbeka was not identical with Maṇḍana.

A second tradition makes Umbeka one of the four pupils of Kumārila recorded in the following couplet—

'Umbekaḥ kārikāṃ vetti tantraṃ vetti Prabhākaraḥ ।

Vāmanas tūbhayaṃ vetti na kiñcidapi Revaṇaḥ ॥'

In one reading the third name is Maṇḍana who quotes Kumārila but seems to have little regard for him (Dr. Jha: Intr. to the *Bhāvanāviveka*, pt. II. p. 2). Thus Maṇḍana is found to criticise adversely a view of Kumārila without mentioning the latter's name in the *Bhāvanāviveka* (pp. 22-23, cf. *Tantravārtika*, p. 351). On the strength of a single passage in the *Śāstradīpikā* (on II. i. 1) Maṇḍana had been credited with the authorship of a commentary on the *Tantravārtika*. But the assumption proves to be wrong, as the passage refers to the *Bhāvanāviveka* (pp. 80-81). Umbeka's pupilage under Kumārila is amply supported by other evidences. His lost commentary on the *Ślokavārtika* is cited by Bhaṭṭa Rāmakṛṣṇa on the *Śāstradīpikā* several times. In the comy. on the Bhāvanāviveka also Kumārila is referred to as Bhaṭṭapāda (pp. 42, 75 and 92) and in one place Umbeka actually mentions him as his *Guru* (p. 43, cf. *Tantravārtika*, p. 351). Umbeka, therefore, on his own admission claims Kumārila as one of his teachers and this raises the question of his identity with Bhavabhūti. For, the late Mr. S. P. Pandit first announced the discovery of a Ms. of the *Mālatīmādhava*, ascribing the play to 'a pupil of Bhaṭṭa Kumārila' (Act III) and again to one 'Umbekācārya, a pupil of Kumārilasvāmin' (Act VI), though Bhavabhūti is also named as the author at the end. The authenticity of this unique Ms. is definitely supported by the independent evidence of a passage in the Citsukhī (J.A.S.B., 1918, p. 243). The comy. there clearly identified Umbeka with Bhavabhūti. But the identity though subsequently accepted by a large number of scholars is so unexpected that it is still generally regarded with suspicion. In the passage of the Citsukhī under discussion (p. 265) the great exponent of the Advaita school seeks to refute the logician's definition of 'verbal' testimony (viz. āptavākyaṃ) as wrongly extending to purely literary works of a (philosophical) authority (āpta), if there be any, and as a typical instance mentions Bhavabhūti's literary works, in a manner meant clearly to convince even his opponents. Bhavabhūti's credentails as a philosophical scholar must, therefore, have been of sufficient celebrity and value to be almost universally recognised even in Citsukha's times (middle of the 13th cent. A. D.). Citsukha's citation of a rare passage from Umbeka, i.e., Bhavabhūti himself in his rôle

as a philosopher lends a peculiar grace to his argument instead of contradicting it. It is clear from Citsukha's manner of quoting Bhavabhūti that he has to be identified with a philosophical scholar of repute hence, it would be unsound to question his veracity without any positive evidence to the contrary. One scholar had contended (Modern Rev., May, 1924, p. 587) that Bhavabhūti betrays sympathy for Buddhism. This is hardly true. For, Kāmandakī is deliberately assigned to the rôle of a negotiator of marriage—a most un-Buddhistic function for a Buddhist nun and is found to quote a passage in favour of courtship before marriage (gītaś cāyam artho 'ṅgirasā 'yasyāṃ manascakṣusām anubandhas tasyām ṛddhiḥ, Act II). Similarly, the duty of warning a young husband with original quotations from the Kāmasūtra (Act VIII) is deliberately given to Kāmandakī's assistant Buddharakṣitā, a really Buddhist name. So, Bhavabhūti's feelings towards Buddhism cannot be mistaken.

Bhavabhūti was proud of his attainments and has left in the *Mālatīmādhava*, a magnificent bravado ('ye nāma kecit &c.') that earned for him a place among the few 'arrogant'(*uddhata*) poets of India (*Rasārṇavasudhākara* p. 268). The same spirit of pride and arrogance is also found in a passage of Umbeka's comy. to the *Ślokavārtika* (preserved by Bhaṭṭa Rāmakṛṣṇa on Śāstradīpikā, Tarkapāda, Chowkh. Ed. p. 82 'idam tu vārtikakārīyaṃ dūṣaṇaṃ samarthanañ ca sarvam evāluna-viśīrṇaṃ &c.") where after a most scathing criticism of the *Bhāṣyakāra* and the *Vārtikakāra*, his own teacher, he proudly concludes by reciting 'guror apy avaliptasya kāryākāryam ajānataḥ/ utpatha-pratipannasya parityāgo vidhīyate ||.'

III

The remaining factor of the tradition, viz., the identity of Umbeka (i.e. Bhavabhūti) and Viśvarūpa (i.e. Sureśvara) seems to have been left out of consideration by all scholars as apparently baseless. The publication of a commentary by Viśvarūpa on the *Yājñavalkya-saṃhitā* (Triv. Sans. Series), which seems to have escaped the attention of scholars, raises and answers this question in a most remarkable way. It appears from the learned introduction of the late Dr. Ganapati Sastri that quite a literature grew up over this commentary of Viśvarūpa named Bālakrīḍā, which was first commented upon by one Yatīśvara Vedātman, the sub-comy. being called the Vibhāvanā. This latter also came to be adorned with another sub-comy. (Yativyākhyā-ṭīkā—as

the passage of the Vacanamālā seems to mean : Dr. Sastri gives a different meaning—the Ṭīkā being that on the original Bālakrīḍā). The second comy. on the Bālakrīḍā was the Amṛtasyandinī by Somayājin and yet a third was named Vacanamālā whose author is unknown. Dr. Sastri procured fragments of the last named work and another which he thinks to be same as the Vibhāvanā. The Vibhāvanā "salutes the original author Viśvarūpa" in these words :

"Yatprasādād ayaṃ loko dharma-mārga-sthitaḥ sukhī ।
Bhavabhūti-Sureśākhyaṃ Viśvarūpaṃ praṇamya taṃ ॥"

This means that the world is happy in the right path of virtue through the grace of Viśvarūpa, whose other names are Bhavabhūti and Sureśa, i.e., Sureśvara. The identity of the poet with the giant scholar Sureśvara is, once more, so unexpected that Dr. Sastri does not even suspect that the poet Bhavabhūti is meant here as it cannot but be, and attempts an impossible explanation of the word put before the name Sureśvara, indicating the devotion of the author towards Śiva' (p. iii). The 'name' (*ākhyā*) of Viśvarūpa was not certainly 'Bhavabhūtisureśa' but Bhavabhūti *and* Sureśa. This is the third independent evidence bearing on the question of the identity of the poet Bhavabhūti definitely supporting the two previous ones discussed before (i.e. the Mālatī. Ms. and the comy. on Citsukhī). The Bālakrīḍā bears in several respects the affinity of the author with Bhavabhūti. It is replete with quotations from Vedic texts, indicating his predilection towards the Veda as is also in evidence in the dramas. Bhavabhūti's Vedic scholarship is mainly responsible for that unique scene at the beginning of Act IV of the Uttaracarita where he attempts what must have been a bold challenge to the Brāhmaṇic aristocracy of his days by justifying in the language of ritual the taking of beef (by Vasiṣṭha). Similarly, the Bālakrīḍā alone among the host of Smṛti writers, seeks to justify *govadha* (cow-killing) in Srauta rites even though expressly prohibited in the Smṛti. Part of this interesting passage is given below for ready reference (*Bālakrīḍā*, vol. I, pp. 25-26) :—'na khalu smṛti-viruddhaṃ śrutyuktam api ādriyamāṇā dṛśyante । tathā hi govadhaṃ nānumanyante śrutyuktam api tadvidaḥ ।............ maivaṃ, na khalu śiṣṭānāṃ kvacit smṛti-virodhataḥ । śrutyuktārthānanuṣṭhānaṃ dṛḍham-alpīyasām api ॥...........smārto 'pi govadho' styarghyam arhayet prathamaṃ gavā ॥' He repeats his opinion again in this connection on p. 115 below while commenting on the well-known line 'asvantaṃ lokavidviṣṭaṃ &c.' thus "lokavidviṣṭam sarvajanānabhyupagataṃ *govadhādīti* kecit. Tat tv ayuktaṃ, vidhā-

nānarthakyāt &c." Under Yājn. I. 178 'Prāṇātyaye tathā śrāddhe &c.' the comment of Viśvarūpa is almost in the very words of Bhavabhūti : "Dvijaiḥ kāmyamānatvād dvijakāmyā atithipūjā, tayopanītaṃ *Mahokṣādi* bhakṣayato na doṣaḥ" (vol. I p. 126). It should be noted in this connection that the standard commentary Mitākṣarā and all later Smṛti works entirely differ in their interpretation here as in many other places. The commentary of Viśvarūpa is therefore of the greatest value as preserving a tradition on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti quite different from the existing one.

In his commentary on the Yatidharma-prakaraṇa of the *Prāyaścittādhyāya* Viśvarūpa indulges in philosophical speculations of a remarkable nature. There are quotations from previous writers one of which is traced to the Gauḍapāda-kārikās ('yathaikasmin etc.' p. 53). The other two quotations we are unable to trace (pp. 44 and 54 of vol. II). He proves himself yet free from the influence of Śaṅkara. We would refer to only one of his original passages (pp. 67-68 of vol. II) where he attempts a most curious compromise between the Mīmāṃsā and the Vedānta by reading into a well-known passage of the Śabara-bhāṣya (codanā hi bhūtaṃ &c.) the necessary authority of the Veda in Ātmajñāna also against all 'orthodox' Mīmāṃsā scholars. None of his speculations seem to have survived in later literature. The name of the commentary seems to suggest that it was written in his early life in a youthful but immature stage, proof of which is lying broadcast in his entire work. The following references found in this work to certain localities may furnish some clue to his own native place : (i) 'grāmayājako vaiśvadevika iti *Mālavānāṃ* prasiddhaḥ' p. 117 of vol. I, (ii) 'khañjarīṭākhyo dīrghapucchaḥ *pūrvadeśa*-prasiddhaḥ Ib. p. 122, (iii) gṛñjanaṃ palāṇḍu-sadṛśam *udīcyadeśa*-prasiddhaṃ' p. 123. These references do not conflict with the tradition recorded in the *Guruvaṃśakāvya* that the historic debate of of Śaṅkara and Viśvarūpa took place at Magadha (Canto II, vv. 43 & 50). This again does not conflict with the life history of the poet Bhavabhūti who was in the court of King Yaśovarman according to the *Rājataraṅgiṇī.* Yaśovarman's dominions included at least Western Magadha and in one of the inscriptions of the Pāla period (the Ghosrawa inscr. of the reign of Devapāla : ll. 9-10) there is a reference to a *Yaśovarma-pura* in Magadha, which must have been named after this monarch. Bhavabhūti's actual connection with Eastern India is also evident from an interesting reference in the Uttaracarita which seems to have escaped the notice of scholars. In Act IV King Janaka

is stated to have left Mithila grieved by Sītā's exile and spent some years in practising penances in the hermitage of *Candradvīpa*. (Tathāsya katipaye saṃvatsarāś-*Candradvīpa*-tapovane tapastapyamānasya). Bhavabhūti was only slightly removed from the time of It-sing and there is no evidence that there was any place of that name elsewhere in India other than Candradvīpa (mentioned by It-sing) in Eastern Bengal. Candradvīpa must have been at that time a celebrated seat for Brāhmaṇic culture also to be selected by Bhavabhūti for Janaka's penance.

A reconstruction of the history of Bhavabhūti's life is now necessary in view of these numerous identifications. It would appear, on the strength of the Śaṅkara-vijaya and the Guruvaṃśakāvya, rejecting the Maṇḍana element in the former, that Viśvarūpa was the real name of this giant scholar and Umbeka was either his 'vulgar' name ('lokair abhihitasya') or was assumed in his rôle as a Mīmāṃsaka. Both these names, however, represent only the earlier part of his extraordinary career as the name Bālakrīḍā and exclamation like 'āstāṃ bālabhāṣitaṃ' would indicate. Bhavabhūti was the name assumed in his poetic achievements and this is supported by a well-known tradition that the name was given him after a happy use of the word 'bhavabhūti' in a verse composed by him just as in the case of Ghaṭakarpara. His conversion by Śaṅkara and taking *Sannyāsa* under the name of Sureśvara are well-known in history. According to the Guruvaṃśa-kāvya it was this Viśvarūpa and not Maṇḍana whom the goddess Sarasvatī cursed by Durvāsā wooed after assuming a human form under the name of Ubhayabhāratī. The commentary on the Kāvya cites this tradition under II. 46 and refers to a work named *Śaṅkarābhyudaya* for authority. One would be tempted to cite in support of this tradition the well-known verse in the Uttaracarita where the poet states that the goddess Sarasvatī attends him like a slave (yaṃ brahmāṇam iyaṃ devī Vāg vaśyevānuvartate'). The life-history of the great Maṇḍana becomes now almost an absolute blank ; he is described in the Śaṅkara-vijaya of *pseudo*-Ānandagiri as the sister's husband of Kumārila ('madbhaginībhartā'—Jib. Ed. p. 181). The problem of chronology involved in these identifications deserves to be treated in a separate paper.

DINESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA

Some Notes on Skanda-Kārttikeya

The earliest mention of Skanda is found in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (मृदितकषायाय तमसस्पारं दर्शयति भगवान् सनत्कुमारस्तं स्कन्द इति आचक्षते तं स्कन्द इति आचक्षते) where Sanatkumāra is identified with Skanda. In the Brāhmaṇic literature Sanatkumāra is a philosopher and is regarded as the son of Dharma and Ahiṃsā or of Brahman. In the Pāli literature Sanaṃkumāra is the Brahman himself.[1] In the *Dīgha Nikāya* Sanaṃkumāra is said to have uttered the verse which means that though the kṣatriyas take precedence among all those that trust in lineage, he that is perfect in wisdom takes precedence over all.[2] This hints that Sanatkumāra preferred wisdom to martial spirit. Sanatkumāra of the *Upaniṣad* is also a philosopher and teacher of Nārada.

But who was the Upaniṣadic Skanda ? Two answers are possible, viz., (i) this Skanda was either a philosopher deified or a divine being. or (ii) he was, according to the earliest Upaniṣads, the divine warrior. The writer of the *Chāndogya* might have identified the philosopher Sanatkumāra with the divine philosopher Skanda in order to increase the greatness of the former, if the latter had been a great "philosopher" god of that age. But Skanda as such is nowhere found in the early literature, on the other hand, he was characterised as the "warrior" god.[3] In the post-vedic literature and in the plastic representations, Skanda is depicted as a religious teacher. The *Mahābhārata*[4] ascribes to him the exposition of a *Dharma-rahasya* and in a few passages[5] calls him Sanatkumāra—the son of Brahman. The Purāṇic references of this kind are many. Even a plastic corroboration of it is found in a relief at Ellora where Skanda is represented as "*Śivadevasya deśikaṃ*," the teacher of Śiva (see the Āgamas).[6] But all these philosophic touches in the character of Skanda seem to be only secondary. In the Epics, the Purāṇas and later works, Skanda as

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1 *Dialogues of Buddha*, vol. II, p. 244.

2 *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 121.

3 *Bhāgavadgītā*, x, 24.

4 XIII, 134

5 IX, 46, 96 ; XII, 37, 12

6 Gopinath Rao, *Hindu Iconography*, vol. II, part I, plates no. CV, p. 350 ; also vol. II, part II.

the warrior god is given prominence. Hence, we may say that the philosophic touches given to his character in the later literature were secondary while the militaristic features of his character were primary, and that Skanda of the *Chāndogya* was not a "philosopher" god. The identification of Skanda with Sanatkumāra therefore remains unexplained.

If in that early age Skanda was conceived as the "general" of the gods, then the reason why Sanatkumāra was identified with Skanda becomes somewhat explicable. In the Upaniṣads we find many kṣatriya chiefs teaching the secret knowledge of the Upaniṣads to the Brāhmaṇic sages. Thus in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, the kṣatriya king Janaka-Vaideha teaches a Brāhmaṇa named Āśvatarāśvi Buḍila, and another king Ajātaśatru destroys the pride of the Brāhmaṇa Bālāki. In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and the *Chāndogya* a kṣatriya king Pravahaṇa Jaivali is described as teaching the Brāhmaṇas the doctrine of transmigration and rebirth. In the *Chāndogya*, again, Aśvapati Kaikeya, a kṣatriya king, is seen to teach the doctrine of the universal soul to the five brāhmaṇas. In the *Kauṣītakī* another kṣatriya, Citra by name, teaches Śvetaketu, the son of Gautama. From all these facts it is not improbable to conclude that Sanatkumāra, whatever might have been his caste and function, was identified with a divine kṣatriya chief, furnishing another illustration to show kṣatriya influences in the formulation of the fundamental Upaniṣadic doctrines. Even if the kṣatriya references in the Upaniṣads be due to the brāhmaṇic policy of drawing kṣatriya sympathy,[1] our explanation stands good. Our evidences regarding the Upaniṣadic Skanda being the "warrior" god may not be conclusive, but the balance of probabilities seems to favour our suggestion. There is no special reason why this Skanda should be identified with the "warrior" god.[2]

Let us now take into consideration the circumstances that ushered in the conception of a divine general. Kings and generals of heaven are only prototypes of earthly kings and generals. In the Ṛg-vedic times the king was the general *par excellence*. The Senānī, the leader of the army, who appears in a few hymns of the Ṛg-veda, was a general appointed by the king to lead an expedition of too little impor-

1 See Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, p. 495.
2 See Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 493.

tance to require his own intervention.[1] But with the growth of complexities the functions of the king and the general were being clearly distinguished and in the great Epic we read of generals being in charge of the king's army. A similar process went on in regard to the conception of heaven. In the Ṛg-vedic times Indra, the king of gods, was the war-god of the Aryans.[2] But slowly like the terrestrial king, he lost the position of being pre-eminently the Aryan war-god and in the Epics and the Purāṇas, came to be distinguished as Devarāja. So the necessity of a general was felt and the conception of Skanda was ushered in. Now as on the earth the functions of the king and the general were separated before the times of the Mahābhārata, it is only natural that the necessity for the conception of a divine general was felt at about that time. In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[3] Senā is described as the wife of Indra, indicating thereby that Indra still held the army. The *Mahābhārata*[4] gives the story which says that Indra rescued Devasenā from the hand of a demon and subsequently gave her to Skanda in marriage. The story signifies the transference of generalship from Indra to Skanda. It seems not quite improbable, that the conception of the general god first arose among the kṣatriyas as early as the period of the Chāndogya Upaniṣad. This accounts for the absence of the name of the god from the Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas, The Brāhmaṇas at first did not accept the innovation and went on with their own "general" Indra. Later on, probably with the increase of Kṣatriya influence, the conception of Skanda as the general obtained recognition in the Epics and the Purāṇas.

The next reference to Skanda is found in the *Gītā* and in the commentary of Pātañjali. In the *Gītā* Vāsudeva declares himself as सेनानीनामहं स्कन्दः (he was Skanda among the generals). It is evident that Skanda had become by this time a figure of emulations. He was of as much celebrity among the warriors as Viṣṇu was among the Ādityas and Śaṅkara among the Rudras.[6] So it seems that he was holding his military position among the people from a time previous to the composition of the *Gītā*. The date of its

1 *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, p. 95.

2 *Vedic Mythology*, p. 62.

3 III, 22, 7.

4 Vanaparva, 221 and 222.

5 X, 24.

6 Bhagavad Gītā, X, 21 ; X, 23.

composition is yet unsettled, some[1] ascribing to it a period earlier than the 4th century B.C. and others[2] a date in the 3rd century B.C. or even later. Whatever may be the correct date it is clear that Skanda was conceived as the divine general long before Vāsudeva sang his divine song.

Patañjali writes[3] जीविकार्थे चापण्ये। अपण्य इत्युच्यते तत्रेदं न सिध्यति। शिवः स्कन्दो विशाख इति। किं कारणम् मौर्यैर्हिरण्यार्थिभिरर्चाः प्रकल्पिता भवेत्तासु न स्यात्। यास्त्वेताः सम्प्रति पूजार्थास्तासु भविष्यति। This clearly suggests that images of Skanda and Viśākha were very popular and were showed in public in Patañjali's time and some people used to earn their livelihood by this profession. *Bhāradvāja gṛhya sūtra* iii, 9 also mentions Skanda.

Taking all these evidencces from the *Upaniṣad*, the *Gītā*, Patañjali's commentary, etc. into consideration, it may be stated that the conception of Skanda came into existence before the invasion of Alexander.

Curiously enough the great general of heaven is often connected with infants and infant diseases. He is the lord of many uncouth figures who regulate the life of the infants. The *Vanaparva* of the *Mahābhārata* associates Skanda with fierce पारिषद्s, कुमारकs and कन्याs who destory even the fœtus.[4] In this Parva[5] also Skanda orders the Mātṛgaṇa belonging to his retinue to take under their care life of those people who are within sixteen years of age. This tradition is echoed in the *Suśruta* In the *Uttara Tantra* of the *Suśruta* II, which is assigned to the 2nd century A.D.[6], Skanda is described as the "divine general, the husband of Devasenā and the destroyer of the enemy of Devasenā".[7] But the divine general of the *Suśruta* is also connected with infant diseases.[8] So striking is the similarity between the *Mahābhārata* and the *Suśruta* in this respect that the name of the nine *grahas* of whom Skanda is the lord in the *Suśruta*[9] are the same as the *Pāriṣadas* of Skanda in the *Mahābhārata*.[10]

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1 R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism*, etc. p. 13.
2 Winternitz, *Indian Literature*, p. 438 and footnote (i).
3 Keilhorn's edition, vol. II, p, 429.
4 *Mbh.*, 227, 1-2. 5 *Mbh.*, 229, 22
6 Hoernle, *Studies in the Medicine of Ancient India*, p. 10
7 XXVIII, 5. 8 XXVII, 3.
9 *Uttara Tantra*, xxvii. 10 III, 129, 25-31.

In course of the excavation of some mounds at Mathurā a stone-slab was found on the obverse of which is a goat-headed deity curved in relief labelled '*Bhagavā Nemeso*' in Brāhmi characters of the Saka-kushana period ; to the right are three standing female figures and a male child.[1] It has been suggested by Bühler[2] that the relief bears the legend described in the *Kalpasūtra* of the transfer of the fœtus of Mahāvīra from Brāhmaṇī Devanandā to Kṣatriyāṇī Triśalā by Harinegamesi. So the word Nemeso is nothing but a variant of Harinegamesi of the *Kalpasūtra*, Naigamesi of the *Nemināthacarita* and Negamesa of the Brāhmaṇical sūtra literature. That he is none but the divine general Skanda may be inferred from the fact that Harinegamesi of the *Kalpasūtra* is not only the transferer of the fœtus but also the divine commander of infantry.[3] Skanda of the *Mahābhārata*[4] like Harinegamesi of the relief is goat-headed (chāgamukha). The Epic also has *Naigameya* as a title of Skanda. So it seems in all probabilities that *Nemeso* of the Mathurā relief is only another variant of *Naigameya* of the Epic i.e., is another name of Skanda. This Mathurā inscription is dated by European scholars[5] from about the beginning of the Christian era or earlier. Skanda's connection with the infants may be taken back still earlier. In the *Pāraskaragṛhya-sūtra*[6] it is said in connection with the Medhājanana and Āyuṣya ceremonies that "Kumāra attacks the boy newly born". The Mahāsena of the *Mānavagṛhya sūtra* who with others is referred to as the remover of possession by evil spirits is none but Skanda.[7] These facts combine to show that Skanda-Kārttikeya's connection with infant diseases and other malevolent spirits was established before the Christian era. The process how the great general of heaven came to be associated with such evil things is not far to seek. Rudra in the *Ṛg-veda* was believed to cause diseases. He is invoked to keep all free from illness[8] and he is prayed not to afflict children with diseases.[9] In the subsequent literature Rudra became predominantly

1 Smith, *Antiquities of Mathurā*, plate no. xviii, p. 25.
2 *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II, p. 314.
3 *Kalpa-Sūtra*, 2, 22.
4 III, 225, 29.
5 Smith, *Antiquities of Mathurā*, p. 25.
6 I, 16, 24 ; Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, p. 242.
7 II, 14 ; Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 242.
8 *Rv.* I, 114, I.
9 *Rv.* viii, 462.

Śiva and he was slowly being raised to the position of the supreme God. A god was therefore sought out and Skanda the divine general whose another name was Kumāra and who was the son of Rudra was thought to be the fittest one to be given the charge of the infants (Kumāras) and diseases. It should be noted that in the *Saṃhitās* and the *Sūtras*[1] Rudra is called Dhūrta which is also a title of Skanda in the Atharva-veda Pariśiṣṭa, XX.

It may be argued that Skanda, Kumāra, Mahāsena and Viśākha were different gods originally. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar thinks[2] that Skanda, Kumāra, Viśākha and Mahāsena were in older days names of four different gods. His conclusion is based on (1) Patañjali's reference to both Skanda and Viśākha at the same time, (2) mention of the names of Skanda, Kumāra, Viśākha and Māhasena in the Huviska coins each with a figure corresponding to the names and (3) Amarasiṃha's mention of only one of the former four names in each of the four lines of his two verses concerning Kārttikeya. Prof. Bhandarkar's arguments, however, do not seem to be conclusive. Mahāsena seems originally to have been only an attribute of the Senānī Skanda. Kumāra might have been originally a different god. But in that case also there is no evidence to show that he was a separate god till the time of the Huviska coins. The coins, as will be shown later on, have been wrongly interpreted. In the Epics, Skanda and Kumāra are identical.[3] The earliest reference to Kumāra is found in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*,[4] where Kumāra is called the ninth form of Agni as well as the son of Agni Gṛhapati. Skanda also was the son of Agni and he was in a very early age identified with Sanatkumāra who is some times called simply Kumāra.[5] It seems that through these connections Skanda and Kumāra became identified with one another at a time earlier than that of the Huviṣka coins. The *Suśruta*,[6] a book almost contemporaneous with the Kushans of the Kaniṣka line,describes Skanda and Kumāra as the same deity. The Huviṣka coins, in fact, do not contain four figures of four different deities. One coin contains two figures and three names, and another coin has three

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1 *Ms.* i, 8, 5 ; *Ass* vi, 2, 3 ; *Hss.* iii, 18.

2 *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, pp. 22-23.

3 *Mbh.* XII, 37, 12 ; IX, 46, 96 ; *Rām.* 1, 26.

4 VI, 1, 3, 18.

5 *Śabda Kalpadruma*, *sv.*, Sanatkumāra.

6 *Uttara Tantra*, xxxvii, 1.

figures and four names.[1] So it is clear that the die-engravers have not given as many figures as there are names. In both the coins only one of the figures seems to have a halo and other figures represent only attendant deities, which are female figures. So with all our diffidence in numismatic knowledge we cannot accept Prof. Bhandarkar's opinion. As for three or four names we may quote Sir. R. G. Bhandarkar[2] who taking Mahāsena to be an attribute of Skanda says "looking to the fact that there are two names of a Buddha on the coins, the above three may have been the names of one single deity. While the figures on the coins are doubtful, the names in the *Amarakoṣa* seem to be only accidental. As for Viśākha, however, there is not the slightest clue to show that he was made one with Skanda in times earlier than that of the *Mahābhārata*. Patañjali differentiates between the images of the two deities. Suśruta[3] identifies Skandāpasmāra with Viśākha and extols him as the friend of Skanda. The *Rāmāyaṇa*[4] mentions कुमारौ, referring thereby to Skanda and Viśākha. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar[5] adds that "the Mahābhārata story of Viśākha's having arisen from the right side of Skanda is indicative of the tendency of making two gods as one". These all tend to show that Skanda and Viśākha were two different gods from the time of Patañjali to that of the Epics. It should be noted, however, that the evidence from Patañjali is not quite decisive and the absence of Viśākha's name as a deity in early or late literature is quite significant.

In the Epics and the Purāṇas the parentage of Skanda-Kārttikeya is attributed either to Rudra and Pārvatī or to Agni and Gaṅgā or Svāhā. In the Epics he is connected with Rudra and Agni. In the Vedic literature[6] Agni figures largely as the typical leader of the vanguard of army. A special army-fire—Senāgni—is mentioned in some of the later Sanskrit works. We have already seen that the *Śatapatha* calls Kumāra as the son of Agni-Gṛhapati. On the other hand, the *Mānavagṛhya Sūtra,* referred to before, connects Skanda with Śiva and Śaivite gods. In later litera-

1 Gardner, *Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum*, plate no. xviii, pp. 149-151.

2 *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, etc.*, p. 151.

3 *Uttara Tantra*, xxix, 2 ; xxxvii; 1

4 1, 26

5 *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism etc.*, p. 151.

6 *Ṛv.* x, 84, 2 ; *Av.* iii, 1. 1, iii, 2, 1; *Ts.* 1, 8, 9; *Tb.* 1, 7, 3, 4.

ture, including the Epics, Skanda's connection with Rudra-Śiva is the most predominant. It seems, therefore, that the war god Kumāra is in reality one of the manifestations of Agni-Rudra-Śiva. Agni and Rudra were often identified with each other in the Vedic texts.[1] In the Epic also Agni is called Rudragarbha[2] and Śiva.[3] Owing to this identification from the earliest times Skanda was connected sometimes with Agni and other times with Rudra. It seems that the former connection was the earliest.

Skanda is often associated in the Epics with "mothers". He is called *mātṛnandana.* Of him it is written that he was worshipped by Indra along with the "mothers".[4] The mothers suckled him.[5] The gods sent the "mothers" of the universe to kill him.[6] The gods and terrible dwellers of heaven attended him with the "mothers".[7] Of the Parivāra devatās to be set up in a *svayampradhāna* temple of Subrahmaṇya, Kumāra Tantra prescribes *Saptamātṛkā* as one.[8] This idea of mothers as connected with Skanda seems to come from latter's connection with Agni. In the Vedic literature Agni is called Mātarisvan meaning thereby as the Ṛg-veda poets meant "he who is found in his mother or growing in his mothers".[9] Most probably the idea of "growing in mothers" was in course of time transfered from the father Agni to the son Skanda. But who these "mothers" were and how their worship came in vogue is a question yet unsolved, though it is a fact that the "mother" worship was amalgamated with Skanda worship. Images of "mothers" are mentioned by Varāha Mihira[10] who says that the images of "mothers" should be made *Svanāma-devānurūpa-kṛta-cihna.* In the Dravidian religion, however, there is prevalent the worship of seven mothers and one brother. When we read the suggestion of Dr. Keith[11] that there is little evidence or probability of mother worship as Aryan or Indo-European the question naturally arises whether the "mother" worship has to do anything for its origin with the

1 *Ṛv.* II, 1 ; *Sb.* vi, 1, 3, 18 ; *Av.* viii, 8, 17-18, etc.
2 *Mbh.* II, 31, 44.
3 *Mbh.* III, 225, 26.
4 *Mbh.* III, 225, 25.
5 *Mbh.* III, 226.
6 *Ibid.*
7 *Ibid.*
8 Gopinath Rao, vol. II, part II, p. 423.
9 *Vedic Mythology*, p. 72.
10 58, 56.
11 *Religion and Philosophy of the Vedas*, p. 149.

Dravidian religion or not. If Mr. Arbman[1] is right in establishing the connection of "mother"-worship with the Vedic Rudra, then it should be noted that Skanda's connection with "mothers" might have come through that channel.

Then there is the Kṛttikā question so inseparably connected with Skanda-Kārttikeya. All of the three names Kārttikeya, Viśākha and Bāhuleya connect Skanda with the stars. In the Mahābhārata[2] there is a passage which clearly establishes the connection of Skanda with Kṛttikā and other stars. The name Bāhuleya is derived from Bahulā which means Kṛttikā. The name Viśākha also must have some connection with the Viśākhā or Viśākha nakṣatra.

In the Epic[3] Skanda is attended by followers like Unmātha, Pramātha, Subhrāja, Jvāla, Jihvā, Jyotis, Dahati, Dahana, etc., all of whom suggest fever and fire. It seems that star-worship was mixed up with Skanda-worship. Kṛttikā from an early time was connected wtth Agni. Kālidāsa speaks of it as अग्निशिखाक्रतिषट्तारकामयम्[4]. The Mahābhārata[5] calls it *Agnidaivata.* Varāhamihira[6] calls it as *Āgneya* and Viśākhā as *Indrāgnidaivata.* Through the common relation of Skanda and Kṛttikā with Agni, the Kṛttikās were most probably connected with Skanda while the idea of Mātariśvan as connected with Agni gave them the mothership of Skanda. Prof. Hopkins[7] justly remarks that Kārttikeya is a very composite god and we have seen how Kārttikeya is related to Agni, Rudra, the "mothers" and the stars.

From the study of the above evidences it seems probable that the sectarian Skanda-Karttikeya-worship was well established in our country before the 4th century A.D. There are unmistakable sectarian traces in the great Epic. In it Kārttikeya is given a very high position. When he was born, the gods were frightened by his prowess and asked Indra, their king, to kill the boy. But Indra replied that this boy could kill even the creator of the world in battle.[8] Even once Indra, the king of Heaven, took refuge under

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1 Rudra, pp. 269 ff; Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 226.

2 III, 229, 8-11.

3 Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

4 See *Śabdakalpadruma* sv. Kṛttikā.

5 III, 229, 10.

6 15, 2; 15, 14.

7 *Epic Mythology*, p. 229.

8 III, 126, 10.

Skanda with folded hands.[1] Sometimes even the Virāj form of Vāsudeva is transferred to Kārttikeya.[2] Even a separate world—the Skandaloka—which a devotee of Kārttikeya is expected to attain is spoken of. In the *Anuśāsanaparva* there is a particular religious canon which is ascribed to Skanda, and Hopkins[3] finds therein that even Kṛṣṇa and Hari are spoken of as servants of Skanda. It is probable that the sectarian worship of Skanda became popular at that time. The Epic testimony of the tendency towards Kārttikeya worship seems to be supported by numismatic evidences. Many Yaudheya coins[4] contain a six headed god on it and the mutilated inscriptions on them seem to read as follows : भगवत: स्वामिनो ब्रह्मण्यदेवस्य . The real meaning of the name *Brahmaṇyadeva* is suggested to be the name of the Yaudheya king to which, as Rapson[5] thinks, the type of six-headed god (*Saḍānana*, *Brahmaṇya* or *Kārttikeya*) also alludes. There is another coin[6] of the same type which contains the figure of the six-headed god with the transcription कुमारस . Smith suggests 'Kumāra' to be a chief, different from "Brahmaṇyadeva." It may be the case ; but here also the name Kumāra refers to Kārttikeya. These numismatic evidences show that the Yaudheyas worshipped Kārttikeya in six-headed form. As to the date of these coins Smith[7] remarks that "the big rude pieces of the chief who calls himself Svāmi Brahmaṇya Yaudheya" may be assigned to the 2nd century A.D. So Skanda-worship may go as far back as the 2nd century A.D. and the traces of its subsequent growth are left in the *Mahābhārata* as shown above, in many later Tantras and in some of the Cālukya inscriptions (5th and 6th century A.D.).*

MANMATHA MUKHOPADHYAY

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1 III, 126, 18. 2 III, 231, 12-16.

3 *Epic Mythology*, p. 231.

4 Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in Indian Museum*, p. 182, f.n. 1.

5 *JRAS*, 1903, p. 291.

6 Smith, *Catalogue of Coins etc.* p. 192 ; R. D. Banerjee, *Prācīna mudrā*, p. 119. 7 *Catalogue of Coins etc.*, p. 165.

* For some suggestions I am indebted to my Professor Mr. J. N. Banerjee, M.A.

Kulaśekhara of Keraḷa

Keraḷa has come to occupy an important place in the field of oriental research. She gave to the world a number of dramas of an *apparently* new dramatic technique, which led to the postulation of the *Bhāsa theory*, and though this theory has now been generally discarded, this has no doubt ushered in a large amount of original papers on the subject of what may be correctly called *the Keraḷa-nāṭaka-cakra*. Her Sanskrit theatre is a subject of absorbing interest, for here alone are found in living form the ancient Sanskrit stage and the indigenous type of acting.[1] No less important is the script in which the so-called Bhāsa's dramas are preserved, and a careful study of the same is ushering in new problems of Prākṛtic study.[2] These dramas do not exhaust her wonderful manuscript wealth: other works equally important are being discovered and announced. Again, she has made her own contribution to the make-up of the wonderful Sanskrit literature: her numerous works and her brilliant authors form an altogether untrodden field for research. And the history of her Sanskrit literature has yet to be written.[3] My study of the subject has suggested a few interesting problems of literary history, such for instance as the problems of Kulaśekhara, of Vāsudeva,[4] of Līlāśuka and Nārāyaṇa. There are indeed a number of other problems; but these appear to me to be the most important as much on account of their intrinsic confusion as on account of their extrinsic importance. A study of these problems is interest-

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1 Vide my paper 'Acting in Keraḷa' published in the Mythic Society Journal, Bangalore, vol. XII, pt. II pp. 183-295.

2 Vide my paper on 'Sanskrit and Prākṛt in Arya Eluttu' published in the Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London vol. V, part II, pp. 307-11.

3 The writer gave a course of lectures on this subject under the auspices of the Madras University and these lectures are being published in the Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.

4 An aspect of this is referred to in my paper 'Rāmakathā Study', published in the Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, vol. V, part IV, pp. 797-801.

ing not merely from the literary, but also from the historical point of view. No systematic attempt has yet been made to tackle any of these problems comprehensively and this has led to the postulation of a number of theories, more or less contradictory, regarding Keraḷa history and chronology.[1] It is proposed to consider in the course of this paper in some detail one of these problems, viz., the problem of Kulaśekhara, which is the oldest and the most important.

Keraḷa knows many Kulaśekharas, about half a dozen in number so far as we now know.[2] There is first and foremost the Vaiṣṇavite devotee, the author of the Mukundamālā. There is another Kulaśekhara who figures as the dramatist, the author of the two dramas, Dhanañjaya and Saṃvaraṇa. A third Kulaśekhara greets us as the patron of Vāsudeva, the author of the Yamaka-Kāvya, Yudhiṣṭhira-Vijaya, a fourth as the patron of Prabhākara and a fifth again as the patron of Līlāśuka. A sixth Kulaśekhara also is met with as the founder of the temple at Trikkulaśekharapuram, a suburb at Cranganore, from which is founded an era, the Kulaśekhara Era. One document at least is available dated in this era.[3] All these Kulaśekharas were kings of Keraḷa, though there are some divergent views on this subject also. Another fact about them that we may accept is that all these Kulaśekharas could be taken to have lived before the 10th century.[4] For the rest we are faced with a serious blank. We do not, for instance, know how many Kulaśekharas there actually were, when they lived and what exactly each one did. Some work has indeed been done regarding the author of the Mukundamālā[5] and so also of the dramas,[6] but the results achieved do not

1 Vide the last paragraph in my paper on "Rāmakathā—a study" ; also 'Keraḷa Cultural Antiquities' published in the Madras Presidency College Magazine, December, 1928.

2 See my paper on 'The Bhāṣa Theory again,' published in the I.H.Q., vol. V, no. 3, pp. 552-558.

3 The Annual Report on Archæological Researches in Cochin State, for the year '100 M. E.

4 A different date is suggested only for the dramatist and this view cannot be accepted, see my paper in *I.H.Q.*, vol. V, pp. 552-558.

5 Vide Early History of Vaiṣṇavism by Prof. S. K. Ayyangar, Lecture II.

6 Vide Mm. T. G. Śāstrī's Introduction to the Dramas.

show that the final word has yet been said on the subject. I feel that the conclusions arrived at by the scholars who have worked on this topic have been vitiated to a certain extent by the fact that they were concerned with one Kulaśekhara at a time and were trying to introduce an imaginary interpretation. And secondly they were strangers to the local traditions. These two facts have taken away much of the value of their speculations.[1] In this paper it is my object to show that the date of Kulśekharas is yet an open question, which deserves to be reconsidered.

One Kulaśekhara figures as the author of the sweet devotional lyric, the Mukundamālā. Regarding its authorship, there can indeed be no two opinions, for the last verse explicitly says who its author was :

> yasya priyau śrutidharau kavilokavīrau
> mitre dvijanmavarapāraśavāvabhūtām /
> tenāmbujākṣacaraṇāmbujaṣatpadena
> rājñā kṛtā kṛtir iyam Kulaśekhareṇa //

The Tamil scholars identify this Kulaśekhara with the Kulaśekhara Alvar ; for both are Vaiṣṇavites and have sung songs of devotion and both hail from royal families, Cera or Keraḷa. It is not indeed inconceivable that the same poet sang songs both in Sanskrit and Tamil, only it is not usually the case, especially in old days. Again there has been a lot of confusion between the terms Cera, and Keraḷa. True it was that at one time the two terms might have been used as denoting the same country, for Keraḷa formed a part of the Cera Kingdom. But it was not always the case, and we know that Keraḷa is never correctly called the Cera after the 8th century. Consequently, when a poet says that he hailed from the Cera royal family, it need not necessarily mean that he was a Malayali. In other words, no convincing evidence has so far been adduced to prove the identity of the Kulaśekhara Alvar and the author of the devotional lyric.[2] From the lyric itself we get the information that he was a king

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1 There is confusion in the consideration of the subject by Dr. S. K. Ayyangar, see his Early History of Vaiṣṇavism, p. 41.

2 The following is a summary of Mr. M. R. R. Ayyangar's view of this subject, kindly furnished me by my colleague Mr. Ramanuja Achariar : 'From his own words we gather that Kulaśekhara Alvar was a Cera king (early half of the 8th century A.D.) ruling over Kon-

named Kulaśekhara, and if we may accept one of its earliest commentators, Rāghavānanda, we can also come to the conclusion that he was a king of Kerala. This work does not give us any further information of a historical character. It is, however, clear that the sweetness of the devotional fervour running through it and the high temporal position of the author gave the work a phenomenal popularity, and the Vaiṣṇavites still look upon this work as a very sacred book. One more legitimate inference the work yields and that is that Sanskrit studies were very popular in Kerala at that time and that our land even then produced two distinguished poets who the poet-king thought were well known enough to be remembered by the posterity, even if he did not mention them by name. So far we can naturally infer, but anything over and above this gets within the realm of speculation.[1]

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gunatu from his capital town of Kollinagar. Evidence does not warrant his being identified with a Kerala prince and it is quite significant that he has not sung in praise of any Kerala shrine.'

1 The concluding verse we have quoted above offers a number of interesting variant readings. Instead of *Kavilokavirau*, we have also *Ravilokavirau* and *Naralokavirau*. Of these two readings the latter does not yield any sense, except that both were very honoured in the world. The first of these does convey a specific meaning : it may be taken to mean that 'leaders of *Raviloka*' and Raviloka is identified with the territory round Trippunittura in the Cochin State. In other words, the acceptance of this reading would yield the idea that the Bhakta king was holding his court at this town. In the absence of any information regarding the kingdom, such an interpretation cannot be accepted for the time being. We would accept the reading given above, which means the 'leaders of the world of poetry' and this is quite suited to the context. For the king was mentioning them as his friends so that he might ensure some respect for his work. Though we have no means of definitely deciding who these poets were, the statement is a clear indication of the fact that at the king's court there were two eminent poets, association with whom was in itself, the king believed, a sufficient hall-mark of poetic merit. This also yields the suggestion that Sanskrit studies were then very popular in Kerala. Unfortunately there is no means of deciding which is the correct reading, and any inference based mainly upon an interpretation of the verse must necessarily be tentative,

Coming to the work itself, one is forced to the conclusion that it does not come to the high literary standard that a pious progeny has always been assigning to it. It must be conceded that the work is pervaded by a natural simplicity and an intense devotion which are possibly unrivalled. These two qualities, by themselves, cannot give it the high position that has been accorded to it by the South Indian Vaiṣṇavites. What then is the reason that has given it this high position ? The spiritual and temporal position of the author may be one reason. Possibly this Kulaśekhara, we incline to think, was the first royal convert to the Vaiṣṇavaite faith[1] and the first South Indian to write a religious lyric in Sanskrit. Such a view may go a long way to explain the great popularity of the work and the position it occupies in religious literature. It is interesting to note that the Mukundamālā is more popular among the Vaiṣṇavite Tamils than among others, probably because in it may be discerned the seeds of that qualified monism which it was given to Śrī Rāmānuja to expound. In other words,

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unless it is supported by other evidence. In the second para also there is difference in the reading : some read as '*padmaśarāvabhūtām.*' Evidently this reading does not give any sound sense. Another variant is '*pārśava Carāvabhūtām*'. This is quite good. As per reading we have accepted, the term, *Pāraśava* means *warrier*, one of the many varieties of *Ambalavasis*, and this would suggest that the king had two friends, one a brahmin and the other a *warrier.* One difficulty may be raised against this interpretation, the interpretation of the term *Śrutidharau.* A *warrier* is not allowed to study the Vedas, and as such he could not be termed such. In answer we have only to say that we may either assume that at that time there was not the taboo or accept a *śleṣa* in this expression : Śruti may be understood in the sense of the Vedas and it could also be taken to mean music. The Brahmin friend of the king was well-versed in Vedas while the *warrier* friend, in music. The acceptance of this reading would raise one more question : Have Ambalavasis such a high antiquity ? This appears to be a serious objection, but if we may take our stand on tradition, we may accept a sufficiently high antiquity for them, because our traditions make the Yamaka poet, Vāsudeva, a Nambiar, another sect of Ambalavasis. It will be clear from what has been said that whatever readings we may accept, this last verse does not give anything historical.

1 Vide verses 39, 40 and 43 of the Mukundamālā.

this work formed the sacred text in Sanskrit on which to propound a new school of thought. If this view has any semblance to correctness or acceptance, the author of the Mukundamālā is the first of the Vaiṣṇavite Perumaḷs who actively patronised the Vaiṣṇavite faith to check Buddhism and Jainism in Keraḷa. This assertion of the orthodox religion on the part of the Emperor led the Buddhists to mobilise their forces, which in its turn led to the blooming forth of the genius of Prabhākara and the elaboration of the Guru school of Mīmāṃsā.[1] This view necessarily makes us put the author of the Mukundamālā to the period anterior to Prabhākara.

The traditions of our religious history have preserved for us two dates, as expressed in the *Kali* chronogram, *Yajñasthānaṃ saṃrakṣyaṃ* and *Cittacalanaṃ*. The former of these which works out about the close of the 4th century is reported to be the date of *Meḻattol Agnihotri*, the staunch supporter of the Vedic cult, and the *Kalivākya* itself suggests that even then the Vedic religion stood in need of protection. In other words, Buddhism silently advancing over the time honoured Vedic religion, came to be perceptibly felt as its serious rival towards the close of the fourth century. The second *Kalivācaka* which works out to about the middle of the 6th century, records the destruction of the premier temple at Payyannūr dedicated to Varāhamūrti. The destruction, our traditions narrate, was the result of a religious schism, and it led to the dispersal of the orthodox brahmins from that stronghold to the southern banks of *Cūrṇikā*, the modern Periyar or Alwaye river, where in due course were born the great pillars of Vedic religion and Hindu philosophy, Prabhākara Bhaṭṭa and Śrī Śaṅkarācārya. Our traditions will have it that the fundamental cause which brought about this calamity was the introduction of foreigners, but they are not very clear who these foreigners were and where they were introduced. In the absence of anything definite, I incline to believe that they are the foreigners to our religion and their introduction is to our centres of worship. In other words, the whole quarrel might have resulted in the introduction of Buddhists into the temple or religious service. In the light of the preceding chronogram such an interpretation does not seem

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1 Vide the author's paper on 'The Three Great Philosophers of Keraḷa', published in *IHQ.*, vol. V, no. iv, pp. 676-693.

to be implausible. The silent spread of Buddhism and the popular appeal it always made to the masses gave it a great impetus so that by about the middle of the sixth century, it got a crowning victory, when it brought about a cleavage in the orthodox fold. From this period, till about the time of the Vaiṣṇavite Kulaśekhara, Hinduism appears to have been in eclipse. As a matter of fact Hinduism got its first victory only just before the time of Prabhākara, who, as we shall show later, may be assigned to the early half of the 8th century. The intensive spread of Buddhism led the orthodox party to invite from outside a number of scholars, six in number, to fight their Buddhistic antagonists. All these were Bhaṭṭas and this is an indication that they were the disciples of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa. The result of their work was to wean gradually the masses from falling away from the brāhmaṇic fold. These scholars met the Buddhists in argument and defeated them during the time of a Kulaśekhara. And their most eminent disciple was the famous Prabhākara. In other words, this Kulaśekhara appears to have been the first royal convert back to Hinduism and the first to actively espouse the Hindu cause. It is worth while to point out that Prabhākara was a Vaiṣṇavite, and it is possible that his patron also was a Vaiṣṇavite. This probably was then the most popular cult, thanks to the popularity given to it through the work of the Alwars. As a result of the conversion of the Perumal and his ardent partiality for Vaiṣṇavite Hinduism, his new faith, this Perumal lavished his patronage on Prabhākara and his school and at the same time founded at least one temple, the Śrī Kulaśekhara temple in a suburb of Cranganore. In other words, a consideration of the religious traditions of the period leads one to the legitimate conclusion that the new cult underwent three distinct stages : the first was the transference of the Emperor's sympathy from Buddhism to Hinduism, by converting him into an ardent Vaiṣṇavite ; the second, the popularisation of the cult and the founding of the numerous Vaiṣṇavite temples, the earliest of such temples being apparently the shrine of 'Trikulaśekharapuram'; and the last but not the least, the founding of the mutt at Kumblam for the study of the Vedas and Śāstras. The first President of this mutt was Prabhākara who acclaims a Kulaśekhara as his patron ; and when we know that Prabhākara precedes Śaṅkara and is not far separated from him, we are safe when we say that our Kulaśekhara must have lived during

the closing decades of the 7th century and the first half of the eighth century. This date is also borne out by the fact that some time at this period there were come into the land some Buddhists from China : in case we assign this period to the Kulaśekhara, these pilgrims may be identified with It-sing and Hiuen Tsang. In other words, we shall not be wrong if we assume that with the close of the 7th century there began a revival of Vedic studies under the lead of the newly introduced Vaiṣṇavite cult which in its turn led before long to the complete overthrow of the Buddhistic cult, thanks to the founding of numerous Viṣṇu temples and the famous Mutt at Kumblam for the study of the Mīmāṃsā Śāstra. The author of the Mukundamālā, we believe, was the father of the revival of Hinduism. He was the first king to write the devotional lyric in Sanskrit and to actively espouse the Hindu cause, and probably the first to build a number of Viṣṇu temples and to found the Mīmāṃsic Mutt at Kumblam under the presidency of Prabhākara for the furtherance of the exegetical ritualistic studies.

Prabhākara is one of the most elusive figures in the whole range of Sanskrit literature. Scholars who have tried to fix has date are sharply divided into two camps, some assigning him to the pre-Kumārila period and others to the post-Kumārila period. Our traditions are unanimous in maintaing that Prabhākara was the disciple of the six Bhaṭṭas invited in Keraḷa to check the advance of Buddhism. These Bhaṭṭas were the disciples of Kumārila, and these were the first founders of the Kumārila system of Mīmāṃsic philosophy, one eminent follower of which school was Śaktibhadra, the author of Cūḍāmaṇi, and contemporary of Śrī Śaṅkara. If our traditions may be believed one more direct disciple of Kumārila lived to be the direct disciple of Śrī Śaṅkara, I mean Maṇḍana Miśra, the later Sureśvara. A reconciliation of these is not impossible, if we suppose that Kumārila lived to a long age and that Maṇḍana was the last of his disciples. This is a very fairly feasible position and it explains also why Prabhākara could expound a new system. In other words, Prabhākara was able to expound the new creed, because even Kumārila and his first batch of students had not yet been able to establish their new view. That one is the disciple of another does not necessarily mean that the disciple must be younger : thus Padmapada and Sureśvara and Śaktibhadra are necessarily older than Śaṅkara himself. It is, therefore, quite possible that Prabhākara and Kumārila

were almost of the same age, and both of them died before Śaṅkara must have come up to the arena. Not only that, if we may attach any weight to the remarks of Śaṅkara, it is also reasonable to suppose that Kumārila must have died before Prabhākara, because Śrī Śaṅkara is more wroth with Prabhākara than with Kumārila. He is unsparing so far as Prabhākara is concerned, probably because he was as good as his contemporary and also hailed from the same *gramam.* The date of Śrī Śaṅkara has been fixed with a fair degree of certainty at the close of the 8th century and that means we may assign Prabhākara to the opening years of the same century. Kumārila might have passed away about the middle of the period and Maṇḍana, a latter day disciple, could have lived to become the disciple of Śaṅkara and to live even after him, especially because the latter had but a short span of life. The same view is further borne out by the fact that Śaktibhadra, a disciple of Śaṅkara, was a follower of Kumārila and this means that he must also have been connected with the original Bhaṭṭas who came and introduced the Mīmāṃsā philosophy into Keraḷa. If he had come after Prabhākara, we would naturally expect to find him following the tenet of Prabhākara. I would therefore believe that Śaktibhadra was the last of the disciples of the Bhaṭṭas, while Prabhākara belonged to the first batch. In other words, Prabhākara was an older contemporary of Śaṅkara, And this view again suggests the middle of 8th century as the date of Prabhākara.

Now to sum up: the Vaiṣṇavite Perumal of Keraḷa, the author of the Mukundamālā was the first to assert himself against the rise of Buddhism: he espoused the Vaiṣṇavite cult, composed a sweet lyric, built Vaiṣṇavite temples and patronised the revival of Sanskrit studies in the land which led to the discovery of the genius of Prabhākara and this Perumal must have graced the throne in the early decades of the 8th century.

Now we shall proceed to the consideration of the other Kulaśekhara. Vāsudeva mentions a Kulaśekhara as his patron, and traditions make Līlāśuka a contemporary of Kulaśekhara. The date of Līlāśuka can with some of certainty be fixed, for our traditions make him the contemporary of Śrī Śaṅkara and the successor of Sureśvara on the pontifical throne at Tekke Madham at Trichur. In other words, he may be assigned to the latter half of the 8th and the first half of the 9th century. The opening words of his Karṇāmṛtam suggest that he was the disciple of Vāsudeva : compare

cintāmaṇirjayati somagirirgururme
śikṣāguruśca bhagavān śikhipiñcamauliḥ/

The second pada has a śleṣa and here one may find a veiled reference to Vāsudeva, from whom Līlāśuka learnt his wordly lore. Śikṣāguru refers to the teachers who taught him worldly lore ; and so the Guru referred to in the first Pāda must be the spiritual Guru. If such an interpretation may be accepted, it would mean that Vāsudeva and Līlāśuka stand in the relation of Guru and disciple and this would suggest that the Kulaśekhara who is the patron of Vāsudeva and Līlāśuka are one and the same and that this Kulaśekhara must have lived in the middle of the 8th century so that Līlāsuka may continue to live in the beginning of the 9th century. And be it noted that this Kulaśekhara cannot come down to the eighties of this century for at the time of the birth of the seer, the king of the country was Rāja Rāja, as mentioned in the Śaṅkarācārya-caritaṃ, and during the heyday of his greatness the king was Rājaśekhara, a great poet and dramatist. This would mean that the patron of Vāsudeva and Līlāśuka must be put down to the middle of the seventh century.

It would be interesting to inquire if the patron of Vāsudeva and the author of the Mukundamālā could be identical. The necessary inter-relation between the various authors we have mentioned makes this identification rather difficult. That would again suggest that the country was ruled by the same king for more than half a century, a thing that is very improbable. We would therefore keep the author and the patron of Mukundamālā separate, assigning the earlier to the earlier, and the latter to the middle, decades of the century. There is also one more argument which necessitates such an assumption, as we shall presently show.

We have tried to locate five Kulaśekharas and these have resolved themselves into two monarchs. We shall now proceed to locate the dramatist Kulaśekhara. He has been the subject of a lot of discussion and various dates have been assigned to him, ranging from the 10th to the 12th century. The 10th century-and-after view was first suggested by the late lamented Mm. G. Śāstrī, and this view has been amply supported by the acceptance of same by Prof. Keith.[1] In the light of the internal evidence furnished by the works themselves, this date cannot be accepted, and, not only

1 *IHQ.*, vol. V, p. 553 : Note 6.

that, Mm. Śāstrī's date has no conclusive arguments to support it except his fondness for his own Bhāṣa theory.

From the Prologue of Kulaśekhara's dramas it will be found that the poets then familiar and popular in Keraḷa were Śūdraka, Kālidāśa, Harṣa and Daṇḍin, while the poets Bhāsa, Bhavabhūti and Śaktibhadra were unknown to him. The absence of reference to Bhāsa is inexcusable if his works were known to him, and these works were popular on our stage. The absence of reference to Bhavabhūti gives us the latest limit to this author, all the more so because there was some sort of intellectual intercourse between the North and South of India after the time of the great seer. In view of the reference to Daṇḍin and Harṣa, the absence of reference to Bhavabhūti gives us the latest limit to the date of the dramatist Kulaśekhara. Similarly the absence of all reference to Śaktibhadra gives us the earliest limit. Śaktibhadra claims that he was the first South Indian to write a Sanskrit drama, and his drama, Cūḍāmaṇi, has been very popular on our stage. If Kulaśekhara lived after the time of Śaktibhadra, surely he should have referred to the first Sanskrit dramatist of Keraḷa—a dramatist not the least important even when we regard him from the purely æsthetic point of view. This absence of reference to him can therefore mean only one thing, namely, that Kulaśekhara lived before the fame of Śaktibhadra became well known. It is also very strange that Śaktibhadra should have claimed himself to be the first S. Indian dramatist, if Kulaśekhara lived before him. Himself a Malayali, he could not have said like that, if when he wrote his drama, the dramas of Kulaśekhara were popular. The only possible method of reconciling the two positions would be to assume that the two dramatists were contemporaries, Kulaśekhara the older and Śaktibhadra the younger. And they may have written their dramas almost at the same time. Possibly Śaktibhadra, being diffident of his own merits, did not care to announce his work—that had to be done by the great Śaṅkara. We know that Śaktibhadra lived to be a disciple of Śaṅkara and that gives us his date. And since during the time of Śaṅkara the sovereigns were Rāja Rāja and Rājaśekhara, Kulaśekhara must be anterior to him. In other words, we assign the dramatist Kulaśekhara to the middle of the 8th century and he must have lived before 788 A.D. As regards the argument that the dramatist Kulaśekhara's contemporary quotes from Daśarūpaka, the answer is that it is a myth invented by Mm. G. Śāstrī to support his Bhāṣa theory.

Now that we have to assign the dramatist to the middle of the 8th century, it is but reasonable to identify him with the patron of Vāsudeva. And as for the identification of this Kulaśekhara with the author of the Mukundamālā, it will be seen that the style of the two writers presents an insurmountable difficulty in the way. There is absolutely nothing in common between the natural simplicity of the lyric and the chaste elegance of the dramas. The two reveal two distinct hands.

The discipline that we have introduced into the problem of the Kulaśekharas from the traditional and the literary points of view resolves the six Kulaśekharas into two: the author of devotional lyric and the dramatist, who come one after another with or without an interregnum, but more or less close upon one another. Both were devout Vaiṣṇavites and both tried to give an impetus to the Hindu revival which, springing from the greatest Bhaktayogin of Kulaśekhara and passing through the hands of the Karmayogin of Prabhākara, reached its climax in the hands of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya, the greatest Jñānayogin that the world has ever produced.

Enough has been said in the course of the paper to show this was a century of great literary revival. Both the Kulaśekharas were great patrons of literature. The regal munificence of the former was enjoyed by the Bhaṭṭas and Prabhākara, while at the court of the latter lived Somagiri, Vāsudeva and Līlāśuka. Besides the royal protégés, there were at least two great poets: Lakṣmidāsa and Śaktibhadra. And the latter days of the century ushered in the great master-mind of India, the venerable Śaṅkara and his disciples. It would thus be seen that the 8th century is a great century for us, so far as the development of Sanskrit literature is concerned.

K. RAMA PISHAROTI

A Sūrya Icon from a Daśāvatara Temple, Pagan

The Nāt-hlaung Kyaung is a Viṣṇu temple, in fact, the only ancient Brahmanical temple that is still now extant in Burma.[1] It is a Viṣṇu temple which enshrines in the niches of its walls as well as in those of the central square obelisk images of the different incarnations of Viṣṇu, and of Viṣṇu himself. The principal deity of the temple, an image of Viṣṇu seated on his *vāhana* Garuḍa, is placed in the main sanctum formed by a large deep niche in the middle of the east face of the central obelisk which supports the crowning *śikhara* of the temple. In plan the Nāt-hlaung temple is a square raised on a plinth about five feet high above the ground. Like all similar temples of Pagan, the interior of the square is occupied by the usual perambulatory corridor running all round a central huge square masonry structure on the three faces of which were originally figures of Viṣṇu standing in niches each adorned with slender pilasters. These figures are all very badly damaged. On the side facing east there is the sanctum wherein was placed the main deity referred to above, and which found its way sometime in the last quarter of the nineteenth century to the Berlin Museum. On the outer walls of the square basement there were on all sides arched niches each of which originally contained one stone sculpture. Some of these sculptures cannot now be traced ; others that are still in *situ* are more or less badly damaged. Of the outer sculptures representing the ten *avatāras* of Viṣṇu, seven only remain ; "three of the four niches on the east side are empty, the sculptures having apparently been removed from there and destroyed by iconoclasts ; the figures that remain bear visible traces of wilful disfiguration."[2] Of these seven images that remain, six have been identified as six *avatāras* of Viṣṇu, namely, Varāhāvatāra, Narasiṃhāvatāra, Rāmāvatāra,

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1 For an elaborate study of the Nāt-hlaung temple and its gods, see my paper on the subject to be shortly published in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1931.

2 Duroiselle, *An. Rep. A. S. India*, 1912-13, p. 136 ff.

Paraśurāmāvatāra, Vāmanāvatāra and Kalki-avatāra.[1] The seventh image which is one of the best preserved images of the Nāt-hlaung Kyaung has not yet yielded to any definite identification. An attempt is, therefore, made here to ascertain its identity.

It would surprise anybody at the first instance to know that it is not an image of Viṣṇu, nor any of his different *avatāras*. It is sheltered in the niche close to the entrance, just to the proper left. The image can easily be described, but it is better to quote Mon. Charles Duroiselle, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Burma, who sought to identify it in one of his very valuable and interesting Annual Reports (*A. R., A. S. I.*, 1912-13). "It is standing on a lotus flower from which two other smaller ones spring ; the arms are placed close to the body bent upward at the elbows, and each hand holds a lotus-bud on a level with the shoulders ; it wears a crown ; the distended earlobes hang down and touch the shoulder under the weight of large ear ornaments. It has bracelets, armlets and anklets ; the lower garment is tucked up and reaches as far as the knees, lines showing folds are visible." Mon. Duroiselle was not able to identify it, but he added, "the number of the niches would lead one to suppose that this also represents one of Viṣṇu's *avatāras* ; but it has none of the distinctive attributes of any of these." And precisely for this reason it is not any of the *avatāras* of Viṣṇu, nor is Viṣṇu himself. In all likelihood it is an image of Sūrya of the South Indian variety. The position of the two hands as well as the lotus-buds held in one line with the shoulder are significant ; no less significant is the number of the hands, namely two, and the strictly erect attitude of standing. All these are features that are particulary noticeable in the South Indian variety of the Sūrya icon. The high boots covering the two legs and feet, and the horse-drawn chariot with Ūṣā and Pratyūṣā shooting arrows on the two sides of Sūrya are, no doubt, missing from the present example ; but this need not surprise us in the least, for

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1 See my forthcoming paper, "The Nāt-hlaung Temple and its Gods" in the *Ind. Ant*, 1931. We have besides these six *avatāras*, a seventh one, namely, an image of Buddhāvatāra which is enshrined not in one of the outer niches but inside the temple in one of the two small niches over the two capitals on the two sides of the main sanctum. It can, therefore, safely be assumed that the three niches that are now empty must have once sheltered images of the Matsya, Kūrma, and Kṛṣṇa *avatāras* of Viṣṇu.



FIG. 1

The Nāt-hlaung Kyaung, Pagan
(East face)



FIG. 2

Sūrya standing in a niche of the Nāt-hlaung temple

these are exactly the features that we miss in the South Indian variety of the Sūrya icon. And when we compare our present icon with a Sūrya image from South India,[1] the iconographic affinities seem to be so striking that it is simply impossible to exclude the possibility of its being designated as Sūrya image. It is surprising, one must admit, to find a Sūrya icon where we would very naturally seek for an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. But the fact can easily be reconciled if we would only care to bear in mind the very intimate relation of Viṣṇu with the Vedic Sūrya. For, there in the Vedas, he is never a supreme God, but is on the contrary always identified with the Sun, and is said to have stridden over the seven regions and to have covered the whole universe by means of his three steps, a story in which the germ of the later *Trivikrama* incarnation story is so often traced. The idea underlying this solar explanation is obviously incorporated in the *dhyāna śloka* : "*dhyeya-ssadā savitṛ-maṇḍala-madhyavartī Nārāyaṇa-ssarasijāsanasannivisṭaḥ keyūravān makara-kuṇḍalavān kirīṭī hārī hiraṇmaya-vapur dhṛtaśaṃkha-cakraḥ*" wherein Viṣṇu as Nārāyaṇa is described as residing in the orb of the Sun. The idea that Viṣṇu is the Sun appears still to be maintained in the worship of the Sun as Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa".[2] We can, therefore, safely identify the present image as Sūrya whose presence in a Daśāvatāra temple, though uncommon, is not altogether an impossible proposition.

NIHARRANJAN RAY

1 Cf. plates LXXXVI, XCIV (fig. 2) and XCVI (fig. 2) in G. Rao's Elements of Hindu Iconography, vol. I, part II.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 74 ; see also *Ind. Ant.*, vol. LIV, 1925, p. 161.

Vilvamangalam Svāmiyārs

One of the most intricate problems confronting the students of early Keraḷa History is the absence of a settled chronology for many of her rulers and men of letters. Keraḷa is said to have had more than one Kulaśekhara, Rājarāja, Kotai Ravi and Bhāskara Ravi among her sovereigns, and more than one Vāsudeva, Śaṅkara, Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita and Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyār among her talented scholars, writers and saints. In the absence of definite historical data, it is very difficult to assign a work or event to a particular writer and to fix his date. In the elucidation and solution of these problems, adequate attention has to be paid to traditions. An attempt therefore may be made here to utilise the available literary and traditional evidences, and to see whether there were not more than one devout soul called Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyār, whose saintly personality has been connected with many important temples of Keraḷa, and whose devotional fervour has found lasting expression in many literary compositions.

According to Mr. Uḷḷūr S. Parameśvara Ayyar, there is only one Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyār and he is known as Śrī Kṛṣṇa Līlāśuka and Kodaṇḍamaṅgalam. A native of Conjevaram or of one of the villages of Andhradeśa, who had resided for long in Keraḷa, he is considered by Mr. Ayyar as the author of the *Puruṣakāram*, *Gopikābhiṣekam* and other works, besides the well-known *Śrī Kṛṣṇa Karṇāmṛtam*. He is stated to have lived about the end of the 12th century or the beginning of the 13th century A.C. He, therefore, concludes he could not have been a friend of Mānaveda Rājā of Calicut, who introduced the devotional form of entertainment known as *Kṛṣṇāṭṭam Kaḷi* in the 17th century A.C.,[1] and that the tradition which makes them contemporaries has to be rejected.

The question of the date and identity of the Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyārs is, in itself, of considerable interest and importance, and

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1 So far as the writer is aware, this view, expressed by him about five years ago, has not since been revised. See his article 'Agastya Bhaṭṭa,' in the *Sadguru* (Malayāḷam monthly), vol. III, pp. 479-81.

deserves careful consideration by students of cultural history and especially, of the history of literature, religion and philosophy, not merely because of the intrinsic value of their productions, but also because of the salutary influence exerted by them on subsequent generations. As considerable difference of opinion is possible with regard to the above position of Mr. Parameśvara Ayyar, it is proposed to examine some aspects of the question, with a view to provoke further discussion and ultimately to arrive at the truth.

Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyār I (*Līlāśuka*)

We will first try to fix, as roughly as possible, the date of Śrī Kṛṣṇa Līlāśuka. We get a clue to his date from the fact that, in a commentary of his on one of the works of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya, he admits that his tutor is Padmapādācārya, himself a disciple of the Ācārya-svāmin.[1] As the age of the great Advaitin philosopher is generally held to be from 788 to 820 A.C., Līlāśuka may be considered to have flourished in the early half of the 9th century A.C. This fact also well fits in with Keraḷa tradition. For, Sureśvarācārya, and Padmapādā-cārya, the disciples of Śrī Śaṅkara, are the traditional founders of the Naṭuvile Maḍhom and the Tekka Maḍhom, two of the *Sannyāsī Maḍhoms* which exist at Trichur. The heads of the former institution claim continuity of spiritual succession from Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyār also, and, in view of the fact that no other mutt in Keraḷa claims him or his namesakes, whatever be their dates, we are naturally led to infer that the tradition which assigns all the Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyārs to the Naṭuvile Maḍhom may be accepted as genuine. It may also be stated that it is on account of this fact that members of this institution even now retain the coveted privilege of performing *Puṣpāññali* (worship with offerings of flowers) to God Padmanābhasvāmin at Trivandrum, to whom, according to tradition, it was Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyār who offered *Nivedya*, for the first time. Besides these, as both the *Maḍhoms* are situated very close to each other, it would have been very easy for Līlāśuka, a *Sannyāsin* of one *Maḍhom* (Naṭuvile Maḍhom), to have become a literary disciple also of Padmapādācārya, the president of the neighbouring *Maḍhom*.

1 For this reference, I am indebted to Prof. K. R. Pisharoṭi.

Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyār II

The question now arises : Is this Līlāśuka identical with the Vilvamaṅgalasvāmin, who is acknowledged to be the author of the grammatical treatise, *Puruṣakāram*? The internal evidence provided by this work itself helps us to suggest an answer. Reference is made therein to the Vyākaraṇa of the 12th century A.C. Mādhavācārya, who was the chief minister of the founders of the Vijayanagara kingdom, and who flourished in the 14th century A.C., refers in his *Dhātuvṛtti* to the *Puruṣakāram* as an important and authoritative work on the subject. From this it will be clear that the *Puruṣakāram* was composed roughly after the first half of the 12th and before the 14th century A.C. (1150-1300 A.C.).

If we follow tradition, we may arrive at the date of this Vilvamaṅgalasvāmin, a little more approximately. According to local tradition, there was a Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmīyar, who was a contemporary of Talakkuḷattūr Bhaṭṭatiri, the greatest astrologer of Keraḷa, whom he is said to have consulted with regard to some predictions. The date of Bhaṭṭatiri, probably that of his death, is preserved by the Kali cryptogram *"Rakṣeit Govindamarkka"* which works out to about 1238 A.C. Besides this, there are some Kali chronograms relating to the founding of certain temples by the Svāmiyār, which lead us to the same conclusion.[1] We believe that this Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyār and the author of the *Puruṣakāram* may well be identified and assigned to the 13th century A.C.

Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyār III

From what has been said above, it will be noted that the evidence of tradition agrees more or less with that of literature in that there

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1 I am not prepared to hold that this Svāmiyār alone is the "Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyār" who is connected with many of the temples of Keraḷa. It was a practice with the earlier generations of tradition-makers to ascribe the founding of most of the pagodas of Keraḷa, large or small, important or unimportant, to a Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyār, irrespective of their actual age, so as to assign to these institutions a long-standing pedigree and to enhance their sanctity and prestige by their association with such a devout saint, just as we find many of the forts scattered in different parts of Keraḷa attributed to an eponymous Ceraman Perumāḷ, the hero of popular tradition.

were more than one Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyār, and that they belonged to different ages. We do not see why, then, we should discredit the traditional view that there were, at least, three of these *Sannyāsins*, and that one of them, the last, met Mānaveda Rājā of Calicut, the author of the *Kṛṣṇāṭṭam Kaḷi*,[1] who flourished in the 17th century A.C. Of course, some may be sceptic about the possibility of the Svāmiyār being able to vouchsafe to the pious prince a vision of God Kṛṣṇa, and they need not credit that part of the story. A reference to the known events of the period would show that such a meeting between the saint and the prince is not improbable. For, Mānaveda, the author of the *Kṛṣṇāṭṭam Kaḷi*, completed the work about 1657 A.C. as seen from the Kaḷi chronogram *Grāhyāstutirgāthakai*, which occurs in its last verse.[2] He was a devout recluse, and while he was the Eṛālpāḍ Rājā or heir-apparent, his uncle, the Zamorin Mānavikraman Śaktan Tampurān, waged his wars in Cochin, occupied the northern part of it and resided at Trichur, where he died only in 1658 A.C. It would have been thus very easy for Prince Mānaveda to form an acquaintance with Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyār, a *Sannyāsin* of the Naṭuvile Maḍhom, even at Trichur. And if tradition is to be believed, it was after his meeting with the Svāmiyār and his vision of the god that he resolved to write the poem. Thus the anecdote might really have had some basis in fact.

It has been stated that this Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyār has written a Sanskrit work called the *Keraḷācāradīpikā*,[3] at the request of one of the Rājās of Ciṛakkal (Kôlāttiri) in North Malabar. But this work, or rather the first part of it, viz., *Keraḷa Kṣetra Māhātmyam*, which has been published last year, seems to be a

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1 Believed to be an adaptation of the now defunct *Aṣṭapati-Āṭṭaṃ*.

2 sphāyadbhaktibhareṇa nunnamanasā ŚrīMānavedābhidha-
kṣoṇīndreṇa kṛtā nirākṛtakaligrāhyā stutir gāthakaiḥ/
lakṣmīvallabha "Kṛṣṇagīti" riti vikhyātā tavānugrahād
eṣā puṣkaralocaneha bhajatām puṣṇātu mokṣaśriyam.//
(Kṛṣṇanāṭṭaṃ, Svargārohaṇam, V. 32).

This shows that the work was completed on the 1, 736, 612th day of Kali (or 20th Dhanu 829 M.E.).

3 This work has been recently published by the Jñāna Sāgaram Book Depot, Trichur, 1929.

spurious production of the early half of the 19th century, and can hardly be attributed to the Svāmiyār. Yet, the tradition that he is connected with the Rājā's court in his earlier years (?) might after all turn out to be true.[1] We are, however, unfortuuately, not in a position to say which are the works that may rightly be attributed to him.

The Author of the Śrī Kṛṣṇa Karṇāmṛtam

Having fixed with some approximation to certainty the dates of the three Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyārs, we may proceed to examine whether we can assign to each of them any of the other works attributed by Mr. Parameśwara Ayyar to the *Paramahaṃsa* of that name, who flourished about the beginning of the 13th century A.C. The *Śrī Kṛṣṇa Karṇāmṛtam*, the most popular of the devotional pieces of lyrical composition attributed to the Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyār is written by a Līlāśuka as seen from the concluding verse of its first *Sarga.*[2] This Līlāśuka is identified with Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyār by Śāraṅgadhara in his *Paddhati*, written in the 14th century A.C.[3] That this Līlāśuka *alias* Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyār lived prior to the 14th century is also shown by the *Madhurā Vijayam* of Gaṅgādevī, which was produced in the same century. Gaṅgādevī was the wife of the Vijayanagara prince, Vīra Kampana, and was one of the literary gems of his father's court. In her *Madhurā Vijayam*,[4] after paying her due homage to Vālmīki,

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1 Cf. Kavi Sārvabhauman Vaḷḷattoḷ Nārāyaṇa Menon's Introduction to '*Kaustubham*', No. 7 of *Rāma Varma Granthāvali*, issued from the Ciṟakkal Palace, 1926.

2 Īśānadeva caraṇābharaṇena nīvī-
Dāmodarasthirayaśastavakolgamena/
Līlāśukena racitaṃ tava deva *Kṛṣṇa*
Karṇāmṛtaṃ vahatu kalpaśatāntare 'pi.
(Sarga I, verse 110).

3 He quotes some passages from the *Śrī Kṛṣṇa Karṇāmṛtam*, and then acknowledges his indebtedness thus "iti Vilvamangalam Śrī caraṇānām."

4 Mandāramañjarīsyandimakarandarasābdhayaḥ/
Kasyanāhlādanāyālaṃ *Karṇāmṛtakaver girah*?

Vyāsa, Kālidāsa, Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa, Bhāravi and Daṇḍin, who lived many centuries previous to her, she recalls the names of later poets like the *Karṇāmṛtakavi* (*Līlaśuka*), Tikkaya, Agastya, Gaṅgādhara and Viśvanātha. The poet that is first mentioned after the Karṇāmṛtakavi is Tikkaya, who may be identified with the distinguished Tikkaṇṇa Somayāji who graced the court of the Telugu-Coḍa chief, Mānmasiddhi, about the end of the 13th century A.C. Agastya was the uncle of Viśvanātha, both of whom were courtiers of the Kākatīya king Pratāparudra of Warangal (1267-1323 A.C.), while Gaṅgādhara was the father of Viśvanātha. It would thus be seen that Līlāśuka comes after Daṇḍin and before Tikkaya, say, between the 8th and the 13th century A.C. This, by itself, is not however, a sufficient ground for identifying him with the second of the Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyārs.

In this connection, it has to be pointed out that it is unlikely that all the three *Sannyāsins* had the name Līlāśuka, there is also no evidence to show that it was a common title and if we turn to the evidence which the *Śrī Kṛṣṇa Karṇāmṛtam* itself affords with regard to the cult of its author, it would appear that he was originally a Śaivite.[1] His conversion to the Vaiṣṇavite cult was quite possible in an age of religious revival, when the disciples of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya himself founded the *mutts* at Trichur, dedicated to God Viṣṇu in his manifestation of Pārthasārathi and Narasiṃha. I, therefore, incline to the view that the *Śrī Kṛṣṇa Karṇāmṛtam* may be assigned to Līlāśuka, the first Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyār, who lived in the ninth century A.C.

Tikkayasya kaveḥ sūktiḥ Kaumudīyakalāhidheḥ/
Satṛṣṇaiḥ kavibhiḥ svairam cakorair iva sevyate//
Catussaptatikāvyoktivyaktavaiduṣyasampade/
Agastyāya jagaty asmin spṛhayet ko na kovidaḥ ?
Stumas tam aparam Vyāsaṃ *Gaṅgādhara*mahākavim/
Nāṭakacchadmanā dṛṣṭām yas cakṛe Bhāratīṃ kathām//
Ciraṃ sa vijayī bhūyād *Viśvanātha*kavīśvaraḥ/
Yasya prasādāt sārvajñyaṃ labhante mādṛśeṣv api//

1 Śaivā vayaṃ na khalu tatra vicāraṇīyaṃ
Pancākṣarījapaparā nitarāṃ tathāpi/
Ceto madīyam atasīkusumāvabhāsaṃ
Smerānanaṃ smarati Gopavadhūkiśoram//
Sarga II, verse 24.

The Author of the Gopikābhiṣekam

The position with regard to the *Gopikābhiṣekam* is, however, a little more difficult. This work constitutes Svāmiyār's portion of the Prakit poem *Śrī Cinha Kāvya.* The latter comprises 12 sargas, of which eight were composed by "Vilvamaṅgalasvāmin", the Svāmiyār himself, and the rest by Durgaprasād Yati, a Kashmirian Brāhman who was on a pilgrimage to Rāmesvaram and who had become his disciple. *Gopikābhiṣekam* speaks of the holy deeds of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, the verses being dexterously chosen as illustrations of the Sūtras of Traivikrama's Prākṛt Grammar. One notable feature of the poem is that the Prakṛt word "Siri" (Sanskrit: Śrī) occurs in the last stanza of every sarga. At once a devotional piece of composition and a grammatical treatise, it may, for a *prima facie* reason, be assigned to the author of the *Puruṣakāram*; for, it has to be noted that all the three *Sannyāsins* called Vilvamaṅgalam are traditionally believed to have been steeped in their devotion to God Kṛṣṇa who appeared to them at their behest.

The birth-place of the Svāmiyārs

Another question of importance relates to the birth-place of the Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyārs. Mr. Parameśvara Ayyar is disposed to think that Līlāśuka was a native of Conjeveram or of some neighbouring place in the Telugu country, and that he immigrated into Keraḷa, where he settled down. No one would envy our friends of the Āndhradeśa for her having been gifted with such a pious poetic soul, the intensity of whose devotion broke forth in raptures on being privileged to see with their mortal eyes God in his manifestation of Bālagopāla; i.e., if, indeed, they were Telugu brāhmaṇas. But, as it is, we do not know why, in the absence of reliable evidence of their Telugu extraction or connection, it should be suggested that they were non-Malayāḷis. It has to be admitted that there is nothing in Keraḷa tradition which supports it; in fact, the traditions of the *Sannyāsi Maḍhoms* are against it. Few instances of the grant of *Sannyāsam* to non-Nambūtiris and most of all, to Paradeśi brāhmaṇas have been recorded. According to the immemorial custom, *Sannyāsi* succession in these *mutts* has been confined to members of some sections of the Nambutiris of particular *Grāmams*, consisting of the purest descendants of the early brāhmaṇa

settlers. This is a fact which could easily be known by one who has studied the traditions and practices of these institutions. In the face of these facts, it would seem rather strange that a Paradeśī (outside) brāhmaṇa should have been allowed to become a *Sannyāsin* of the *Maḍhom*.

There are also some ancient traditions, which show that one of the Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyārs was originally known as Mangalam Nambutiri.[1] This connects him with the *Sabhā Yogam* at Tṛkkaṇṇāmaṭilakam and with the places adjacent to Cranganur. While he was a distinguished *alumni* of the *Sabhā Maḍhom* at Tṛkkaṇṇāmaṭilakam, he is stated to have become an ascetic, the turn in his life being taken when he was persuaded by his lady-love to exhibit the same constancy of purpose in his devotion to God and to concentrate his energies for the attainment of a higher object, viz., *Mokṣa*. The incident is said to have occurred at Kākkatturutti near Tṛkkaṇṇāmaṭilakam, on a stormy night, when he braved the dangers of the flood and forded the narrow sheet of backwater lying between Cetwāi and Cranganur, all for the sake of meeting the damsel who was, till then, the object of his profound veneration. The fact that the *Sabhā Yogam* was then very powerful, and was in a position to chastise the wayward youth for his wanderings suggests for the anecdote an earlier period than the 13th century, by which time the *Sabhā Yogam* appears to have lost much of its power and influence, if not already driven by adverse circumstances to seek fresh asylums at Trichur and Tiruṇāvāya. It would seem, therefore, that the tradition noticed above might, with some justification, be referred to the first of these *Pūjyapādas* known as Vilvamaṅgalam, the rather fanciful title of Līlāśuka being, probably, assumed by him subsequently.

It will be seen from the above that we are, to some extent, justified, on the basis of the available evidence, to assume, for tentative purposes, that there were more than one Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyār, that the first of these, known as Līlāśuka, was a contemporary of Padmapādācārya, a direct disciple of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya, that the second, the accredited author of the *Puruṣakāram*, lived about the 13th century A.C.; and that the last, if there was one such, was the contemporary of Mānaveda Rājā of Calicut, and might have lived in the 17th century, as held by Keraḷa tradition. The first *Sannyāsin* pro-

1 It is not known whether this is a contraction for Kodaṇḍamaṅgalam or Vilvamaṅgalam or Villumaṅgalam.

bably composed the *Śrī Kṛṣṇa Karṇāmṛtam*; the second might have produced also the *Gopikābhiṣekam*, while there are available, at present, few works that can definitely be attributed to the last. Nothing final can now be said as to the place of birth of each of them, though local traditions seem to be against the view that they are non-Malayāḷis. In any case, there is no gainsaying the fact that they spent the winter of their life amidst Malayāḷis, and have won for themselves a permanent place in the hearts of the pious Malayāḷis.

Whether they be natives of Keraḷa or of the Eastern coast, it has to be admitted also that their activities, literary and religious, contributed, to a great extent, towards the fulfilment of the object of the *Sannyāsī Maḍhom* over which they presided, viz., the affording of ample facilities for "spiritual instruction, the acquisition of spiritual knowledge to promote the Hindu religion and to represent to the laity the true nature of God, according to the Hindu religion." Well may these great and venerable Vaiṣṇava saints be entitled to adoration at the hands of the people of Keraḷa, and in as full a measure as the great Kulaśekhara Āḷvar aroused the spiritual fervour and commanded the homage of non-Malayāḷis, and yet, has been undoubtedly acknowledged to be one of the greatest souls Keraḷa ever produced.

A. GOVINDA WARIYAR

Early Viṣṇuism and Nārāyaṇīya Worship*

II

Before taking up the question of Viṣṇu's relation to Nārāyaṇa we propose to describe briefly the general character of early Viṣṇuism in the Epic. It must be noted at the outset that Viṣṇuism as a sectarian doctrine is not found in an isolated and definite form in the Epic, as we find, for instance, the Nārāyaṇīya worship; but it pervades the whole Epic in an imperceptible and elusive manner. The difficulty is also enhanced by the rather elastic epic attitude which indiscriminately identifies its sectarian gods, who not only absorb one another's deeds and attributes but also the characteristic theological conceptions and traits of worship. Viṣṇu is, in turn, identified with Śiva, Brahmā and a host of other deities, and the identification, though sometimes formal, helps to obliterate the distinctive sectarian worship which pertains to the deity. In xii, 349, 64-69, five current systems are mentioned, viz. Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Pañcarātra, Vedāraṇyaka (=Vedāḥ) and Pāśupata; but in all these systems Viṣṇu is declared to be the *niṣṭhā* or the chief object of worship. In another passage (xii, 338, 4) where the god is addressed as *Pañcamahākalpa*, the commentator gives the names of five sects, viz., Saura, Śākta, Gāṇeśa, Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava. These passages really furnish a clue to the understanding of Epic Viṣṇuism in general. It may be regarded as the general name given to the all-inclusive and dominating sectarianism of the Epic, appearing in an ever-shifting and somewhat colourless form. In the huge conglomeration of adventure, legend, myth, history, and superstition and of complex bodies of custom, sentiment, belief and philosophy, this Viṣṇuism is fully blended and cannot be separated as such. It is only when it is directly identified, for instance, with the Nārāyaṇīya or Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva worship that it becomes full-blooded and distinctive; but the connexion is hardly organic and helps us very little in understanding the character of Viṣṇuism itself.

General character of Viṣṇuism in the Epic.

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* Continued from *IHQ*, vol. VII, no. 1, p. 93 f.

concentration, moral purity and knowledge or belief are admitted as preliminary to *bhakti*, they are not identical with it; the reply really evades the question. The conception of *bhakti* throughout, whether directed towards a god, or to a woman, or to the king, connotes deep personal affection, typified by the love of a wife for her husband, and is the word interchangeable with *prīti*, *bhāva*, *rāga* or *sneha* as term of fervent and endearing love. It is an emotional and ethical passion, rather than an impersonal intellectual conviction adduced by mere knowledge. The deity is conceived as the beloved, and the worship is essentially loving and intimate adoration (pūjā). As such, *bhakti* borders upon sense-devotion and leans perceptibly towards the erotic passion. It is usually of the pure sort, and implies a kind of erotic mysticism, which conceives religious longings in terms of earthly passion,—a quasi-amorous attitude of self-surrender to the person or image of the beloved deity, such as characterise not a little of that Christian literature for which the song of Solomon—"I am my Beloved's and my Beloved is mine" is the sacred archetype.

Tendency towards sense-devotion and erotic mysticism.

But its too ardent tendency has the danger of lapsing into sensuousness or sensual passion, such as is apparent in some of the mediæval expressions of this emotion. The feeling results in an exclusive concentration and complete surrender of self; the *bhakta* acknowledges himself as *prapanna* (suppliant or submissive), and resorts to his god as the only refuge (*śaraṇa)* for divine grace (*prasāda*), without which he can never work out his salvation alone. There is no direct exposition of the doctrine of grace (*prasāda*) and surrender (*prapatti*) in the Epic, but the ideas are fully acknowledged as involved in an attitude of *bhakti*. These religious conceptions find full expression in the worship of Nārāyaṇa and Kṛṣṇa, who are completely identified with Viṣṇu, and to this we now turn our attention.

The idea of prasāda and prapatti in "bhakti".

Nārāyaṇa is not such an ancient god as Viṣṇu, having been mentioned for the first time in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* and in a dubious section of the *Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka*; but his origin and early history are somewhat obscure. He appears to have been originally a deity of a different kind. Two ancient traditions about him seem to exist. The first, recorded in a Brāhmaṇa fairly early, gives us in ritual language a mysterious and elusive figure, apparently identified with the Ṛgvedic Puruṣa or Cosmic Man as the symbol of creation by sacrifice; and

The origin and history of Nārāyaṇa: two traditions.

the second, recorded in the Epic, gives us a hint (and nothing more) of his character as a legendary saint, divine or deified, although here also he is regarded as a *pūrva-deva* or ancient god.

The earliest reference[1] to Nārāyaṇa in a highly mystical passage in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (xii. 3.4) calls him Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa, who, under the instructions of Prajāpati, the impersonal cosmic principle in Brāhmaṇa literature, places in a pantheistic mood all the world and all the gods in his own self and his own self in all the worlds and all the gods, thus becoming, by the power of sacrifice, the Universe itself. In a subsequent passage in the same Brāhmaṇa (xiii, 6, 1, 1) we are told that Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa in his desire to surpass all things performed a *pañca-rātra sattra* or a series of sacrifice lasting over five nights, and became omnipresent and supreme by a sacrifice. The sacrifice is designated *puruṣa-medha* or immolation of the Puruṣa,[2] and apparently refers to the tremendous symbolical sacrifice, described in the famous Puruṣa-hymn of the *Ṛg-veda* (x, 90) as consisting of the mystical immolation of the cosmic Man for the purpose of creation[3]; for, a little later, another passage (xlii, 6, 2, 12) of the Brāhmaṇa refers distinctly to the Ṛgvedic hymn (x, 90) with an apparent allusion to a tradition that Nārāyaṇa was the author of the hymn, which came to be known as his litany.

Earliest reference as Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa in Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa.

His performance of a Pañca-rātra sattra and Puruṣa-medha.

The Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa tradition of the Brāhmaṇa appears to survive in the strange account given of Nārāyaṇa in the *Mahābhārata* (xii. 338, 4) where he is praised by Nārada in a long prose hymn as the Puruṣa, Mahāpuruṣa and Puruṣottama,[4] as well as by the epithet Pāñcarātrika. In *Mbh.* xii, 350, 5 (cf. also xii, 207, 5, 9-10), the nature of Nārāyaṇa, who is of course equated with Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa, is

Survival of this tradition in Epic literature.

1 In *Maitrāyaṇi-Saṃhitā* (ii, 9) Nārāyaṇa is mentioned as Viṣṇu and Keśava, but this passage, also naming some later deities, has been regarded as an obvious interpolation.

2 And *not* human sacrifice, as Muir, *op. cit.* p. 25, explains.

3 In *Śatapatha Br.* (xiii, 7, 1, 1) the self-existent Brahma is represented as sacrificing himself (*ātmānaṃ hutvī*) in a similar manner.

4 These epithets as well as *Uttama-Puruṣa* (xii, 335) are common enough for Nārāyaṇa (or Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa) in the Epic. It is also possible that the preponderatingly Sāṃkhya-Yoga theology

described by the all-pervading, all-generating and eternal characteristics of the supreme and one Puruṣa or Puruṣottama, with whom he is directly identified as the Primeval Man (xii, 350, 14), and as bearing *par excellence* the name of Mahāpuruṣa (xii, 350, 9). Indeed in the Epic the identity of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa as the Puruṣa or Mahāpuruṣa is in general an acknowledged fact. In the vision which Nārāyaṇa vouchsafes to Nārada (as the Bhagavat does to Arjuna) Nārāyaṇa[1] is described (xii, 339, 6f), after the Ṛgvedic hymn, as having a thousand heads, thousand eyes, a thousand arms and feet as well as a hundred (xii, 43 : xii,335) or even a thousand (xiii,149) names, with the addition that he is golden coloured—a phrase which is Vedic but which some of the Upaniṣads[2] apply to the description of the supreme Puruṣa who shines beyond darkness. The Puruṣa-sūkta of the *Ṛg-veda* itself is referred to in the Nārāyaṇīya, xii, 350, 5, and its undisputed authority is cited in maintaing the thesis that although many *puruṣas* are acknowledged in Sāṃkhya-Yoga, there is only one *puruṣa* who is the sole source (*yoni*) of all *puruṣas*. Is it possible that this early identification of Nārāyaṇa with the Primeval Man lingers behind the puzzling ety-

A suggested explanation of the name Nārāyaṇa.

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of this (Nārāyaṇīya) section of the Epic suggested the epithet Puruṣa, cf., for instance, *Mbh.* xii, 340, 28-29. But Puruṣa is conceived here more as an active principle connected with creation, as well as with preservation and destruction. On Buddha as Mahāpuruṣa, see Senart, *Essai sur la legende du Buddha*, pp. 87f., p. 123 and Carpenter, *Theism in Mediæval India* (Hibbert Lectures), 1921, p. 45. In the account of creation given by Manu (i, 11), Brahmā is called the Puruṣa. This may be due to the common connexion with the notion of creation, but it is not unusual for Brahmā or Prajāpati to absorb the function of the supreme god, characterised generally as Puruṣa. Cf. *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*, i, 2, 45f. So also Rudra-Śiva is called the Puruṣa in *Śvetāśvatara Up.*, iii, 14 (quoting the Puruṣa-hymn). The Puruṣa idea appears to have been well established in the post-Brāhmaṇic literature and applied indiscriminately to all the great gods.

1 Like Viṣṇu, for instance, in v. iii, 7.

2 *Chāndogya Up.* i. 6, 6 ; *Śvetāśvatara*, iii, 8 and 14 etc. The *Śvetāśvatara* passage is obviously imitated in xii, 340, 57. The *puruṣa* is a hackneyed enough expression in the Upaniṣads to designate the Supreme Self, and we have also the symbols Puruṣa-in-the-sun ; Puruṣa-in-the-right-eye, etc.

mology of the name itself[1] which literally signifies 'man', as also behind that of his mysterious double Nara ?[2]

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1 [The invention of the name appears to us to be somewhat similar to the eponymous process. Barnett explains (*op. cit.* p. 76) that Nara in the word Nārāyaṇa is a proper name, and that Nārāyaṇa signifies "a man of the Nara family" (Nārāyaṇa in his view having been originally a divine or deified saint); but this explanation is partial, and connects itself with the second tradition about Nārāyaṇa mentioned above, to which alone Barnett would give importance to the exclusion of the first, and apparently earlier, Brāhmaṇic tradition of Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa. But Nārāyaṇa's inseparable twin Nara raises a difficulty. Apparently Nara is also "a man of the Nara family," being Nārāyaṇa's double ; but it is strange that of the twins one should be called by the gotra-name Nara and the other by the derivative name Nārāyaṇa. But Barnett is undoubtedly justified in rejecting the somewhat artificial etymology of the name (referred to by R. G. Bhandarkar, section 32) which would derive the word Nārāyaṇa from *nārāḥ* (waters) and *ayana* (going), "one who has the waters as his resting place", connecting the conception with that of primeval waters ; or from *narāḥ* (men) and *ayana* (goal or resting place), "one who is the goal or resting place of men." (Naras are also spirits as well as gods of heroic prowess in the Epic). The conception of primeval waters goes back to the *Ṛg-veda* and is traceable in the Epic and Purāṇa conception of Nārāyaṇa ; but the interpretations appear to be later concoctions of misconceived etymology. Both the derivations, however, appear to be accepted in the Epic. In iii, 189, 3 (also in iii, 271, 42) it is said that Nārāyaṇa is so called because in days of yore he named the waters *nārāḥ* and made them his resting place (*ayana*) ; in xii, 341, 39-40 (=*Manu-Saṃhitā*, i, 10) the same derivation of the name is given with the addition that the waters bore that name because they were the offspring of *nara* (*āpo nārā iti proktā āpo vai nara-sūnavaḥ*) ! It is not clear if *nara* in the phrase *nara-sūnavaḥ* is a proper name or simply means 'man,' but it is clear that Nārāyaṇa here declares himself to be "the resting place or goal of man" (*narāṇam ayanaṃ khyātam aham ekaḥ sanātanaḥ*),—S.K.D.]

2 [Nara, except as identified with Arjuna, appears to possess no direct activity or importance, but only remains as a mysterious shadow of Nārāyaṇa. His origin and association cannot be traced in the earlier train of ideas ; but R. G. Bhandarkar gives the some-

It is not until we come to the fourth *prapāṭhaka* of the *Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka* (x, 1, 6) that we find again the mention of Nārāyaṇa[1]; but this section, which is also known as the *Mahā-Nārāyaṇa Upaniṣad* and which refers to many late sectarian deities, is described as a *khila* or supplement, and is therefore presumably a later addition.[2] It is not surprising, therefore, that the mention of Nārāyaṇa is made here in connexion with Vāsudeva and Viṣṇu apparently as three phases of the same Supreme Being (*Nārāyaṇāya vidmahe, Vāsudevāya dhīmahi, tanno Viṣṇuḥ pracodayāt*).

A later reference in Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka.

In the *Mahābhārata*[3] (as well as in the Purāṇas) the identification of Nārāyaṇa as the supreme god (*deva-devaḥ sanātanaḥ*) with Viṣṇu and Vāsudeva (and as a corollary, with every other great god) is complete. It may be suggested that the early identification of Viṣṇu with sacrifice and Nārāyaṇa's symbolical connexion with sacrifice had something to do with their ultimate equalisation; for it is significant that Viṣṇu as the essence of sacrifice is still worshipped under the name of Yajña-

Nārāyaṇa in the Mahābhārata.

what artificial explanation (*op. cit.* sec. 34) that the origin of the idea of Nara and Nārāyaṇa is to be sought in the Upaniṣadic parable of two birds dwelling in the same tree, one looking on, and the other actively engaged in eating the fruit thereof. The connexion suggested is hardly convincing, and the description of Nara as actively eating the fruit does not apply. The association of deities in pair, or the tradition of legendary twins is ancient. Is it too fanciful to presume that the original Brāhmaṇa conception of Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa was for some mysterious reasons split up, according to this ancient tradition of pairing deities, into Nara (= Puruṣa), and Nārāyaṇa (also = Puruṣa) who is an afterthought or an obvious derivative therefrom? Does not the tradition refer to a duplication into Nara and Nārāyaṇa (*sattvam ekaṃ dvidhā kṛtam*, see *Mbh.*, v, 49, 21), the quadruplication being the result of an obviously later addition?—S.K.D.].

1 Cf. Weber, *Indische Studien*, i, 78; xiii, 353.

2 Keith (*JRAS*, 1908, p. 171, fn.) thinks, however, that the date of the passage can hardly be later than the 3rd century B.C.

3 Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 206. The phrase quoted is taken from a reference to Nārāyaṇa in i, 67, 90 (BORI. ed. Poona 1930) = 1, 67, 151 (Bombay ed.). It also occurs in xii, 336, 24 and 29 etc. Also *deva-devaḥ purātanaḥ* in xii, 336, 12 etc.

(Sacrifice) Nārāyaṇa[1]. Mythological accounts in the Epic connect Nārāyaṇa with creation and with the ancient conception of primeval waters.[2] He is still called Puruṣa, Mahāpuruṣa, Uttama-puruṣa, or and Puruṣottama, and probably from this connexion Viṣṇu derives his well-known epithet of Uttama-Puruṣa or Puruṣottama.[3]

especially in the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Śāntiparvan,

It is in this character as the supreme deity and as identified with Viṣṇu and Vāsudeva that Nārāyaṇa appears as the originator of a devotional religion (which however appears to have have had a tradition independent of Viṣṇuism or Vāsudevism) in the somewhat confused and mythical account of the Nārāyaṇīya episode of the twelfth book of the *Mahābhārata*[4]. We shall consider the details of the Nārāyaṇīya theology of Ekānta-dharma and its independent character hereafter; but what concerns us most at present is the tradition, which appears to survive here, of the early character of Nārāyaṇa himself. The tale relates (xii, 334) that the one original form of Nārāyaṇa took birth in the Kṛta age in the quadruple form of Nara, Nārāyaṇa, Hari and Kṛṣṇa as the four sons of Dharma or Righteousness.[5]

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1 Narāyaṇa's connexion with sacrifice (*yajña*) is indicated in the epithets given to him throughout the Nārāyaṇīya section, such as *yajña*, *mahāyajña*, *yajñapati*, *yajña-hṛdaya* etc. (xii, 338, 4; xii, 339, 10 etc.); and it is significant that he is also called *Paramayājñika* by Nārada. Yajña is also the name of an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* list of incarnations (i, 3, 1 f.).

2 See the story of the Boy and the Nyagrodha tree in *Mbh.* iii, 188, 89. The primeval waters were regarded from Ṛg-vedic times as the original seat of the generating power of the universe.

3 What appears more or less as a title or description in the Epic becomes a definite manifestation (*prādurbhāva* or *avatāra*) in the Purāṇas. Thus Puruṣa is given as a *prādurbhāva* in the list of 22 Avatāras in the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* (i, 3, 1 f) where Nara and Nārāyaṇa are also Avatāras.

4 xii, 334-351 (Bombay Edition). An analysis of the episode is given by Grierson in *Ind. Ant.*, Sept. 1908, p. 263 f. and by R. G. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.* sec. 4-5. Also in Sörensen, *Index*, pp. 512-16.

5 In vii, 200, 57 also we are told that Nārāyaṇa for the purpose of action (*kāryārtham*) took birth as the son of Dharma and performed austerities. The birth from Dharma is also referred to in xii, 342, 106-7, 127; xii, 347, 1; xii, 343, 51; xii, 344, 20. In some of the Purāṇas Ahiṃsā is said to be the mother.

The first two, Nara and Nārāyaṇa, took up their abode in the hermitage of Badarī and practised penances there.[1] They were still there when the ever inquisitive Nārada came to visit them; but Hari and Kṛṣṇa who dwelt there formerly were no longer present at the time of Nārada's visit. To Nārada's question as to whom they could be worshipping when they themselves were the supreme deities, Nārāyaṇa informed his amazed enquirer that he was worshipping his own original form (*prakṛti*), the all-pervading and eternal, which embraced both the existent and the non-existent. After this philosophical conversation, Nārada made up his mind, with Nārāyaṇa's permission, to go and see the original form of Nārāyaṇa; and by means of mystical Yoga-powers he soared into the sky and reached the summit of Mount Meru from which place he obtained in the northwest direction a Pisgah-sight of the mythical godland and abode of Nārāyaṇa, the mysterious Śvetadvīpa,[2] surrounded by the Milk ocean.

which records a second tradition of his early character as an ancient deified sage or ṛṣi.

There can be no doubt about the extremely mythical character of this account, but it is possible that this strange story preserves even in its mythical garb an ancient tradition about Nārāyaṇa and the Nārāyaṇīya sect. Although indistinguishable from the supreme diety, there is a hint that both Nara and Nārāyaṇa were originally ancient saints of legend. While the description *ṛṣi* (sage) is common (e.g. xii, 339, 100; xii, 343, 10 and xii, 346, 7-8; v, 96, 14; v, 97, 2; iii, 47, 11), they

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1 This performance of austerities at Badarī (at Gandhamādana in v, 96, 15) by Nara and Nārāyaṇa is also referred to in other places, e.g., in iii, 40, 1; iii, 141, 23 (Gandhamādana is also mentioned), iii, 156, 10 etc., and seems to be an established tradition. See also v, 111, 4, where it is said that in the hermitage of Badarī, Nārāyaṇa, Kṛṣṇa and Brahmā reside. In i, 70, 29 the hermitage is described as *gaṅgayā upośobhitam*; in iii, 145, 40 as *bhāgīrathyupaśobhitam*.

2 Attempts at a geographical localisation of the place, as Barnett rightly emphasises (*op. cit.*, p. 84, note), have been wholly misdirected. The question gained importance from the hypothesis, put forward by some scholars, of points of contact between Christianity and early *bhakti* religion; the so-called "white-landers" in their opinion, representing a Christian community, probably Nestorian, in the north. This is not the place to discuss the question in detail; but the theory of *early* Christain influence from the north, with which we are immediately concerned, may now be taken to have been discredited.

are expressly mentioned in xii, 335, 6, and xii, 343, 34, as *purāṇau ṛṣī* or ancient sages,[1] performing austerities. The epithet also occurs in iii, 47, 10; vi, 65, 11; viii, 87, 74, where Nara and Nārāyaṇa are not only great ancient sages (*purāṇau ṛṣi-sattamau*), but are also the prototypes of the close epic association of Arjuna and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa respectively. Again, in iii, 12, 46, Janārdana (=Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa) is said to have addressed Arjuna and declared that "thou art Nara and I am Nārāyaṇa-Hari, and we, the two sages (*ṛṣī*) Nara-Nārāyaṇa, have come to this world at the proper time." The same sentiment is repeated in the rather long digression in the Nārāyaṇīya (vii, 341, 37) on the etymology of the various names of the supreme deity of the cult. Indeed, this idea of Arjuna and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa as incarnations of Nara and Nārāyaṇa respectively (inspite of the many declarations that Arjuna is also an *aṃśa* of Indra) appears to be fairly well established in the epic;[2] but the tradition also is important that originally Nara and Nārāyaṇa were ancient sages, just as Arjuna and Vāsudeva were considered as human incarnations. Their traditional deification is also expressed by the description that Nara and Nārāyaṇa were 'tradi-

1 The epic Nara and Nārāyaṇa, as well as Hari and Kṛṣṇa, occur also as the sublimated forms of Lokapālas (see Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 152, f.n.).

2 Also in 1, 67, 110; i, 218, 5; iii, 86, 6; vi, 23, 26 etc. Tadpatrikar (*B.O.R. Institute Annals*, x, p. 331) computes 26 references to this combined identification in the Epic, and rightly reminds us that the joint-worship of Vāsudeva and Arjuna is referred to in Pāṇini, iv, 3, 98. With regard to Arjuna's godhead, which is proclaimed to him in iii, 41, 35 and 43; iii, 47, 7f., Hopkins remarks (*Great Epic of India*, New Haven, 1920, p. 184): "Arjuna is a form of Viṣṇu. He is taught this with wonder and great amaze in the sixth book. But our amazement at his amazement is still greater, for this doctrine, apparently so new to him, was revealed to him long before, in the third book, and on that earlier occasion he appeared fully to appreciate the fact that he was divine and identical with Kṛṣṇa, which facts in the sixth book he has totally forgotten." [It seems that Arjuna's godhead and identification with Nara was an afterthought (the 26 references are comparatively much too little) arising out of his friendship with Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva who was perhaps long ago identified with Nārāyaṇa. The way in which this godhead is protested would also indicate its comparatively recent origin.—S. K. D.]

tionally two old gods"[1] (*nara-nārāyaṇau devau pūrva-devāviti śrutiḥ*, v, 49, 19 ; also v, 49, 5f.).

It is also curious that this tradition of Nārāyaṇa as an ancient sage vaguely allies itself with the earlier recorded Puruṣa-conception of Nārāyaṇa by means of the other tradition mentioned above, which alleges that he was the *ṛṣi* or sage who composed the Puruṣa-sūkta of *Ṛg-veda*, x, 90.

This composite origin of the epic Nārāyaṇa is interesting as affording a striking instance of the moulding of a personal god out of ancient figures of myth and legend. On the one hand, we have the euhemeristic view which indicates that Nārāyaṇa was originally a divine or deified saint ; on the other hand, the old symbolical-ritualistic idea of Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa, connected with creation, contributes to make the conception complete. But in whatever way we trace the obscure origin and history of Nārāyaṇa, it is clear that in the Epic the equation Viṣṇu = Nārāyaṇa = Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa = the supreme deity is fully established. A precise solution of the equation is not possible, but it may be suggested that, on the one hand, Nārāyaṇa's Brāhmaṇic connexion with sacrifice as Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa probably helped his equalisation with Viṣṇu,

Significance of his composite origin as an explanation of his identification with Viṣṇu and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa respectively.

1 [In this interesting passage (as well as in v, 96) warlike attributes are also ascribed to them so that their incarnations as Arjuna and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa may not be unfitting. Brahmā informs Bṛhaspati (v, 49) that the ascetics (*tāpasu*) Nara and Nārāyaṇa exist for the destruction of Asūras (*asūrāṇāṃ vināśāya*) and that they are repeatedly born in times of war. The story of the obtaining of the Nārāyaṇa-weapon (vii, 195f.) is based on this legend. The pharse *pūrva-deva* occurs in i, 224, 3 : *nara-nārāyaṇau yau tau pūrva-devau vibhāvasau| samprāptau mānuṣe loke* (i.e. = Arjuna and Vāsudeva) *kāryārthaṃ hi divaukasām||* ; in i, 228, 18 : *vāsudevārjunāvetau......| nara-nārāyaṇāve tau pūrva-devau divi śrutau||* ; in viii, 10, 41 (*pūrva-devau mahātmānau* = A and V) etc. In viii, 200, 58f. Nārāyaṇa is said to have performed austerities for 66,000 years, and then for twice that period at the Himavat. He thus became Brahman (*brahma-bhūtaḥ*), beheld the supreme deity Śiva, to whom he recited a hymn and obtained boons. From the austerities, we are told, was born a great sage, Nara, who was equal to Nārāyaṇa himself and who is none other than Arjuna. In iii, 41, 35, Arjuna himself is called *pūrva-deva*.—S.K.D.]

the Brāhmaṇic personation of Sacrifice; while on the other hand, the the tradition of his euhemeristic origin probably made it easy to approximate him to Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, in whose legendary history also an euhemeristic element must be admitted.

On the origin of the name Pañcarātra[1] given to the devotional religion of the Nārāyaṇīya, the suggestion is tempting that it connects itself with the *pañcarātra sattra*, lasting over five days, which the mythical Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa is reported in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (xiii, 6, 1) to have performed for obtaining exclusive supremacy; but it must be admitted that there is no direct evidence to support this connexion. In the Epic we are told (xii, 339, 110 f.) that the Pañcarātras only intensified the cult introduced by Nārada, which must be the doctrine explained by Nārāyaṇa to him;[2] and in this view the Pañca-

Origin of the name Pañcarātra, given to the system.

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1 The system is called Pañcarātra and its followers Pañcarātrin or Pāñcarātrika, but sometimes both the system and followers are known as Pāñcarātra. In the Epic, the word, usually in the form Pañcarātra, is almost exclusively used for the system or doctrine (xii, 218, 11; 335, 25; 339, 111; 349, 1; 349, 64; 349, 68; 349, 72).

2 The other statement that the Pañcarātras derive their doctrine from the sun need not seriously affect this tradition. The same thing is also said of the Bhāgavatas. The statement, however, is qualified in the Epic itself by the other statements that the sun, in the form of Sūrya or Vivaśvat, was, like Nārada, only one of the many recipients and communicators of the religion, but that it came ultimately from Nārāyaṇa himself. This view about the sun being the recipient of the religion may have come in after Viṣṇu, originally a Vedic solar god, was accepted in the cult as the supreme deity, or it may have been due to the influence of the Saura sects or solar cults, whose independent existence is mentioned in the Epic. The complex Epic sectarianism was elastic enough, and did not disdain conscious or unconscious contamination, for even Śiva becomes a form of Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa and plays a part in the mythology of the Nārāyaṇas or Pañcarātras. That the intrusion of solar myths does not prove that the religion itself was originally or at any time a form of sun-worship has already been emphasised by us above.

rātras would be identical with the Nārāyaṇīyas or Ekāntins. In the list of names which Nārada utters in praise of Nārāyaṇa (xii, 338, 4), the latter is called *inter alia Pañcarātrika*.[1]

But the origin as well as the precise meaning of the term is really obscure. Various strange etymologies[2] have been suggested; but they are not only instances of misplaced etymological ingenuity but are also obviously late concoctions to explain the actually obscure or forgotten origin of the name. F. Otto Schrader, who has made a special study of the later Pañcarātra Āgamas, mentions[3] what he thinks to be a more reliable explanation (though given in the apocryphal *Nārada-Pañcarātra*) that the expression Pañcarātra refers to the five (pañca) principal topics or kinds of knowledge (*rātra*)[4] treated in the system or the texts, viz., reality (*tattva*), liberation (*mukti*), devotion (*bhakti*), yoga (*yaugika*) and the objects of sense (*vaiṣayika*), although none of the accepted texts of the school strictly conforms to this ideal division. But the explanation, though less fanciful, is obviously a suitable afterthought. Schrader, on the other hand, seems to support our suggestion that the term is to be ulti-

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1 Nīlakaṇṭha explains the phrase as "one who is attainable by the scriptures of the Pañcarātras (*pañcarātrāgama-gamya*). On the epithet *pañca-kāla-kartṛpati* employed in this connexion see S. K. De, *JRAS*, 1931, p. 415 who maintains that Pañca-kāla = Pañcarātra as the designation of the cult.

2 Such as (i) the night (*rātra*) = obscuration of five (*pañca*) great śāstras, viz., Yoga, Sāṃkhya, Bauddha, Ārhata and Kāpāla or Pāśupata, (ii) the śāstra which puts to death (*pañcatva*) other śāstras, just as the sun makes the night (*rātri*) die, (iii) the system of cooking = destroying (*pañc*, from root *pac*, to cook) the night (*rātri*) = ignorance, (iv) the system which takes its name from the five sacraments (branding etc.) or five daily observances (*abhigamana* etc.). See A. Govindacarya Svamin in *JRAS*, 1911, p. 940f; Schrader, *Introduction to Pañcarātra*, Adyar (Madras), 1916, pp. 22, 24.

3 *Op. cit.*, pp. 24f.; also quoted in *JRAS*, 1911, p. 941.

4 The word *rātra* (or more correctly *rātri*) here, as Schrader explains, which originally meant 'night', came by some mysterious train of thought (or is it because the doctrine was thought to be esoteric and secret?) to mean both a cardinal doctrine of the system and a chapter or work dealing with the doctrine.

mately connected with the passage in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (xiii, 6, 1) where the word *pañcarātra* occurs with reference to Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa's continuous sacrifice for five days.[1] This would also explain the epic connexion or synonymity between the Pañcarātras and the Nārāyaṇīya Ekāntins, as well as the name Pāñcarātrika given to Nārāyaṇa himself in the Epic and the Purāṇas. But Schrader would like to give a more doctrinal trend to the interpretation by connecting it with the theory of "Manifestation," and suggesting (chiefly on the authority of *Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā*) that "the sect took its name from its central dogma, which was the Pañcarātra sattra of Nārāyaṇa interpreted philosophically as the fivefold manifestation of God by means of His Para, Vyūha, Vibhava, Antaryāmin and Arcā forms." This suggestion accords well with the doctrines that prevailed in the later development of the school,[2] but unfortunately we possess no early texts to confirm it.

Probable connexion with the mythical Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa's Pañcarātra-sattra.

Who were the Ekāntins or Pañcarātras, and what was the character of their theology, said to have been promulgated by Nārāyaṇa himself as an expression of a *bhakti*-religion? Even if their origin which is lost in obscurity may have been different, it is clear that the equation Pañcarātra = Ekāntin is established without question in the Epic.[3] Whether these names are conterminous with Sātvata and Bhāgavata we need not discuss at present; but there are passages mainly at the end of the Nārāyaṇīya section (xii, 348, 29 and 34) which say twice that the religion is followed by the Sātvata, and another which says that Uparicara-vasu, Nārāyaṇa's early devotee, followed the Sātvata rule (xii, 335, 19); while the term Bhagavat and direct reference

The religious system of the Ekāntin or Pañcarātra,

1 Cf. Barnett, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

2 The Vyūha doctrine, however, is old and is found in the Nārāyaṇīya.

3 The connexion with Kāpileya or the epic Sāṃkhya-Yoga doctrine and the declaration that Pañcaśikha was a teacher of the Pañcarātra system (xii, 218, 11) only emphasise the close alliance of the two systems on the philosophical side, and nothing more. The so-called Sāṃkhya-Yoga or the Pañcaśikha scheme, as set forth in the Epic, has little inner connexion with the Nārāyaṇīya faith; on the contrary, they are contrasted in many points, inspite of mutual contamination.

apparently to the *Bhagavad-gītā* are also not absent in the account. The original records or scriptures, consisting of "a hundred thousand excellent ślokas" of the Ekāntins or Pañcarātras, referred to in xii, 335, 27 f. and in xii, 339, 110 f., if they ever existed, are not available. Our knowledge of the cult is derived chiefly from the Epic, but the Epic account is greatly overlaid with mythical, legendary and adventitious theosophical matters. There is also the possibility of this account being a somewhat later "Brāhmaṇised" version of an originally independent popular faith. It is difficult to disentangle the pristine form of the cult from these embellishments, but it is highly probable that the cult in its origin was non-Vedic, and that the form in which it is set forth in the Nārāyaṇīya would indicate that, compared with the more or less systematic doctrine of the *Bhagavadgītā*, it represents a less developed and less coherent form of the religion, which has not yet emerged from its mythical and legendary surroundings. The teachings of the two texts, however independently they may have originated, ultimately formed, as emphasised in the Epic itself, the doctrine of one religious body (xii, 346, 11 ; xii, 348, 8 and 53); but they possibly belonged to different sections of the same church, or perhaps represented an earlier and a later tradition respectively of one popular religious movement, diverging in many particulars but agreeing at least in one essential.

possibly embodying an earlier tradition than Bhāgavatism.

(*To be continued*)

MRINAL DASGUPTA

MISCELLANY

"Gaṅgā" in Ceylon and India

In connection with the definition of "the boundary marks" "of waterlogged waste lands, pertaining to the right of entrance" of the "Āśrama-Vihāra" "dedicated to Ārya Avalokiteśvara," the recently discovered Gunaighar Grant of Vainyagupta[1] refers to the Ha-(?) cātagaṃgā. The words "paścimena Ha-(?)-cātagaṃgā" signify that the river Ha-(?)-cāta formed the western boundary. The editor, Mr. Bhattacharya, renders it by "stream" and points out that this sense is still conveyed by the word "gang" (gāṅg ?) in Eastern Bengal.

I may note that it is not the only epigraphical instance of Gaṅgā meaning a stream. The inscription of Vainyagupta is dated 188 G. E. (current).[2] In the Partabgarh Inscription of Mahendrapāla II who belonged to the Pratihāra Dynasty,[3] we find that at least seven grants to different deities by several personages are consolidated in one record.[4] All of these, however, are "in favour of the shrine attached to the monastery of Harirṣīśvara." The Partabgarh Inscription bears the date 1003,[5] *i.e.* 946 A. C. The notable point for our present purpose occurs in the eleventh line of this inscription. The words "Kā-(hiṃ)kyāṃ Gaṅgāyāṃ snātvā" cannot but mean "having bathed in the "Kā(hiṃ)ki" or "Kā(hiṃ) kí" river.

The average North Indian, however, means by the "Gaṅgā" the particular river Ganges which waters his homeland. The Bengali Hindu however alters his interpretation when the Gaṅgā enters his own province. To him the Ganges at Benares, for example, is certainly the Sacred River, but he usually attaches no great sanctity to the Padmā in Eastern Bengal. The Hughli, or the Bhāgirathi is *the* Gaṅgā, so far as he is concerned. But the Ādigaṅgā which waters

1 *I.H.Q.*, March, 1930, pp. 53-56.

2 The editor accepts the views of Mr. Pathak who takes it to be equivalent to 506 A.C. (p. 47).

3 *E. I.*, XIV, pp. 182-184.

4 There is a similar instance in the Vaśiṣṭha Temple inscription on Mount Abu (*I. A.*, II, p. 256).

5 *E. I.*, p. 184, l, 13.

a part of Calcutta is also believed at least locally, to possess a high degree of sanctity. The word means "the earlier Ganges."

This North Indian interpretation can also be supported by epigraphic passages. The verse of Yaśodharman's Mandasor Inscription[1] runs as follows :—

Ā Lauhityopakaṇṭhāt tālavanagahanopatyakād ā Mahendrād
Ā Gaṅgāśliṣṭasānos tuhinaśikhariṇaḥ paścimād ā payodeḥ /
Sāmantair yasya bāhudraviṇahṛtamadaiḥ pādayor ānamadbhiś
Cuḍāratnāṃśurājivyatikaraśabalā bhūmibhāgāḥ kriyante /

The Gaṅgā in this verse refers unmistakably to the particular river. In the Untikavatika Grant of Abhimanyu who belonged to that Rāṣṭrakuṭa House, which did not use the Garuḍa, but had the Lion with open jaws and a protruding tongue as their crest,[2] we find another verse which runs as follows :—

yasyānyabhūmipatibhir vvijitā (bh) imānair-
ucchrāyivaṃśanihitās svayaśaḥpatākā/
dṛṣṭā ciraṃ pratidinaṃ nanu dṛśyate ca
gaṅgeva puṇyasalilā purataḥ pravṛddhāḥ//[3]

The "yasya" refers to the grandfather of the reigning king Abhimanyu. The Gaṅgā here again undoubtedly stands for *the* river of Northern India. The inscription is assigned "on palaeographical grounds to approximately the seventh century A.D."

In the Hindol Plate of Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Śrī Śubhākaradeva,[4] we find "Gaṅgeṭijoṭāraddhasrotasā" etc.[5] in connection with the definition of the boundaries of the grāma called Noḍḍilo which was conveyed to the use of Vaidyanāthabhaṭṭāraka.[6] Pandit Binayka Misra has recently edited that inscription. Pandit Misra is of opinion that Noḍḍilo is "distinctly identical with the village Nanḍelo now lying in the Hindol State". The

1 *C.I.I.*, vol. III, no. 33.

2 *E. I.*, VIII, p. 165 and 166. The lion, as shown in the plate facing p. 164, is indistinct. Indraji however took it to be such in 1883 A.D. (*J.R.A.S.*, vol. XVI, p. 90).

3 The last visarga is wrong.

4 *JBORS*, March 1930, pp. 77 to 80.

5 L. 40.

6 Ll. 18 to 21.

modern principality lies to the north of the Mahānadī and the town of Hindol lies close to the south-eastern border of Angul between the Mahānadī and the Brāhmaṇī rivers. The village of Noḍḍilo therefore does not seem to have been situated anywhere near the sacred river of Northern India. The stream is very probably a local one. Orissa is a "massif-block", and it is not probable that the course of *the* Gaṅgā stretched so far south, only a thousand years back.

Several rivers in Ceylon have "gaṅgā" (pronounced gāṅgā) as parts of their names. One of these is the Kelánigaṅgá (pronounced Kelyānigāṅgā) about eightyfour miles long, from its source to its mouth. It takes its name from the district of Kelāniyā by which it flows, and gains its importance from its proximity to the modern seat of government, Colombo. There is a local tradition that the Buddha came to the town of Kelāniyā where a large stūpa dedicated to him exists to this day. A certain sanctity is associated with this river, because the Buddha is supposed to have bathed in it. The Kálugaṅgá is another river which flows through the Western Province. It meets the sea where the town of Kālutārā (commonly pronounced Kālcurā), which gives it its name, stands. The Gingaṅgá which waters the Southern Province, takes its rise from the Goongala Range, and after a course of fifty-nine miles meets the sea close to the modern port of Galle. The Nilwalagaṅgá which comes from Urubokka mountain, situated about four miles to the south-east of Dehiyāya, the Walawegaṅgá which joins the sea at Ambalanota, the Māgamagaṅgá and the Kataragāmagaṅgá which lie to the east of the Walawe are the other notable rivers of the Southern Province. The Mahāwaligaṅgá is the longest of the rivers of the island. It meets the Ambangaṅgá which rises close to Mātale, and flows by the town bearing the historic name of Nālandā.

It divides itself into two streams the Kurugalagaṅgá and the Virugalagaṅgá, when it enters into the Eastern Province. No sanctity is attributed to the waters of the Mahāwaligaṅgā. The Menikgaṅgá which is about eighty-one miles long, has for its source the Namunukulā Range. Its mouth lies to the east of Hambantota.

It is evident from the above that "gaṅgá" in Ceylon means a river.[1]

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1 Kālidása, uses Gaṅgā in the sense of the sacred river in many passages. See *Raghuvaṃśa*, canto XIII, verses 9, 10 and 57; canto IV, verses 32 and 36.

It is not my purpose to come to any definite conclusion here, beyond pointing out that North Indian epigraphical instances from the period beginning with the fourth, and ending in the tenth century A.C. favour both the interpretations of the word "Gaṅgā", and that another evidence of the intimate cultural contact of Simhalese Ceylon with North India lies in the geographical use of that word in this Island.

J. C. DE

An early supporter of Shivaji

Kānhoji Jédhé, deshmukh of Bhor, in the Puna district, came over to Shivaji's side during the latter's contest with Āfzal Khān (1659) and with his own contingent fought the Maratha king's battles right manfully in various places for many years afterwards.[1] The chronology (*shakāvali*) kept by this family is one of the most valuable sources of early Maratha history. Their home is the village of Kāri some ten miles from the town of Bhor, in the territory of the Sachiv one of the *sardārs* of the Puna district. During a visit to the place in January 1930, I discovered the following *farmān* of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh, sultān of Bijapur, issued to Kānhoji Jédhé on 7th Jamādi-us-sāni 1054 A.H. (=1st August 1644).

Kāri is situated in the heart of the Māval country. This tract was in one sense a frontier district of the Nizām-Shāhi kingdom of Āhmadnagar. When that dynasty was extinguished, it passed into the hands of 'Ādil Shāh of Bijapur (about 1636), but it was long before the new sovereign's authority was fully recognised there. The Jédhés had been originally retainers of Randaula Khān, and continued to find in him their master and protector after the district came under 'Ādil Shāh's sway. At first the new sovereign gave the fief of the Jédhés to a Muhammadan female (of Kaliān ?), but on appeal the Jédhés got it back, evidently through the mediation of Randaula Khan (about 1637-8).

From Randaula's service they were transferred to the contingent of Shāhji Bhonslé, who was a lifelong friend of Randaula.

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1 See Jédhé Chronology as tr. by me in *Shivaji Souvenir*, ed. by Sardesai (1927), pp. 1—44.

The present *farmān* is of great importance as throwing contemporary light on the activities of Dādāji Kond-dev and giving the exact dates of the Maratha acquisition of Kondāna (Singh-garḥ) and Shāhji's rupture with Bijapur.

TEXT OF THE FARMAN[1]

فرمان همایون شرف [صدور یافت بنام کانهوجی نایک جیدهی]

از شهور سنه اربع اربعین الف چون شاهجي بهونسله از مردودان

درگاه والا جاه گشته و داداجی کوند دیو متعلق او که در طرف کندانه

است - جهت دفع و رفع کردا ; راو و] بقبض درآوردن آن ولایت عزت و

رفعت دستگاه شجاعت و شهامت اشتباه عمدة ا ل [امثال] والا قران

لایق المراحم و الاحسان سجه الاهالی و الاعیان زبدة القبایل و الاخوان

کهندوجی و باجي کهوپریان را با وزرای عظام تعین فرموده شده است - باید که

او [معه] احشام خود نزد مشار الیهما آمده از استصواب مشار الیهما داداجی

کوند دیو مذکور و متعلقان آن حرام خوار را گوشمال داده نیست و نابود سازد -

آن ولایت را بقبض و تصرف در آورد که باعث سرافرازي آوست - تا داند[2]

تحریرا فی التاریخ هفتم شهر جمادی الثانی سنه ۱۰۵۴

بسم اعلی

پروانگی حضور اشرف اقدس

Translation

This auspicious rescript [is issued in the name of Kānhoji Nāyak Jédhé], in the *Shahur san* 1044. As Shāhji Bhonslé has become one

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1. The paper has cracked in some places, but the missing words can be easily supplied. They are enclosed within square brackets.

2. تاکید داند

of the enemies [*lit.*, rejected, reprobated] of this august Court, and Dādāji Kond-dev, his supreme agent, is [campaigning] in the region of Kondāna,—therefore, for the purpose of putting a stop to [his] activity and gaining possession of that country, [long titles] Khandoji and Bāji Khopḍé have been appointed to accompany [our] grand nobles. It is proper that he [*i.e.*, Kānhoji Jédhé, also with] his contingent (*āhshām*) should go to the aforesaid persons, and with their co-operation [*lit.*, advice] punish and reduce to nothing the said Dādāji Kond-dev and the associates of that base fellow [*lit.*, eater of unclean food],—and bring that region into possession,—so that it may result in his [=Jédhé's] being exalted. Know it to be urgent. Written on 7th Jamādi-us-sāni, year 1054.

In the name of the Most High.[1]

Parwānah of his honoured and sacred Majesty.

JADUNATH SARKAR

1 May be an error for "In the name of 'Āli,"—whose name was cut on the seals of the Bijapur sultans.

The "Webbed finger" of Buddha

Discussing this subject in I.H.Q. for December 1930, Mr. Banerjea defends the view of Foucher, that the *jālalakkhaṇa* originally referred to lines on the palms of the hands and soles of the feet, and that through the misinterpretation of a technical device of the sculptors (intended to prevent the fractures of the fingers of stone images), it later came to be regarded as implying a webbing or membrane connecting the digits. There is much to be said for this view, but against it may be cited the facts (1) that the palms and soles of the Buddha, as Mahāpuruṣa, were said to have been marked with a *cakka*, and are so represented in very many sculptures of an early date, and it is not likely that another *lakkhaṇa* referred to other lines in the same places, and (2) as pointed out by Stutterheim, in a discussion on the problem in Acta Orientalia, VII, 232 ff., (overlooked by Mr. Banerjea), the word *jāla* is employed by Kālidāsa in the *Śakuntalā*,[1] with unmistakable reference to the thin lines of rosy light which may be seen between the fingers when they are in contact, and the hand is held up against the light. These two objections make it very difficult to accept the Foucher-Banerjea interpretation *in toto*.

My solution would be to accept the definite statement of Buddhaghosa, that the *jālalakkhaṇa* did not refer to a webbing between the figures (and Mr. Banerjea is probably right in saying that Buddhaghosa deliberately begins with this statement, having in view the already existing images with this physical peculiarity indicated), but that the fingers were "of one measure" (*ekappamāṇā*) "like the latticed window made by carpenter" (*vaḍḍhakinā-yojitajāla-vātapāna*), in other words, that the fingers were straight and regularly formed ; another *lakkhaṇa* tells us that they were long.

Buddhaghosa's reliability has already been demonstrated in so many cases once considered unintelligible or mistaken (e.g. in the matters of the *hatthi-nakhakaṃ ālinda*, or that of the officiating of the king's eldest son as Pariṇāyaka, where his interpretations have been

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1 Incidentally, it may be noted, that the "hand" described by Kālidāsa is evidently the *padmakośa hasta* of the works on *Abhinaya*, and that this *padmakośa* hand would certainly have been employed by the actor at this point in playing the part.

shown to be correct. In the present case, his explanation gains plausibility from the fact of its correspondence with the usage of *jāla* in the Śakuntalā ; in the simile of the window we meet with the same idea of lines of light seen between parallel opaque bands, fingers or wooden rods as the case may be. The *jāla*, then, does not imply "webbing" or any abnormality, but simply a perfection of form demonstrated by the appearance of the reddish lines of light that may be seen between the parallel fingers when the hand is held up to the light. But observe that such lines are only in fact regularly disposed (like the spaces between window bars) and evidently seen when the fingers are regular (*ekappamāṇā*) as well as delicate and long (which other *lakkhaṇas* require) ; if the joints are swollen, there will be places where the fingers are too closely pressed together to allow of the passage of any light at all, and other spaces where the fingers are not quite in contact, and only clear daylight can be seen between the fingers. Hence the *jālalakkhaṇa* implies after all nothing but a perfection of form of the fingers, such as might be looked for in the hand of the Mahāpuruṣa. If, as seems probable, a later misinterpretation arose, originating in the sculptor's device, this is only a parallel to what happened in the case of *uṇhīsa-sīsa* which originally meant "destined to wear a royal turban", and later came to be regarded (perhaps also by misinterpretation of images) as "having a cranial protuberance". It is not altogether surprising that a later age should have thus interpreted as miraculous abnormalities what had once been simple and intelligible matters ; for the tendency to develope the miraculous elements in the Buddha legend is a well-recognised one in the corresponding literature.

Thus, I am on the side of Foucher and Banerjea as to the fact of misinterpretation based on the sculptor's device ; but on the side of Stutterheim as to the original meaning of the word *jāla* as used in the *lakkhaṇa* lists.

ANANDA COOMARASWAMY

A few Evidences on the Age of the Kathāvatthu

(i) *Tradition*

We have to depend mainly on the Ceylonese tradition for ascertaining the time of composition of the *Kathāvatthu*, one of the seven treatises of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka. The tradition[1] tells us that the controversies embodied in the *K. V.* took place at the Third Buddhist Council, convened in the 17th regnal year of king Aśoka. The compilation of the book too, was, it is said, made at the same time by the Thera Moggaliputta Tissa, and was included in the Canon among the seven Abhidhamma treatises. Buddhaghosa in discussing the authority of the *K. V.* makes a statement in his *Atthasālinī*[2] to the effect that Buddha himself laid down the table of contents (mātikā) of the *K. V.*, and while doing it he foresaw that more than 218 years after his demise (*mama parinibbānato aṭṭhārasavassādhikānaṃ dvinnaṃ vassasatānaṃ matthake*) Tissa, son of Moggalī, being seated in the midst of one thousand bhikṣus, would elaborate the *K. V.* to the extent of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, bringing together 500 orthodox and 500 heterodox suttas. The tradition further informs us that Moggaliputta Tissa persuaded king Aśoka to despatch Buddhist Missions after the conclusion of the Council.[3] This statement refers, therefore, to a time when the

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1 *Mahāvaṃsa*, (P.T.S. edition), ch. V, p. 55; also *Mahābodhivaṃsa*, p. 110.

2 *Atthasālinī* (P.T.S. edition), p. 8.

3 The *Mahābodhivaṃsa* (p. 113) corroborates this tradition and further tells us that soon after the close of the Third Buddhist Council under the presidentship of Moggaliputta Tissa it was found necessary to select those places in the border countries (paccantimesu janapadesu) where the teachings of the Master, if promulgated, were expected to endure long. Tissa, accordingly, selected nine centres to each of which he despatched a leading member of the order to establish the doctrine. The monks who were entrusted with the task were:—Majjhantika for Kasmīra and Gandhāra; Mahādeva for Mahiṃsakamaṇḍala; Rakkhita for Vanavāsi; Yonakadhammarakkhita for the Aparāntaka; Mahādhammarakkhita for the Mahāraṭṭha; Mahārakkhita for the country of the Yonakas; the thera Majjhima

Buddhist Missions were not yet organised under any royal patronage for the dissemination of the truths of Buddhism in regions outside the Middle Country.

(ii) *Geographical extent of Buddhism*

Here we shall try to examine whether the above traditional account can be corroborated by any internal evidence. In Book I, the 3rd point of controversy is that there was no holy life among the gods (N'atthi devesu brahmacariyavāso'ti). In course of the controversy the opponent of the orthodox school maintains that among the gods there is no Buddhist mode of holy life, the form of life which is regarded holy by the Buddhist recluses, because it is not till then introduced among the inhabitants, godly or otherwise, in the regions outside the limit of the Middle Country, i.e., in the 'Paccantima-janapadas'. He contends that as yet there can be no initiation or *Pabbajjā*, in places lying beyond the geographical limits of the Middle Country (Majjhima-janapada), referring thereby to the godly inhabitants of Uttarakuru and the Mlecchas of other places. From this it is evident that Buddhist missionary work was restricted up till the time of the *K.V.* within the territorial limits of the Middle Country, i.e. to say Buddhism was not yet propagated in India outside the Middle Country as defined in Buddhist literature.

(iii) *Attempts to check Schism*

The fact of the disruption of the Buddhist Church into various schools also affords some evidence for ascertaining the time of composition of the *K. V.* According to the commentator of the *K. V.* the Buddhist Order in India had been, in course of the 2nd century after Buddha's demise, divided into 18 schools. This is confirmed by both the Ceylonese chronicles, the *Dīpavaṃsa*[1] and

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for the regions lying near the Himalayas; and Soṇa and Uttara for the Suvaṇṇabhūmi. Not long after Tissa found in Mahinda, the son of Aśoka, a young and worthy disciple capable of carrying the doctrine to Laṅkā. It is interesting to note how each of these theras succeeded to turn the minds of the people in their respective localities and convert them into Buddhism.

1 *Dīpavaṃsa*, ch. V.

the *Mahāvaṃsa.*[1] Prof. Rhys Davids[2] has discussed this matter at some length and is inclined to believe that the number of schools was not eighteen but six or seven on the ground that the *Kathāvatthu Cy.* and the inscriptions on Buddhist topes as well as the records of Yuan Chwang furnish us with six or seven names. We cannot dismiss the traditional account as to the number of Buddhist schools prevalent in the 2nd century after Buddha's demise as unreliable on the ground that the *K. V.* and the Buddhist topes noted above are lacking in mentioning the names of the 18 schools, as it is not a sufficient proof of the non-existence of those schools. It is not strange that Yuan Chwang while giving an account of the 7th century A.C. should state the names of a few Buddhist schools, because the different schools which arose in the course of the 2nd century after Buddha's demise might afterwards have been either swallowed up, one by the other, or some of them disappeared being unable to withstand the opposition from rival schools. So in the absence of any better evidence to prove the contrary, we cannot disbelieve the traditional account of the Ceylonese chronicles. Here our point, however, is to show that though scholars may not agree as to the number of schools, there is no doubt that the Buddhist Church was divided into a few schools during the period under consideration.

This fact is corroborated by Aśoka's Schism Pillar Edict engraved in his 21st regnal year. The task of the *K. V.* being mainly to state the various theses put forward by the leading opponents of the Theravāda School, and to refute each of them from the view-point of the latter, it is evident that its purpose in view was indirectly the same as that of the Schism Pillar Edict of king Aśoka, viz., to put an end to the disruptive elements which threatened the orthodox school at that time. In view of the common object of the two writings, the P. E. and the *K. V.*, it may be said that they were productions of about the same period.

(iv) *Traces of Mahāyānic Influence*

There are, no doubt, in the *K. V.* a few topics (e.g., iv, 1, 7 ; xviii, 1-4 ; xx, 2 ; xxi, 4-6 ; xxii, 1-3, etc.), which prove that

1 *Mahāvaṃsa* (P.T.S. edition), ch. V, p. 29.

2 *Buddhism*, pp. 195ff.

some of the early Mahāyānic doctrines were known to the compiler. This, however, should not lead us to put the date back, because long before the growth of Mahāyāna, the Mahāyānic ideas and doctrines were already current among some of the early Buddhists, especially, the Mahāsaṅghikas and their offshoots.

Thus an examination of some of the materials of the *K. V.* and the Aśokan edicts shows that the compilation of the *K. V.* was made, at least in part, somewhere in the reign of king Aśoka.

DWIJENDRA LAL BARUA

The Age of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa

The evidence of the Maṇimekalai

V. A. Smith has examined the views of Wilson, Pargiter and others about the age of the Purāṇas in general and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* in particular.[1] He has shown that independent testimony assigns a much higher antiquity to the Purāṇas, which is earlier than the 4th century B.C.

Independent proof of the existence of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* in the early centuries of the Christian era is supplied to us by the Tamil classic the *Maṇimekalai*, the composition of which is generally assigned to the second century after Christ.[2] In a discourse at the assemblage of Vañji with teachers of different persuasions, Maṇimekalai was addressed in turn by the Vedāntin, the Śaivavādin, Brahmavādin, Viṣṇuvādin, the Ājīvaka teacher, the Nirgrantha, the Sāṃkhya philosopher, the Vaiśeṣika expounder, and lastly by the Bhūtavādin. In this content we come across a line in which 'one versed in the Vaiṣṇava Purāṇa' (*Kaḍalvaṇan Purāṇamodinan, Ibid.*, II, 98-99) is mentioned.

Traditionally the *Bhāgavata*, the *Nāradīya*, the *Garuḍa* and the *Viṣṇu* are regarded as Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas. It seems to me that the reference here is only to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*. The expression *Kaḍalvaṇan* is an epithet of Viṣṇu, meaning literally 'the

1 See *Early History of India*, 4th edition, pp. 22-23.

2 See author's *Studies in Tamil Literature and History*, pp. 73-76.

god having the colour of the sea'. It may be pointed out in passing that the word Viṣṇu is foreign to the *Śaṅgam* literature, and whenever that God is mentioned, the epithets employed are *Tirumāl*, *Kaḍalvaṇṇan*, etc. Therefore it is reasonable to assume that the term here stands for Viṣṇu and the whole phrase for the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa.* It points to the practice in vogue in the ancient Tamil land when the traditional Purāṇas, considered to be the fifth Veda, were read and expounded. For a Purāṇa to be read and expounded it must have been popular for a considerable time. As the *Maṇimekalai* is a composition of the second century A.D., it can be reasonably assumed that the major portion of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* existed perhaps in its present form from the commencement of the Christian era at the latest.

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR

More on Maṇimekhalā

I

Siam

On my request H. R. H. Prince Damrong of Siam, whose work in the field of archæology ought to be known by every scholar interested in Buddhism, had an inquiry made in Siam about the goddess Maṇimekhalā. Here is the important note he compiled, as it reads in its original English form. It will be seen that, as it could be expected, Siam and Cambodia agree perfectly well on this subject ; Cambodian Buddhism has been for several centuries under the predominant influence of Siam.

"Maṇimekhalā[1] is known to the Siamese both through the Pāli Jātakas and the indigenous literature.

In the Mahājanaka Jātaka (Mahānipāta) and Saṅkha Jātaka (Dasanipāta) she is represented as the goddess of the sea appointed by the gods to rescue good men who may be shipwrecked.

The Siamese Rāmāyaṇa, composed anew[2] in the reign of king Rama I (1783-1809 A.D.), says that Maṇimekhalā is the goddess of

1 "Maṇimekhalā" is also shortened in usage into "Mekhalā".

2 Archaeological finds show that the story of Rāmāyaṇa must have come to Siam not less than five hundred years ago.

the sea and lives in a place studded with gems, and relates a story about her which may be summarised as follows :—

Once at the advent of the rainy season, the gods and goddesses were dancing together. At the time a Yakṣa named Rāmāsūr, armed with axe and bow and living in the clouds, passed by where they were dancing. When he saw Maṇimekhalā's gem, he wished to have it and chased her. Mekhalā eluded him after dazzling his eyes by directing the rays of her gem into them and leaving him grope in the dark, and mocked at him. Rāmāsūr got enraged and threw his axe at her. But it was averted from her by the supernatural power possessed by the gem. Meanwhile Arjuna who lived upon the Cakravāla mountain came flying between Mekhalā and Rāmāsūr. Rāmāsūr got enraged, saying Arjuna crossed his path, and killed him by dashing him against the Sumeru mountain. Sumeru was thus made to lean on one side and Śiva had it set upright by Sugrīva.

The Siamese Rāmāyaṇa also helps us to identify Rāmāsūr and Arjuna mentioned above by narrating other incidents of their lives, namely, (1) Rāmāsūr fought with Rāma when the latter was returning home after marrying Sītā. Rāmāsūr was defeated and forced to surrender his bow. (2) While Daśakaṇṭha (Rāvaṇa) was staying with Ṛṣi Goputra as the latter's pupil, Arjuna had a quarrel with him. So Arjuna carried Daśakaṇṭha off as prisoner and flew around exhibiting his victim's helplessness before the world, but released him later on at the request of Goputra. So, in his book *On the sources of the Siamese Rāmāyaṇa*, H. M. the late king, Rama VI, identified Rāmāsūr with Rāma Paraśu (Paraśurāma of the Purāṇas) and Arjuna with Arjuna-Kārtavīrya, a king of the Haihayas, who was slain by Paraśurāma, and explained that the Siamese call Paraśurāma an "asūra" by confusing the word "nyakṣa" (meaning "low," an epithet given to Paraśurāma because, although a Brahmin, he was irate and fierce) with the word "yakṣa." Thus the episode in the Siamese Rāmāyaṇa summarised above, appears to be a fusion of a story from the Jātakas and the Purāṇas.

There is, however, a tradition current among the people even now that Mekhalā creates lightning by swinging her gem about and that Rāmāsūr creates thunder with his roars and the thunder-stroke by hurling his axe. This gives rise to the theory that Mekhalā and Rāmāsūr are merely lightning and thunder personified. The history of the word "Arjuna" as the designation conferred on men holding a particular office of state, serves to explain why there is an Arjuna

associated with the deities of thunder and lightning. Formerly the designation was Phya Deba Varajun. Later it was changed into Phya Deba Prajun and then again into Phya Deba Arjun. Thus it will be seen that there has been a confusion between "Arjuna" (Pāli "Ajjuna") and Pajjuna (Skt. "Parjanya, god of rain) after they have been transplanted in a foreign country. Probably Mekhalā, Rāmāsūr and Arjuna are old Siamese deities connected with the rain who formerly had Siamese names but were renamed when the Siamese were converted to Buddhism and came under Indian influence. Failing to meet any Indian tradition that explains the phenomena of rain in the same terms as the folklore of Siam, the aim in renaming would have been restricted to equating the old Siamese deities of the rain with gods or heroes of India bearing some amount of resemblance to the former. It must have been thus that the story of Mekhalā of the Siamese Rāmāyaṇa has come to look like a piece of patch work.

The close relationship between Mekhalā, Rāmāsūr and Arjuna and the rain is made further clear by these three personages forming the characters of the "Ra-bam." The Siamese ballet called "Ra-bam" is an ancient form of entertainment at which, ten men on one side and ten women on the other, dance to the accompaniment of music. Formerly it must have been a society diversion like the balls and dances of Europe. Afterwards it became the practice to employ professionals to dance at night when there are religious rites. Since in Siam agriculture forms the chief occupation of the people, religious rites are performed before the rainy season in order to ensure good rainfall and the story of Mekhalā and Rāmāsūr has been adapted to the dances usual in these rites.

Mons. Nicolas, who has given a summary of the Maṇimekhalā episode (Rāmāsūra and Maṇimekhalā ; Arjuna's death ; Mount Meru set upright again ; Bali's perjury) in his complete analysis of the Siamese Rāmāyaṇa (Extrême-Asie, Saigon, no. 19, Jan. 1928, p. 301), has also collected in Siam some pictures of Mekhalā which will be shortly published in *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, Paris.

II

Ceylon and Burma

Mr. S. Paranavitana, Epigraphical Assistant to the Archæological Commissioner, Ceylon, who had contributed a very important paper,

Mahāyānism in Ceylon, to the Ceylon Journal of Science II, 1, December 1928, has lately published in the Ceylon Literary Register, third series, I, 1, January 1931, a short, but substantial paper on the goddess, Maṇimekhalā (p. 37-38), which he has kindly sent me. He notices there two references to Maṇimekhalā that escaped me: one is found in the *Rājāvaliya*, a Sinhalese historical work of the 17th century (Mr. Ananda Coomaraswamy, Boston Museum, has also drawn my attention in a private letter to the same reference). It is told there how Vihāradevī, the mother of the Sinhalese national hero Duṭṭhagāminī, was offered by her father as a sacrifice to appease the wrath of the sea-gods, and how she was safely brought by the goddess Maṇimekhalā across the sea to Māgama where she found her future husband."

"The other reference is contained in a non-canonical Pāli work entitled *Chakesadhātuvaṃsa*. This book, in its present form, is of no distant date; but there is reason to believe that the legends it contains are very old. Most probably they are of South-Indian origin, for one of the six stūpas (referred to) is said to have been founded by Tamil (Damila) merchants." So far Mr. Paranavitana; but the editor of this booklet, Prof. Minayeff says expressly (Journ. Pāli Text Soc. 1885) that this *Chakesa* "is a work by a modern Burmese author, of unknown name and date"; the two mss. used by the editor were Burmese. The *Chakesa* relates how Buddha gave over to six of his disciples Anuruddha, Sobhita, Padumuttara, Guṇasāgara, Ñāṇapaṇḍita, and Revata six hair-relics which they brought to Southern lands and had them enshrined in six stūpas. One of those was erected by Maṇimekhalā. Here is a translation of the chapter (JPTS., pp. 10-11) concerning this stūpa:

"There is a place on the sea-shore, all covered with Asoka-trees, and the western side of this is surrounded by a glen. Seeing this, all these (six) holy men reflected: Well, how shall we find in such a place a person to look after the relic? Then the venerable Padumuttara said to the other five holy men: 'I shall look for a maintainer of the relic.' He formed a resolution with the following stanza relating to Buddha's virtues:

'If you, the first in all the worlds, have been an ascetic in order to save the beings, let my prayer be successful through your power! May I find today a donor for a thūpa of the hair of the Jina!'

While he was praying in these words, a guardian of the sea, Maṇimekhalā by name, daughter of a god, appeared owing to Buddha's

power, with all her ornaments, surrounded by many attendants. She came out of the sea in a perceivable form. And the theras told her: 'It is fitting, o lay female-devotee, to have a thūpa built for the relic. If you are able, then be the maintainer of the relic of the 'bull among the men, the incomparable one'!' Then she thought: 'I belong to the female sex; how can I obtain knowledge of the planning of the thūpa? He said: If you, O lay-female-devotee, can give wages to the neighbouring people, they will quickly build a cetiya. 'All right,' she said, and in disguise she went thither, and she gave wages and had a cetiya erected. Those people made on this spot a dagoba eighty feet deep. The daughter of the god then made a heap of the jewels collected from various places by her supernatural power; and then she brought from the Vepulla mountain one block of jewel, shining like a lamp and similar to the jewel of a Cakkavatti, and placed it within the relic chamber made of jewels, putting the relic-casket on the top of the jewel. While it was being placed, the earth quaked, lightenings flashed out of season, and there was a pleasant rainfall. All gods cheered. Maṇimekhalā, having paid her homage to Bhagavā's relic, had the cetiya closed. After closing it, the cetiya being completed, she uttered the following stanza expressing her wish:

May the dagoba of the Jina endure five hundred years,
Through your power, may beings know the place of No-death!

Having spoken thus, Maṇimekhalā set and erected the thūpa of the hair. Then the goddess, bowing to the feet of the Arahantas, with a pious mind went away and entered her own palace.

III

French Indo-China

A French lady, Madame Marcel Pascalis, living at Hanoi (Tongking), has prepared a paper on Maṇimekhalā, specially in Indo-chinese lore, in which she has collected some more information about the goddess; she has secured a Cambodian drawing, representing Maṇimekhalā as well as a photograph of Maṇimekhalā's dance. The paper will appear next autumn in *Revue des Arts Asiatiques.*

All these new documents go to show that Maṇimekhalā's own domain is, as I had stated in my first paper, "that region of the ocean which extends from Cape Comorin to the marvellous El Dorado of the Far East". While the Tamil country, Ceylon, Burma, Siam,

and Cambodia afford so many evidences of her long notoriety there, nothing has come as yet to be found concerning her beyond this zone of earth and water. My dear P. C. Bagchi, whom I have to thank for translating, and so well, my first paper from the French original, has pointed out to me an interesting counter-proof. The *Mahāvastu*, which was certainly compiled in the Northern part of India, has a tale of a shipwreck (III, 353-356) where are found several features appearing also in the Pāli jātakas I have quoted. A *samudra-devatā* here also comes to the rescue of the Bodhisattva and his fellow-merchants about to be drowned; she repents that she has so long neglected her duty of watching over the sea (*mayaṃ pramattavihārā* in the prose redaction, p. 355, l. 1; *mamedaṃ na viditaṃ pramattāye*, 365, l. 5); but the sea-deity remains anonymous. The compiler is writing beyond the pale of the goddess Maṇimekhalā.

SYLVAIN LÉVI

Maṇimekhalā

In the folk-lore of Ceylon the Sea-goddess is called Mūdu Maṇimekhalāva. A ballad relates "that Devel Devi was born in the Vaḍiga land whence he sailed for Ceylon with followers of many races in seven ships laden with various things, especially bangles. The ships being wrecked they drifted about for seven days; then a stone raft was made which carried them swiftly to Ceylon, aided by the sea-goddess Mūdu Maṇimekhalāva and the four guardian gods". Another ballad narrates that when Anaṅga escaped in the form of a bee, Śiva with his third eye in the centre of his forehead burned Umā to ashes, which he threw into the ocean, repented and ordered the goddess of the sea Mūdu Maṇimekhalāva to restore her. She feigned inability; and to punish her Śiva drank up the sea. Again he bade her restore Umā. She promised to obey if he would again fill the ocean which he did. She then created an image of Umā which he rejected. At length she took the ashes of Umā which she had kept in a vase, shaped them into a figure of Umā upon a banana leaf and brought it to life. Thus Umā was restored to Śiva".[1]

ARTHUR A. PEREIRA

1 *Alphabetical Guide to Sinhalese Folk-lore from Ballad Sources*, Supplement to the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 45, pp. 20, 61 and 99.

Derivation of Pāli

Though the texts of the Buddhist Canon known as "Pāli" have been fully studied and utilised for purposes of history, it is somewhat worthy of note that the meaning of the word 'Pāli' is not yet clear and its derivation is obscure. Recently Dr. Thomas makes the observation in regard to the subject, "let us have some evidence one way or the other, and we shall be all the better able to do justice to the other matters in this important essay," commenting on a theory of interpretation proposed by Dr. Walleser.[1]

The term as it is ordinarily understood is "Pāli," and means a 'series,' 'row' or 'line.'[2] Based on this general meaning Childers gives in his *Dictionary* the rendering of the word as a "series of texts." Where "Pāli-bhāṣā" is mentioned, it is taken by him to mean "the language of the (Buddhist) sacred texts" and not as "Pāli language." Thus a language known as "Pāli" is not so far recognised.

Dr. Walleser going against accepted authority points out that there was a language known as "Pāli" which he says belonged to Magadha from where it was taken to Ceylon. He derives the word in an indirect way from Pāṭali or Pāṭaligrāma where "the bhikkhus assembled soon after the death of Buddha."[3] "Pāli" is, according to him, the language of Pāṭaliputra. He finds further that the meaning of the word "Pāli" as given by Childers has to be rejected as "there is a spelling in Ceylon Mss. with cerebral ḷ, which makes the derivation highly improbable."[4]

The question to be answered is, what is the original word—"Pāli or Pāḷi." The current view is that "Pāli" is more closely allied to the "Prākṛt" of Ceylon but the discovery by Dr. Walleser of "Pāḷi"

1 *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Dec., 1928, pp. 773 ff.

2 It has also the meaning "dyke" (ditch, pit or cave). Vide Prof. Macdonell's *Dictionary* under "Pāli".

3 This along with a few other points raised by Dr. Walleser has been questioned by Dr. Thomas.

4 The sense of "line" or "row" is not precluded however merely by the fact of the word being "Pāḷi" instead of "Pāli", for "Pāḷi" persisted in the Malayāḷam language in the sense of "line" or "row", e.g., *kiḍakkayil pāḷi* (*pāḷi* = rows or compartments of a *kiḍakka*—bed).

in some Ceylon Mss. raises the presumption that this may be the original term. It is worthy of note that the cerebral ḷ is commonly met with only in the Dravidian languages of South India; and it is therefore not very surprising to find the form "Pāḷi" as a variant of "Pāli" only in Ceylon. It appears in Tamil in another form "Pāl̤i," which in the old Tamil lexcon, the Piṅgalandi *Nighaṇṭu* is rendered as "munivar vāsam" (dwelling place of *munis*).[1] It may be also equated with the word "paḷḷi" one of the synonyms given in the *Nighaṇṭu* itself, which is met with in expressions like "paḷḷi-aṛai" (bed-chamber), "paḷḷi-koṇḍa Perumāḷ" (the deity in the recumbent

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1 Instances are quite common where ḷ is used in Dravidian languages for l̤ which is found only in Tamil. A few examples may here be given :—

Tamil-Malayāḷam	*Kannaḍa*
Pul̤a (river)	huḷe.
pal̤aya (old)	haḷaya.
ēl̤u (seven)	ēḷu.
mal̤ai (rain)	maḷe.
pāl̤u (waste)	hāḷu.

The interchange of ḷ and l̤ in Tamil may be found in examples like :

Col̤a—Coḷa.	Īl̤am or Īḷam—Ceylon.
Tamil̤—Tamiḷ.	pal̤am or paḷam—fruit.
pugal̤ or pugaḷ—fame.	kēl̤ or kēḷ—hear.
paval̤am or pavaḷam—coral.	ul̤undu or uḷundu—pulse,

Instances where cerebral ḷ appears in South Indian vernaculars for l in Sanskrit may be noted in the following, among others :

kāla	becomes	kāḷa—dark.
phala	„	pal̤a or paḷa—fruit.
kalabha	„	kaḷapa (old Tamil)—young elephant.
dhavala	„	tavaḷa (do.)—white.
valaya	„	vaḷai—bangle or ring.
pravāla	„	pavaḷa or paval̤a—coral.
sthala	„	taḷa or daḷa—place.
khila	„	kiḷai—branch.
sthāli	„	tāl̤i—pot.

posture) and in the "paḷḷi" (mosque) of the Mussalmans (particularly the Moplahs of Malabar) in South India.[1]

It is interesting to find that the word "Pāḷi" occurs in the early Brāhmī inscriptions of South India,[2] written in characters similar to those found in the Brāhmī inscriptions of Ceylon, assigned by Bühler to at least the 3rd century B.C. These inscriptions are met with either on the natural walls of caves or on the rocky beds found in them. No other meaning of the word "Pāḷi" seems possible in these cases than "residence of munis" (monks) or "beds for them to rest on." "Pāḷi" would therefore mean a cave, and this interpretation does not militate against the meaning "dyke" given to the term "Pāli" by Macdonell. The conclusion seems warranted that the name "Pāli" may have been derived from the South and originally used to denote the language met with in these caves or the beds in them. "Pāli" is probably only a variant of the South Indian forms "Pāḷi," "Pāḷi" or "Paḷḷi."[3]

It is hoped that this short note may answer the query raised by Dr. E. J. Thomas, "what does the spelling with cerebral ḷ prove?" It will also indicate that the spelling "Pāḷi" may have been the original one, as found in the early Prākṛt of South India and Ceylon. The meaning here given might set at rest also any necessity for a theory of a possible confusion of the word "Pāḷi" with "Pāli" meaning line, as conceived by Dr. Thomas in his note.

S. V. VISWANATHA

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1 In these cases "paḷḷi" either means "bed for lying on" or a "place for prayers".

2 The word "pāḷi" occurs thrice in these inscriptions and has perhaps to be distinguished from "kāvi" and "lena" which are other words met with in them to denote a "cavern". One point of difference between the caves in Ceylon and those in South India is that in the latter are found beds, while the former do not contain any. Perhaps this fact may lead to the conclusion that "pāḷi" meant "a cave with a bed in it".

3 The original and better form of the word would appear to be "Pāḷi".

Problems of the Nāṭyaśāstra

I read with interest Mr. M. Ghose's note on "Problems of the Nāṭyaśāstra" in the issue of March, 1930 (vol. 6, No. 1) of this Journal. I wish to put forward a doubt in accepting his views. He upholds that (i) "the Nāṭyaśāstra legend about the origin of Nāṭya is palpably a badly made table fitted to the text in a still worse manner, (ii) the word Bharata meaning naṭa has not been derived from any person of the same name and an enquiry seems to point to a reverse process, (iii) the disappearance of the Naṭasūtras of Śilālin and Kṛśāśva was probably due to socio-political circumstances of the age that followed Pāṇini, and (iv) Śilālin and Kṛśāśva were the earliest known writers of any Nāṭyaśāstra or the text book for the naṭas."

Though in Pāṇini (iv, 3, 110 and 111) we find mention of the Naṭasūtras or text-books for naṭas, ascribed to Śilālin and Kṛśāśva, the mere mention of the term naṭa does not lead us to any conclusion, because Pāṇini, in his exhaustive works, is silent as to the definite significance of the term naṭa, nor any effective evidence as to the existence of drama in his time is found. We are, therefore, according to Dr. Keith's opinion, "in no position to establish the meaning of the term naṭa", as it might have existed then. In like manner, the mere mention of the 'curious' names, without any external support, is far from being sufficient to prove their authorship of the Nāṭyaśāstra. Mr. R. N. Śāstrī, in this connection, remarks :—

"Pāṇini, in his works, has not made any intentional or avowed attempt to reflect the whole human society and its institutions as they existed in his days or were known to him. But he has made occasional observations only in course of the relevancy, rather under the necessity warranted by his subject. Therefore, even his silence about Bharata's śāstra, or, for the matter of that, the mention of the Naṭasūtras of the two particular teachers made by the way, can hardly count or be adduced as a cogent reason to prove or disprove anything in connection with the tradition that Bharata was the first writer on dramaturgy."

His third argument seems to make a reasonable justification for the disappearance of the alleged Naṭasūtras of Śilālin and Kṛśāśva. "Should we wonder then", the writer remarks, "if under these circumstances Nāṭyasūtras of Śilālin and Kṛśāśva did, owing to a sheer disuse for a long time, go out of existence at a time when the earliest version of

the Nāṭyaśāstra was made. ? To justify this "disuse for a long time" Mr. Ghose suggests that after Śilālin and Kṛśāśva (whom he places about a century earlier than Pāṇini ?) there came the reign of the Maurya emperors who deliberately made their best attempts to disparage such performances. Kauṭilya, as is clear from his Arthaśāstra, was deadly against encouraging naṭas and similar people, and often called them as "objects of constant suspicion on the part of the statesmen, who exploited them as spies and tolerated them as ugly tools". This is true, no doubt ; but the Arthaśāstra was written specially for a prince, and we find, therein, no record of the attitude with which it was received by the people in general ; nor, in any of the extant contemporary works, do we find anything regarding the feelings with which the Arthaśāstra was looked upon by the public ; and to think, therefore, that the disparagement of dramatic and parallel performances was "a natural outcome of Kauṭilya's writings", can be said to be no more than mere conjecture. On the other hand, it may be tentatively suggested that Kauṭilya, being averse to such performances, might have made deliberate efforts to suppress them. Thus it seems plausible that the drama, in some form or other, might have attracted people in general, so much so that it began to horrify Kauṭilya, a wise minister, who looked upon it as an impediment to enforce stability to his patron's reign. This is sufficient to show that it had attained—not only a definite form, but also a universal appreciation in those times.

The drama seems to have existed even in Buddha's time.[1] The Lalitavistara also refers to this art.

Aśvaghoṣa's dramatic fragments are enough to bear testimony, not only to its mere existence, but also to its wide-spread popularity ; so much so that with a view to promote Buddhism and to bring down the Brāhmanical sway, he betook himself to the measure of writing dramas. The use of Sanskrit, as opposed to Prākrit, in his dramas is sufficient to warrant an establishment of its definite form in his time, for Aśvaghoṣa himself, being a strong Buddhist, would never have thought of deliberately introducing Sanskrit. The Buddhists always encouraged the use of vernaculars, as opposed to Sanskrit, for a universal appreciation of their religion and ideas. But Aśvaghoṣa had to write his dramas in Sanskrit to gain popularity. This was the stage achieved by the drama in the time of Kaniṣka. All these

1 See *Sanskrit Drama* by Dr. A. B. Keith, pp. 43, 44.

arguments are sufficient to enable us to trace a continuous and constant development of the drama in the Mauryan times and thereafter. Mr. Ghose has a kind of support from the terms such as nacca, dassana and pekkhā; their mention strengthens his conclusion that the primitive Buddhists were averse to arts like naccagītavāditāni. No drama, therefore, in his opinion, seems to have existed then. But as Dr. Keith has already shown, this argument is far from being sound. "We see, however," he says, "that the objection of the sacred Canon to monks engaging in the amusement of watching these shows, whatever their nature, was gradually overcome, and it is an important fact that the earliest dramas known to us by fragments are the Buddhist dramas of Aśvaghoṣa." Moreover, the very mention of such terms leads us to decide that the drama was extant in that age (for other arguments, see Keith's *Sanskrit Drama*). Furthermore, we may say that the Buddhists of that time did not form the entire society, i.e., there were people who took interest in the drama.

Mr. Ghose takes it to be a well-known fact "that the naṭas who belonged to the Śūdra-class were to the orthodox society a much despised people." Those people, who appreciated this art, are, in the main, according to his views, responsible for having made the untrustworthy legend which makes Bharata the eponymous hero of the drama. Bharata was a famous legendary name, and it made the business of the legend-maker easier. This seems to have been deliberately done, in his opinion, to give it an air of antiquity.

But this argument is not sound. If the appreciation of dramatic performances is mainly to be ascribed to the heterodox society, the orthodox people of that time would have raised strong objections with a view to bring down the attempts of those who wanted to glorify it to the level of the Vedas (e.g. Nāṭyaveda). The opinion of the Dharmasūtras and the Dharmaśāstras, if recorded at all which Mr. Ghose does not do, may be proved to have gained ground in a different time far from that in which the *Nāṭyaśāstra* originated. The strong oppositions of the primitive Buddhists and Jains are sufficient to testify the attributions of its origin to the orthodox religious society; and, therefore, the legend seems not to have been deliberately made to promote its level as the heterodox people could not have had any connection with it.

The plausible view, with regard to the contradictory opinions found in the Buddhist books, is this. In the beginning the Buddhists seem to have raised strong objections against it, but as it began to

invoke wide appreciation and attract the attention of the entire society, the Buddhists betook themselves to write dramas with a view to propagate their religion. Thus Aśvaghoṣa's plays make their appearance.

In the *Śāriputraprakaraṇa* of Aśvaghoṣa we find a remarkable peculiarity; its close accordance with the rules of the Nāṭyaśāstra in all the points, rarely to be found in any other of the extant dramas, leads us to decide that the rules, as given in the Nāṭyaśāstra, must have been definitely established in his time. The upper limit that can be allowed to the Nāṭyaśāstra is the second century B. C. This is sufficient to show that the drama might have obtained definite form and the necessity for its rules might have been felt then. This gave rise to the appearance of the Nāṭyaśāstra, and thus a due limit to the precedence of the drama should be at least a century, or even two, before the time when the Nāṭyaśāstra was written. Thus also we can trace its existence in the Mauryan and Kusāṇa times, and thus no break in the continuity of its existence seems reasonable. There is not the slightest possibility, then, to see "the disuse for a long time," as Mr. Ghose observes.

I hesitate to believe with Dr. Keith that the drama must have come into being so late as in the second century B.C. or about that time. I am convinced that the age of the origin of drama should go earlier by at least a century, or even two, than this time. Thus it receives a striking accordance with the Mauryan times, and there are sufficient positive proofs of its existence then. Since then we are able to trace a continuous developments in its performances, and no explicit mention of the influence of Kauṭilya's writings is recorded. Śilālin and Kṛśāśva might have been the ancient writers of some Naṭasūtras, but as no such writings have reached us, besides their mere mention, and as any definite information regarding their authorship is lacking, they are, to us, no more than mythical names. Consequently we are left to no other alternative but to attribute the origin of the drama to Bharata. The Nāṭyaśāstra is, of course, of a later origin, but the legend seems to have gained ground since earlier times.

HARIHAR V. TRIVEDI

On a Few Technical Terms in the "Hindu Revenue System"

In the course of his review of my *Contributions to the History of the Hindu Revenue System* in the January number of the *J.R.A.S.*, (pp. 165-166), Dr. L. D. Barnett, while expressing his general appreciation of the work, has thought fit to differ from my interpretation of a number of technical terms and a couple of passages from the classical authors. In view of the difficulty of the subject it seems desirable to consider these criticisms with some care.

I

Uparikara

The two terms *udraṅga* and *uparikara* signifying as many distinct kinds of revenue are found side by side in scores of Ancient Indian land-grants, but they have hitherto baffled any satisfactory explanation. In my work under notice I had suggested for them the meanings 'tax on permanent and temporary tenants respectively.' Dr. Barnett disagrees with these explanations, but overlooks the three-fold argument which I adduced (*H.R.S.*, pp. 210-211) in favour of the same. He identifies *uparikara*, curiously enough, with the Tamil *mel-vāram*, i.e., 'the Crown's share of [the] produce' while he is unaccountably silent about the meaning of *udraṅga*. Admitting it to have the merit of novelty, Dr. Barnett's explanation of *uparikara* may be shown to be wrong on the following grounds :—

(1) The Ancient Indian land-grants have other and distinct terms to signify 'the Crown's share of the produce.' The most common of these are *bhāgabhogakara* and *hiraṇya*, which I have shown in my work to mean the king's share of the produce in kind and in cash respectively. Very often the *bhāgabhogakara* and *hiraṇya* are included with the *udraṅga* and *uparikara* in the list of privileges assigned to the donees by the authors of the grants (cf. *H.R.S.*, pp. 218, 235, 238, 240-241, etc.).

(2) A grant of Balavarman (one of the old kings of Assam who has been approximately assigned to 990 A.C.) couples the officers charged with collection of the *uparikara* and those charged with the *utkheṭana* impost in a list of oppressors who are forbidden to enter the donated land. Two grants of Ratnapāla (1010-1050 A.C. ?) and one of Indrapāla (1060 A.C. ?)—both of whom belong likewise to the old

royal dynasties of Assam—similarly include the *uparikara* and the *utkheṭana* in a list of 'oppressions' from which the land in question is to be exempted (*H.R.S.*, pp. 247-248). Other instances of the same kind mentioned in these three records are concerned with the royal princes and favourites, the persons fastening elephants and mooring boats (evidently in the State service), the officers charged with tracking thieves and the arrest of criminals. Evidently, then, the *uparikara* was not a regular item of revenue like "the Crown's share of the produce," but was an irregular tax which bore harshly upon the cultivators.

II
Setu

Dr. Barnett writes, "His [Ghoshal's] rendering of *setu* as 'gardens and fields owned by the king' seems unlikely : may not *setu* rather be a sort of water-rate levied in payment for the use of reservoirs ?" This statement is unsatisfactory for more reasons than one. In the first place it is not a fact that *setu* as such was 'rendered' by me into the 'gardens and fields owned by the king'. What I wrote with reference to this term in the passage to which Dr. Barnett refers (*H. R. S.*, p. 108) was as follows. "It is called embanked reservoir which is defined [by Kauṭilya] as consisting of flower-gardens, fruit-gardens, vegetable-gardens, rice-fields and fields producing other crops. Evidently the term was used in a technical sense to indicate the gardens and fields owned by the king". It will be seen that my 'rendering' of the term is in precise accordance with the definition as given in the Arthaśāstra itself. Dr. Barnett has forgotten to notice the difference between the ordinary and the technical sense of *setu* in the Arthaśāstra. Coming to Dr. Barnett's own rendering of *setu*, we have to observe that it is contradicted not only by the definition of Kauṭilya to which reference has been made above, but also by his use of a distinct revenue-term *udakabhāga* for "the water-rate levied in payment for the use of reservoirs" (see *H. R. S.*, pp. 31, 33, 290).

III
Bhūmicchidranyāya

Yādavaprakāśa's definition of *bhūmicchidra* as *kṛṣyayogyā bhūḥ* has hitherto been held to prove that the clause *bhūmicchidranyāya*

of the Ancient Indian land-grants implied the gift of the full right of ownership such as is acquired by a person making barren land cultivable for the first time (Cf. Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, p. 74; Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, p. 90). In dealing with the latter term, I followed this current explanation which I held best to suit the sense. Dr. Barnett now suggests a fundamentally different interpretation making it mean 'with reservation of the king's right to eject [the tenants] at his will'. This would make the grantees holding lands according to the *bhūmicchidranyāya* not proprietors but merely tenants-at-will. Dr. Barnett's explanation may be shown to be unsound on the following grounds :—

(1) Neither the definition in Yādavaprakāśa's *Vaijayantī* nor the *Bhūmicchidra-vidhāna* section of the *Arthaśāstra* tends 'naturally' to prove the correctness of Dr. Barnett's rendering. The former gives only the general meaning of *bhūmicchidra*, but fails to throw any light upon the significance of the maxim relating thereto. The latter, while doubtless describing "the royal conversion of forests and wildernesses into grazing grounds, retreats for Brāhmaṇas, royal parks and the like", contains nothing to show that the Brāhmaṇas or the occupiers of grazing grounds *e.g.* were liable to ejection at the king's will. The true meaning of the maxim can be found out by comparing (as Bühler and Jolly have done) Yādavaprakāśa's definiton with the rules and maxims of the Smṛtis relating to the right of the first clearer, and the seizure of unclaimed property.

(2) The clause *bhūmicchidranyāya* is attached to the endowments granted by kings and ruling chiefs in favour of Brāhmaṇas, temples and the like. Very often these grants contain another clause, viz. that they are to last as long as the sun and the moon shall endure, with the most solemn appeals of the donor to later kings to respect the gift. Frequently such appeals are fortified by quotations from the Mahābhārata (the so-called "imprecatory verses"), of which the following may serve as specimens :—"Whoever confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or another, incurs the guilt of the slayer of a hundred thousand cows. The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years, but the confiscator (of a grant) and he who assents (to an act of confiscation) shall dwell for the same number of years in hell" (Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 242). Indeed the Smṛtis again and again set forth the sinfulness of resuming the gifts to Brāhmaṇas. A unique example of a land-grant

made to Brāhmaṇas in effect on the conditions of loyalty and good conduct is the Chammak grant of the Vākāṭaka Pravarasena II (*H.R.S.*, p. 195), but even there the donor is careful to include the clause that the king will not be guilty of theft in the event of his resuming the grant for violation of the conditions by the donees.

IV

The question of ownership of the soil

Dr. Barnett with genuine pleasure claims to have found in me a whole-hearted supporter of his long-cherished view that "in ancient India the Crown owned the land". In doing this he has done scant justice to myself. Not only did I expressly mention in the Preface my intention of reserving a full consideration of this difficult question for my forthcoming Calcutta University Readership Lectures, but I also indicated in the body of my present work whenever the topic came up for mention, the limitations with which the doctrine of the ownership of the king could be accepted. (See *H.R.S.*, pp. 169-170, 192, 226). Thus in connexion with Megasthenes' statement about the royal ownership of all lands, after indicating the evidence for and against it, I wrote the following words (*Ibid.*, p. 170). "On the whole we are inclined to think that the comprehensive statement of Megasthenes was a rash generalisation from certain tendencies of development of the land-tenures that had already begun to manifest themselves".[1]

V

The land-revenue passages in Strabo and Diodorus

Megasthenes' account of the land-revenue conditions in Maurya India, which is given in connexion with his description of the caste of husbandmen, has come down to us principally in two parallel versions, those of Strabo and Diodorus. The first of these versions, according to the very recent rendering of Monahan (*Early History of Bengal*, p. 142) whom I followed in my work, stands thus: "The whole

1 Dr. Barnett's opinion on the point under notice is on a par with his characterization of a printing-mistake (duly corrected in the list of additions and corrections in my work) as "very unhappy".

of the land is the property of the king, and the husbandmen till it on condition of receiving one-fourth of the produce." Dr. Barnett confidently asserts this to be an "ancient blunder," and proposes to correct the last clause as follows : "they till it on condition of paying one-fourth of the produce as rent." Unfortunately for Dr. Barnett's self-complacence his version is at complete variance with that of other recent scholars whose rendering agrees with that of Monahan. We may instance Bernhard Breloer, the author of an interesting series of Kauṭalya-studies, who translates the clause as follows : "Als Lohn bearbeiten Sie es um den vierten Teil der Fürchte" (*Kauṭalīya-Studien*, I, p. 52). In the most up-to-date and authoritative English version of Strabo's Geography in the *Loeb Classical Library* series, the passage in question is translated as follows (*Ibid.*, vol. VII, p. 69) : "The whole of the country is of royal ownership and the farmers cultivate it for a rental in addition to paying a fourth part of the produce." Here we have a fresh alternative translation which agrees only in part with Dr. Barnett's version. But in the footnote to the above the translator writes, "Perhaps the more natural interpretation of the Greek would be 'the farmers cultivate it for wages on condition of receiving a fourth part of the produce', whether 'wages' and 'fourth part' are appositional, or 'on condition of' means, as it might, 'in addition to'. But Diodorus Siculus says, 'The rentals of the country they pay to the king...but apart from the rental they pay a fourth part into the royal treasury." Here we have the important admission that the translation in the foot-note (which, it will be observed, agrees completely with Monahan's version) is the more natural one, while that given in the text (which, as before observed, partly supports Dr. Barnett's rendering) is wholly due to the assimilation of the corresponding passage of Diodorus. In any case it follows from the above quotations that the extract of Strabo is capable of being translated in a variety of ways. Till the meaning of this extract is clearly established by discussion among competent scholars, it is obviously premature to hold with Dr. Barnett that Monahan's version is "absolutely wrong."

With regard to the corresponding extract from Diodorus, Dr. Barnett comments as follows, "Diodorus is also misunderstood by Messrs. Monahan and Ghoshal ; the true meaning is very skilfully explained by Dr. Breloer in his *Grundeigentum in Indien*, a work which throws some valuable light on the subject." Now this criticism is no doubt justified with regard to Monahan's writing. But it is altogether contrary to the truth in my own case, for I not only

quoted but commented on Breloer's improved translation in the context just mentioned (*H. R. S.*, pp. 168-169) immediately after giving the version of Monahan. Comment is superfluous.

VI

Sītā, kṣāra, kalyāṇadhana

The first two terms occur in the Arthaśāstra as technical titles for as many items of revenue. In the *Hindu Revenue System* (pp. 274ff. and p. 90) reasons were shown for translating the first as 'produce of the king's farms' and as 'sugar' respectively. Dr. Barnett declares his dissatisfaction with these interpretations, but as he neither gives his reasons nor suggests any alternative explanation, it is impossible to meet his objections. For the present it will be sufficient to state in my favour that '*sītā*' is defined in the Arthaśāstra itself as comprising all kinds of crops that are brought in by the *sītādhyakṣa*, an officer whose functions practically make him equivalent to the royal steward (for references see *H. R. S.*, pp. 29-32). The rendering of *kṣāra* as 'sugar' is supported by the explanation of Ganapati Sastri (*kṣāraḥ guḍavikrayī*) and J. J. Meyer's translation 'Zucker.' As to the term *kalyāṇadhana* which occurs in the land-grants of the Haihayas of Cedi and the Paramāras of Malwa, I left its meaning unexplained for want of evidence. Dr. Barnett now suggests for it the meaning 'marriage-tax', but his argument which is based 'on the analogy of the South-Indian inscriptions' is too vague to be depended upon.

U. N. GHOSHAL

The English Translation of the Kauṭilīya

The publication of the third edition of Dr. R. Shamashastry's English translation of the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* is an index to the great demand of the reading public for an acquaintance with the contents of one of the most important documents brought to light in recent years. The existence of this demand as well as the importance of the document itself makes the task of the translator all the more onerous, because the creeping in of errors can mislead thousands of readers. It becomes specially regrettable, if the blemishes be of such

a nature as could have been avoided by the application of a little more energy and labour. When the translation first came out in the Mysore Review (1906-1908) and in the Indian Antiquary (1909-1910) in instalments, and was published in book-form in 1915, the scholars appreciated the industry with which the pioneering work was done by the learned translator, removing many great difficulties which could have been encountered by any one who would have attempted to understand the text unaided. The readers in their eagerness to have a translation in their hand were then ready to make a large allowance for the inaccuracies that could not be removed. A perusal of Dr. S.'s prefaces to the 1st and 2nd editions of the translation shows that he was well aware of the existence of inaccuracies and obscurities which he could not remove but which he had a mind to eliminate by consulting the available commentaries discovered since the publication of the 1st edition of the translation. When the 3rd edition of the translation came out in 1929, Dr. T. Ganapati Shastri's illuminating Sanskrit exegesis written with the aid of three old commentaries was available. Moreover, since 1909 when the text of the *Kauṭilīya* was first published, scholars began to apply their minds to the interpretation of the text and bring out books and dissertations treating of the various aspects of the subject-matter of the treatise. In all these publications, light has been thrown on many passages which had been misinterpreted in the translation. Dr. S. does not appear to have taken the pains to avail himself of the results of the labours of these scholars. He has even ignored suggestions for correction made for instance by Dr. Ganapati Sastri in his Preface (p. 2) to the first Part of his edition of the *Kauṭilīya.* Says he, "I obtained a copy of it (Dr. Shamasastry's English translation) in order to see whether it would be of any use to my edition. But it seemed to me that many passages were not correctly translated. For example :

मर्यादां स्थापयेदाचार्यानमात्यान् वा य एनमपायस्थानेभ्यो वारयेयुः ।
छायानालिकाप्रतोदेन वा रहसि प्रमाद्यन्तमभितुदेयुः । (I. 7)

After giving general instruction in regard to some of the duties of Kings, Kauṭalya mentions in the above passage the supreme duty of making Ācāryas and Ministers a barrier, as it were, of the Kings. The meaning of the passage is that a King should appoint, as a barrier, either Ācāryas or Ministers who would boldly and effectively check him whenever he shows inclination to stray away from the path of righteousness. Here, Kauṭalya gives expression to a noble

conception of Government, the *summum bonum* of the subjects, namely, a King, though he has control over all his subjects, should appoint certain persons who would keep him under control. Mr. Shama Sastri has taken the passage in quite a different sense. He renders it thus: 'those teachers and ministers who keep him from falling a prey to dangers, and who, by striking the hours of the day as determined by measuring shadows warn him of his careless proceedings even in secret shall invariably be respected'. I do not see how this meaning was made out. If the word मर्यादा is taken as meaning 'respect' in Sanskrit as it does colloquially in Tamil, Telugu, and Canarese, those who study the *Arthaśāstra* will not grasp the real meaning and perceive the noble conception of Ācārya Kauṭalya."

There are many such blemishes in the translation, some of which will be pointed out in this note. There are such errors as have not only vitiated detached passages, but have rendered useless whole chapters. Such errors could have been avoided, if, as already stated, Dr. S. had undergone the necessary labours of making his translation correct by taking due note of the light that could be forthcoming on many portions of the *Arthaśāstra* from the writings of scholars who are engaged in the investigations regarding the *Kauṭilīya* and the ancient Hindu administrative system.

I take up the Seventh Book in view of its importance as the portion of the treatise where inter-state relations have been dealt with. Sometimes, the misinterpretation of a term which occurs several times in one or more chapters has led to the repetition of the errors vitiating whole passages and sometimes whole chapters. I shall now point out some of these errors in the order of the chapters of the VIIth Book :—

Bk. VII, 1. At page 263 (text, 2nd ed.), K. points out only the most important conditions that should influence the decision of a sovereign in the adoption of one or more of the six courses of actions, viz., sandhi, vigraha, āsana, yāna, saṃśraya, and dvaidhībhāva. Dr. S. has translated the passages enumerating these chief conditions in such a way as to mislead an unwary reader into thinking that each condition is the only determining factor in regard to the connected course of action. For instance, he has translated *abhyuccīyamāno vigṛhṇiyāt* into 'whoever is superior in power shall wage war.' The emphasis laid on the

term 'whoever' leads one to have the impression that whenever a sovereign acquires power, he must wage war with a weak sovereign to bring him under submission whether there be any cause for conflict with him or not. That such an impression is wrong can well be seen by a reference to such passages as *hīno'pi vigṛhṇīyāt* (one should enter into hostility even if he be inferior in strength —*K.*, p. 269), *hīno 'py abhiyāyāt* (one, though inferior in strength, should march against the enemy—*K.*, 270) and also by such passages as "*.........jyāyān api sandhīyeta*"(.........even a strong king should enter into a *sandhi*—*K.*, p. 269), "*.........jyāyān api saṃśrayeta*" (.........even a strong king should take to *saṃśraya*—*K.*, p. 270). It is much to be regretted that Mr. V. A. Smith in his *Early History of India* (4th ed., pp. 146, 147) bases his conclusions regarding inter-state relations of the time of Candragupta Maurya on the misleading translations of passages like the one cited above without caring to draw correct inferences after taking into account the combined effect of all the passages in the *Kauṭilīya* bearing on the points.[1]

VII, 2, p. 267. *Chidreṣu praharet* has been translated as "he may murder the enemy when opportunity affords itself." Here the utilisation of the opportunity need not necessarily be murder.

VII, 3, p. 268. 'Guṇābhiniveśa' in the heading of the chapter cannot be taken to mean 'character.' It means the adoption of the Guṇas or courses of action.

VII, 4, p. 272. In the first paragraph of the Ch., K. explains the variants of Āsana viz. *sthāna*, *āsana* and *upekṣaṇa*. Āsana is usually resorted to in cases of equality of strength between two conflicting sovereigns. But it may happen that though the two sovereigns approximate to each other in strength, one may be slightly inferior or superior to the other. In the case of such slight inferiority, the form of āsana is called *sthāna*, while in the other case it is called *upekṣaṇa*. K. has *guṇaikadeśe sthānam*. Here guṇaikadeśa means that the requisite circumstances demanding a resort to the particular guṇa (āsana) exist partially. In such circumstances, the form of *āsana* to be adopted is called *sthāna*. Dr. S. translates the passage as "keeping quiet, maintaining a particular kind of policy, is

1 See *Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, vol. XXXI (1924), p. 71.

sthāna." Here I think, it has been contemplated by Dr. S. that guṇa refers to a course of action other than *āsana* which is not the case.

VII, 4, p. 273. The translation of the last passage in the paragraph delineating the circumstances in which vigṛhyāsana is to be resorted to has been made as follows by Dr. S.: "Since no friend would neglect the opportunity of acquiring a fertile land and a prosperous friend like myself......" The situation contemplated in the passage has been misunderstood. The meaning conveyed by it may be put thus: when the enemy is about to march *with all his forces to take away from another enemy a fertile region easily acquirable, slighting the existence of the king* who is being advised to adopt vigṛhyāsana, then the latter should take to that course of action.

VII, 5, p. 278. The passage *kṛtārthā jyāyaso* (which should be *kṛtārthāj jyāyaso*) *gūḍhaḥ sāpadeśam apasṛjet* should not be made a part of the paragraph in prose, but should be tagged on to the following verses. This misplacement of the verse is also found in Dr. Jolly's edition, but has been rectified in the Trivandrum edition. I think, the misunderstanding of the meaning of the passages is responsible for this error. Dr. S.'s translation is: (p. 307) "when the desired end is achieved, the inferior king will quietly retire after the satisfaction of his superior. Till his discharge, the good conduct of an ally of usually bad character should be closely scrutinised'. The passage forms part of the suggestion meant for a king who responds to a call for combination. He should be careful in regard to certain points at the time of the division of the spoils and acquisitions after a successful completion of the operations. The passage in question mentions one such point, viz., if the king, who has called him, be of superior strength and shows symptoms of an inclination to deal unfairly with him at this stage, the latter should come away from him secretly (gūḍhaḥ) on some pretext or other (sāpadeśam); should the former be just in his dealings (śucivṛttāt tu), the latter may wait up to the last to have his share of gains finally made over to him.

VII, 6, p. 280. Sandhi has been translated by the word 'peace' not only here, but also in a large number of other passages wherever the

term occurs. In the *K.*, however, the term has been used in two senses viz., (i) alliance which may not have any connection with war and (ii) treaty of peace after the settlement of a conflict. Hence the use of the word 'peace' without any regard to the distinctions in the implications of the word sandhi in the particular cases has given rise to many inappropriate interpretations. In the passage which, for instance, enumerates the four features of the activities in regard to sandhis (text p. 280) such as akṛtacikīrṣā, kṛtaśleṣaṇa, the term sandhi has been translated as 'peace.' But this sandhi may be an alliance concluded at a time when there is no necessity to enter into any treaty of peace to avert a disturbance of same. Moreover akṛtacikīrṣā has been translated as 'with no specific end.' The translation should be 'desire to form a new (akṛta) agreement.' The translation of the expression kṛtaśleṣaṇam should be 'strengthening the agreement already made' instead of 'peace with binding terms.' In regard to the translation of the next terms kṛtavidūṣaṇam and apaśīrṇakriyā as 'the breaking of peace' and 'restoration of peace' respectively, the use of the word 'peace' is inappropriate, because in the former case it is unduly restricted to the treaties of peace only, while in the latter, the use of the term 'peace' is out of place in view of the fact that relations with court-officials and servants are involved.

In chapter X, the heading Bhūmisandhi has been translated as 'agreement of peace for the acquisition of land.' Here the use of the word 'agreement' only would have sufficed, as otherwise the impression is created that the sandhi has something to do with war in all cases. In the translation of Bk. VII, ch. 7, paragraph 3, the passage 'when the kings of superior, equal or inferior power make peace with the conqueror' is extreamely misleading, because the use of the term 'conqueror' for vijigīṣu creates the impression as if the sovereign in question has conquered a king of superior, equal or inferior strength and that a treaty of peace is being concluded. As a matter of fact only the question of alliance for strengthening the position of the king (vijigīṣu) in difficulty is being treated and therefore the uses of both the words 'conqueror' and 'peace' are inappropriate. Vijigīṣu literally means a sovereign 'bent on conquest'. But as this desire for conquest was not peculiar to any particular king, the word should be translated by some term of colourless signification. I have used the expression

'central sovereign or state' for the purpose, because we find in the *Kauṭilīya* that the sovereign with reference to whom a particular piece of advice is being given, or with reference to whom a Maṇḍala (circle of states) is being taken into account in a particular context is looked upon as the vijigīṣu (see Inter-state Relations in Ancient India, 1920, pp. 2, 3).

VII, 7. In the second paragraph of the translation (p. 312), the reference to 'the enemy suing peace' is out of place, because in the circumstances contemplated, there is no enemy suing for peace. Hence the application of the terms 'even peace' and 'uneven peace' is also wide of the mark.

VII, 7 (transl., p. 314). In the paragraph, two classes of circumstances have been contemplated in the *K.* But the translation does not take note of these two classes of circumstances, interpreting the whole paragraph as speaking of one class of circumstances only. In the first portion of the paragraph, mention is made of the situations in which the king who has been asked by another king to help the latter is advised by K. to demand a large consideration for the help to be rendered without any reference to his position as a hīna, sama, or jyāyas king. In the second portion, the king who is in need of help is advised by K. to accede to the demand for a large consideration mentioned above in the detailed circumstances. The mixing up of the two classes of circumstances in the translation has created a confusion.[1] Moreover, the passage 'one though frequently getting immense (subsidy) from an assailable enemy of equal, inferior, or superior power, sends demands to him again and again' is meaningless. The word *bhūyaḥ* in two places in the text has been taken by Dr. S., to signify 'frequently' and 'again and again', while it means here 'large'.

The beginning of the next paragraph in the translation (p. 314) yields no cogent meaning, because it speaks of an inferior king trying to keep a superior power under him as an assailable enemy, though there is nothing in the passage to show that the superior king has become really inferior in strength on account of his

1 See my article on Dvaidhībhāva in this number of the I. H.Q., pp. 257, 258.

difficulties. I think the text upon which this translation is based is defective and should be as that adopted by Dr. Ganapati Sastri. The first word in the passage should be jyāyān and not jyāyāṃsam. The reference to the sending of a 'proposal of peace to another' is also without any support of the text. The passage on the basis of the correction would mean that an offer of a special gain may be made by a king of superior strength adopting dvaidhībhāva to a king of inferior power to attract him into a sandhi with him with the ostensible object of facing the former's enemy (yātavyāpadeśena). There may be a sinister motive on the part of the king of superior strength to bring to book the inimical king of inferior power by crushing him after defeating his enemy, or realising from him what he has given away as consideration after the victory over the enemy is achieved.

VII, 8, p. 286. In the first paragraph of the translation (p. 315), *paropakāra* has been translated by the word misery, while the reference is to reminding a king helping the enemy of the fact that the king is really helping his own enemy (paropakāra) and not advancing his own interest at all. It is not clear from the last portion of the sentence in the translation whether the disunion that takes place is between the king making the offer of wealth and one of the allies of the invader, or, between the invader and one of his allies. The latter meaning is the one supported by the text.

For the reading *svārabdhaṃ vā yātrāsiddhaṃ vighātayitukāmaḥ* in the second paragraph of the text, the Trivandrum edition has *svārabdhāyāṃ vā yātrāyāṃ siddhiṃ vighātayitukāmaḥ* which yields a good meaning, viz., 'with a view to frustrate the success in his well-commenced march', instead of Dr. Ś.'s translation 'to frustrate the latter in the attempt of achieving large profit from well-begun undertakings'. The variant reading of *siddhiṃ* for *siddhaṃ* in footnote 2 in Dr. S's. text suggests a partial improvement of the reading. But it has not been accepted in the body of the text.

At p. 316 of the translation, *sambandhāvekṣī* (expecting to have a matrimonial connection) has not at all been translated.

The translation constituting the third paragraph of p. 316 is obscure. The situation contemplated is as follows: If a king

who has entered into an alliance with another king (marching against a yātavya) wants to recede from the alliance either to help the yātavya, or to refrain from increasing the strength of the other king who may attack him (parābhiyogāc chaṅkamānaḥ) after the operations are ended successfully, he can demand an immediate payment of his dues, or can demand a larger sum as his remuneration, which will serve to put a financial pressure upon the subjects (prakṛtikarśana), or invite other parties (mitrāmitra) to alliances with the king to rescind their agreements following the example.

In the paragraph after next, the translation of śakyārambhi is faulty.

Text	S.'s Translation.	Suggested Transl.
Śakyārambhin	Whoever undertakes tolerable work is the beginner of possible work.	One who is engaged in an operation, the completion of which is within the limits of his ability.

In the same paragraph, the translation 'without losing anything in the form of favour' is not at all faithful to the text (alpenāpy anugraheṇa kāryaṃ sādhayati). The translation should be 'accomplishes his work even with small help'.

The circumstances delineated in the next passage have been misunderstood by Dr. S.

Text	Dr. S.'s Transl.	Suggested Transl.
tayor ekapuruṣānugrahe yo mitraṃ mitrataraṃ vā 'nugṛhṇāti so 'tisandhatte.	Of the two, conqueror and his enemy, both of whom may happen to have a friend in the same person, he who helps a true or truer friend over-reaches the other.	Of the two kings, each helping another king, one an enemy (but now an ally) and the other a friend, the king who happens to render assistance to the friend becomes a gainer; and of the two kings, each helping another king, one friendly and the other friendly in a special degree, the king who assists the king friendly to him in a special degree (mitratara) becomes a greater gainer.

The situation next described bearing on the assistance rendered by the Vijigīṣu and the Ari each to the Madhyama king within his own Maṇḍala has also been misunderstood as *the same* Madhyama king has been supposed to be receiving help from the Vijigīṣu and the Ari. Further, viguṇa has been taken to mean 'devoid of good qualities'. It signifies 'unfavourable' or 'turning false'.

The translation of *udāsīna* by 'a neutral king' is extremely misleading. About its correct meaning, I shall speak later in detail. I would only point out here that *Āsana* has also been rendered by 'neutrality after proclaiming war' (Dr. S.'s transl. p. 301). Apart from the fact that a contradiction is involved in the words themselves, a king taking to Āsana and the king occupying the position of Udāsīna can never be brought under the same category of neutral. Āsana consists in an outwardly calm attitude towards the enemy after the declaration of hostility, while Udāsīna is a king who has been so named in view of his being the strongest power within the first zone of the Vijigīṣu.

The use of the word defeat for *vikrama* (transl. p. 368) is without any shadow of justification. Vikrama means prakāśayuddha, kūṭayuddha, or tūṣṇīṃyuddha (see *K.*, vii, ch., 6, pp. 280, 283).

VII, 9, (transl., p. 320), Towards the end of chapter 9, the third stanza enumerating the six kinds of submissive (vaśya) friends has been grossly misinterpreted. The stanza runs thus :

sarvacitramahābhogaṃ trividhaṃ vaśyam ucyate /
ekatobhogy ubhayataḥ sarvatobhogi cāparam //

It has been translated as 'that friend whose munificence is enjoyable in various ways is a submissive friend, and is said to be of three forms : one who is enjoyable only by one, one who is enjoyable by two (the enemy and the conqueror), and one who is enjoyable by all, is the third'. Here in the expression *sarvacitramahābhogaṃ* citra and mahā have not been translated. Further, the whole expression has been treated as referring to a single person, while it means three kinds of submissive friends. A paragraph in Bk. vii, ch. 17, pp. 311, 312 explains the meanings of all the six terms, and light could have been had from here to make the translation correct. The six kinds of friends are : sarva-bhoga, citra-bhoga, mahā-bhoga ekata-bhogin, ubhayatobhogin and sarvato-bhogin.

An attempt has been made to explain only the last three terms, but the explanation is wrong.

VII, p. 295. The heading of the chapter has been translated as 'interminable agreement'. The opening lines of the chapter show that the object of the alliance is to colonize waste lands and the heading is as a matter of fact in consonance with this object of the alliance treated in the chapter. The heading *anavasita sandhi* means 'alliance for colonizing waste lands' instead of 'interminable agreement' as interpreted by Dr. S. The derivation may be put thus: vas+kta=ūṣita, or vasita (see Monier Williams' Sanskrit English Dictionary, p. 932, col. 3); na+vasita=avasita (uninhabited); na+avasita=anavasita, i.e., uninhabited (lands) converted into a colony.

In the second sentence of the chapter *pratyupasthitārtha* and *yathoktaguṇā* have not been properly translated. So far as I understand, he takes the first expression to mean 'reaping the harvest earlier,' while it should be 'having the requisites ready at hand'. The second expression taken by Dr. S. in the sense of 'fertile land' refers in fact to lands 'having the qualities as already stated.'

VII, 12, transl., p. 327. In the comparison between various kinds of works of irrigation, omission has been made to translate *vāpa* in *prabhūtavāpasthāna* (extensive area *under cultivation*). Inasmuch as the cultivable nature of the land served by the works of irrigation forms the criterion by which their superiority is judged, the English equivalent of the word vāpa should have appeared in the translation.

While comparing the game forests containing a larger number of shy (kuṇṭha) and a lesser number of bold (śūra) elephants, reference is made in the fifth paragraph of p. 299 to the differing opinions of the Ācāryas and Kauṭilya. The connection underlying the three paragraphs devoted to the comparison of elephant forests is clear by the use of the expression *tatrāpi* at the beginning of this paragraph. Dr. S., however, ignores the reference to elephants and translates as follows:

"My teacher says that of the two countries, one with a large number of effete *persons*, and another with a small number of brave *persons*, the latter is better, inasmuch as a few persons can

destroy a large mass of effete persons, whose slaughter brings about the destruction of the entire army of their master. Not so, says Kauṭilya, a large number of effete persons is better, inasmuch as they can be employed to do other kinds of works in the camp: to serve the soldiers in the battle fields, and to terrify the enemy by its number. It is also possible to infuse spirit and enthusiasm in the timid by means of discipline and training."

VII, 13. In order to bring out the various factors that should be taken into consideration in deciding whether an attack upon the rear of an enemy should be made, two sets of three kings have been supposed and in each set one king is out for an attack upon another and a third king in each set is to attack the rear of the king out on the invasion. These rear invaders have been taken to be neighbours and therefore natural enemies, but they are for the time being in alliance for mutual benefit. The object of the chapter is the comparison of advantages derived from the rear attacks upon the kings who in their turn are invading their enemies. These advantages may not always be palpable and hence in the choice of the state against which the hostile operations are to be directed, one has more chances of acquisition of gain than the other.

In the first paragraph of the translation (p. 329) the term *saṃhatya* has been rendered by the word 'simultaneously' which does not bring out the real meaning. The Vijígīṣu (central state) and the Ari (enemy) have been taken to be in alliance aud hence the word *saṃhatya* has been used. In the later portion of the paragraph, the passage 'has to put down the rear only after doing away with one's frontal enemy already attacked' misinterprets the situation. The *vidhiliṅ* form *ucchindyāt* in the text here as well as in the next paragraph has been taken to convey the sense of *vidhi* (for which 'has to put down' has been used), while it should be taken in the sense of *sambhāvanā*. The use of 'only' is out of place. The situation contemplated is this: If there be two kings, one strong and the other weak, and if both are out on expedition against their respective enemies, then of the two kings who are enemies (of the invading kings) in alliance in the rear, the one who attacks the strong king becomes the gainer, because the strong king after defeating his enemy in front would have grown stronger, and consequently could have brought about

the ruin of his rear enemy, if he had not been thwarted during his expedition against the frontal enemy; while the other rear enemy who attacks the weak king during his operation against the enemy in front does not make any gain, because left to himself, these operations alone would have weakened him further, leaving in him no desire to make an attack upon the rear enemy.

As a variant reading to *labdhalābha* in the text, *alabdhalābha* has been put in the foot-note by Dr. S. But as a matter of fact he has translated the latter word because of its appropriateness for which it should have been adopted in the text itself.

Cakra in the second paragraph of the text has been translated as the 'circle of states', while it means 'army'.

Transl. p. 330. The renderings of *calāmitra* and *sthitāmitra* are rather unhappy. They have been translated as 'wandering enemy' and 'entrenched enemy'. Enemies with or without forts are meant.

The terms *mūlahara*, *tādātvika* and *kadarya* have been explained in the *K.*, Bk. II, ch. 9. p. 69. They are explained as (i) spend-thrift in regard to patrimony (ii) squandering wealth soon after acquisition, and (ii) accumulating wealth by oppressing the officials and relations. But Dr. S. does not take any note of these explanations. He has translated the terms as 'extravagant, living from hand to mouth and niggardly.'

Dr. S.'s translation of the next passage, viz., 'the same reasons hold good in the case of those who have marched against their own friends' is likely to create the impression that a king used to attack his friends' territory, though the friendship continued. That this was not the case will be evident from what has been said by K. in connection with the *mitrabhāvin*, *ucchedanīya* or *karśanīya mitras* in Bk. VII, ch. 18. The next paragraph in the translation should also be taken with the limitation mentioned above.

At p. 302 of the text, in the last paragraph, mitra has been put instead of amitra in *coddharator yo mitroddhāriṇaḥ*. In the 1st edition of the Kauṭilīya the right term appeared in the list of corrections. But in the 2nd edition the incorrect word has crept in. The translation (p. 331) has become self-contradictory, because it has been stated that 'he who attacks the rear of the former (referring to the friend = mitra) gains more advantages' which is just the reverse of what is meant.

In the second paragraph of the translation at p. 331 *alabdhalābha*-

vagamane has been rendered as 'to enforce the payment of what is not due to them', which is altogether wide of the mark. The correct rendering is 'in the case of returning unsuccessful.'

The sentence in the text (p. 303) beginning with *yasya vā yātavyaḥ* up to *śatror vigrahāpakārasamarthaḥ syāt* is related to the previous sentence, because it describes a situation alternative to the preceding one. It has no connection with the succeeding sentence to which it has been tagged. The resulting meaning as understood by Dr. S. and evidenced in his translation is very much confused. Two sets of circumstances contemplated in the two sentences are : (i) Of the two Pārṣṇigrāhas of two other kings out on invasion against their respective enemies, the pārṣṇigrāha of the king whose enemy is able to cause him much harm becomes a gainer as compared with the other pārṣṇigrāha who does not have this advantage. (ii) Of the two pārṣṇigrāhas themselves, the one who possesses a larger and more efficient army, and is fighting with a fort as his base of operations (sthitaśatruḥ) or has his kingdom situated on either side of that of the king attacked (pārśvasthāyin) and is therefore near the yātavya (i.e. the yātavya of the king whose territory is invaded from the rear) becomes a gainer. The advantages enjoyed by a pārśvasthāyin rear-invader is that being near the aforesaid yātavya, he can easily combine with him and can make a raid upon the capital of the king whose rear has been attacked. The second set of circumstances described above has a direct bearing upon the pārṣṇigrāhas themselves, while in the preceding sets of circumstances, the kings attacked constituted the principal subject-matter for consideration.

In the succeeding śloka (p. 303) *sāmantāt* should be *sāmantāḥ* a variant which has been relegated by Dr. S. to the foot-note. This word has been left untranslated. Though the text mentions three classes of pārṣṇigrāhas, viz., sāmanta, pṛṣṭhatovarga and prativeśa, Dr. S. has tried to make up these three by the second and the third, taking the latter to constitute two classes, one being on each side of the king attacked, though as a matter of fact they constitute only one class.

The misleading translation of the term udāsina as already pointed out has been repeated here (transl. p. 331).

Dr. S. translates *pārṣṇigrahaṇābhiyānayos tu mantrayuddhād abhyuccayaḥ* as follows : Of attacks from the rear and front, that

which affords opportunities of carrying on a treacherous fight (mantrayuddha) is preferable'. The translation ought to be 'In rear as well as frontal attack Mantrayuddha brings about increase of strength.' In the text the next two sentences have been put within inverted commas as the opinion of the Ācaryas. The opinion should, however, include the sentence referred to above. This sentence makes a statement in support of which the next two sentences put forward the reasons.

VII, 13, p.304. Dr. S.'s translation of the second paragraph is incorrect. It should be as follows: 'When in war, the expenditure in men and money is apparently the same, the king who first of all engages the recalcitrant portion of his army in the fight by which its destruction takes place, and next, i.e., when the likely source of internal trouble viz. the recalcitrant portion of his army is destroyed, utilises the submissive portion of his army in the fight, he becomes a gainer (as compared with the king who does not do so).

The next sentence also is wrong. It seems that he has taken *dūṣyabala* and *vaśyabala* of the text for 'frontal enemy' and 'rear enemy'.

The translation of the śloka that comes next is utterly wrong. It runs thus: 'when an enemy in the rear and in the front, and an assailable enemy to be marched against happen together, then the conqueror should adopt the following policy'.

It should be: 'when the Vijigīṣu happens to be in the position of either the rear-invader (pārṣṇigrāha), or the invader (abhiyoktṛ), or the king invaded (yātavya), he should thus conduct the operations (naitram etat samācaret)'. The misconception about Vijigīṣu is, I think, responsible for the mistranslation. Vijigīṣu should not be translated as conqueror. I prefer the expression 'central king' (or the central state), because he (or it) forms the central point with reference to which deliberations are carried on in the particular context. Here the fact that the Vijigīṣu can be supposed in the positions of the rear-invader etc. corroborates this view.

Dr. S. misses the real point in the first verse of the following śloka upon which the meaning of the śloka depends. His translation is this: 'The rear enemy would usually lead the conqueror's frontal enemy to attack the conqueror's friend'. The correct rendering would be: The Netṛ (here the vijigīṣu) should attack the rear of the enemy who invades the friend (of the vijigīṣu).

Transl., p. 332. The word 'them' in the first line of the translation of the śloka commencing with *ākrandenābhiyuñjānaḥ* refers to Ākranda and Pārṣṇigrāhābhisārin mentioned in the latter portion of the translation of the previous śloka, but as a matter of fact advice has been given in the text to check Pārṣṇigrāha (and not Pārṣṇigrāhāsāra) by Ākranda.

The śloka commencing with *mitreṇa* is meant for the king attacked (abhiyukta or yātavya); hence, the use of the word 'he,' which stands for the conqueror in the translations of the preceding ślokas, also implies 'conqueror' in this śloka and is therefore inappropriate. Instead of 'he should with his friends' help hold his rear-enemy at bay' the translation should be 'the king attacked (abhiyukta) should cause his friend (mitra) to attack the rear of his enemy.' The translation of the next portion of the śloka is also wrong. In the place of 'with the help of his friend's friend he should prevent his rear-enemy attacking the Ākranda (his rear ally),' the rendering should be 'the king attacked (abhiyukta) should prevent the Ākranda (here the rear-ally of the invader) from obstructing the rear-invader (of the invader) with the help of his (yātavya's) mitra-mitra'.

The next verse *evaṃ maṇḍalam ātmārthaṃ vijigiṣur niveśayet* has been translated by Dr. S. as 'thus the conqueror should, through the aid of his friends, bring the circle of States under his own sway.' The question of 'bringing under sway' does not arise in this context. Only the utilisation of the services of the kings of the Maṇḍala is the subject dealt with in the text.

VII, 13, p. 305. In the last śloka but one of the chapter, the translation of the last verse is defective. It should be 'killing (the enemies) secretly under the guise of their friend' and not 'having again and again destroyed the strength of his enemies, he should keep his counsels concealed, being friendly with his friends.'

VII, 14, p. 305, last 2 lines. Dr. S. translates "Then the recipients of salaries from two States, exhibiting the acquisition of large profits (to the leader) may satirize the kings, saying, "you are all very well combined." The rendering should be: "The ubhayavetanas (i.e. spies drawing salary from the attacked king but ostensibly in the pay of the minor allies of the enemy) should condemn the action of the allies by saying 'you have been outwitted

(by the leader)'. *Atisaṃhitāḥ* in the text means that a secret gain has been made by the leader at the cost of the allies. The word atisandhāna or the verb ati—sam—dhā has been used in this sense in various places in the *Kauṭilīya.*

VII, 14. At p. 306, l. 1 the word *duṣṭa* in the sentence *duṣṭeṣu sandhiṃ dūṣayet* should not be translated as 'wicked' having regard to the context. The reference is to the alienation of the allies from their leader by the suggestion made above that they have been outwitted.

Pūrvānyatarābhāve, *kanyādānayauvanābhyām* and *kṛtasandhihīnam* at p. 306 should be rectified. The existence of these expressions in the text has vitiated the translation. The right forms would be *purvān uttarābhāve*, *kānyādāna-yāpanābhyām* and *kṛtasandhir hīnam* (see Trivandrum edition).

VII, 15. The heading of this chapter has been written as 'Measures Conducive to Peace with a Strong and Provoked Enemy ; and the Attitude of a Conquered Enemy.' The Sanskrit heading is '*balavatā vigṛhyoparodhahetavaḥ daṇḍopanatavṛttam ca*', the meaning of which has not been faithfully reflected in the English heading. The first part of the heading should be rendered as 'the reasons for shutting oneself (in a fort) while waging war with a powerful enemy.' This meaning finds support in the contents of the chapter. As regards the second portion of the heading, 'daṇḍopanata' cannot properly be rendered by 'a conquered enemy,' because conquered enemy, as the *Kauṭilīya* itself will show, is not always a daṇḍopanata. I have used the expression 'self-submitter' for the purpose (Inter-state Relations, pt. I, pp. 61 f.).

The translation (p. 336) of *tulyadurgāṇāṃ nicayāpasārato viśeṣaḥ* [of two or more forts of similar advantages, the superiority lies in the one from which the supply of necessaries of life (nicaya) can be maintained, and which affords a means of *escape* (apasāra)] is wrong, because the right significance of *tulyadurgāṇāṃ* and *apasāra* has been missed. Dr. S's. translation runs thus : 'When there are many forts, difference should be sought in their affording facility for the collection of stores and supplies'.

VII, 16. The heading of this chapter is *daṇḍopanāyivṛttam* which has been rendered as 'the attitude of a *conquered* king'. This oblitera-

tes the distinction between daṇḍopanāyin and daṇḍopanata, the latter being treated in the previous chapter under the heading 'the attitude of a conquered enemy'. In fact the position of the daṇḍopanāyin is just the reverse of daṇḍopanata who is under the domination of the other. I have styled him 'dominator' in my *Inter-state Relations*, pt. I. The palpable mistake of putting this wrong heading should not have been repeated through all the three editions of the translation. The impression that the chapter is dealing with the 'conquered king' has given rise to mistaken translations in several places.

The opening paragraph reflects the confusion of ideas as to the difference between the dominator and the self-submitter. Dr. S. writes: 'In view of causing financial trouble to his protector, a powerful vassal king, desirous of making conquests, may under the permission of his protector, march on countries.........'. The rendering should be 'when a powerful king (i.e. the dominator) intends to subdue one who, after making a promise (to pay), causes anxiety in regard to the payment of the money, he should march..........'.

Dr. S. in his translation speaks of 'a powerful vassal king' who goes out to make conquest with the permission of his protector intending to subdue other kings by the application of sāma, dāna, bheda and daṇḍa. This is absurd because the dominator is the central figure in the chapter and his relation to the weak king is explained in it. The dominator is to apply sāma, dāna, etc. in regard to the weak king according to the particular circumstances of each case. The misunderstanding of the basic object of the chapter has vitiated it altogether.

VII, 16, p. 311. The sentence which begins with *evaṁ utsāhavato* has been made to end after *sthāpayet*, but as a matter of fact it should be linked up with the next line which should come to a stop after *bhūmyupakāriṇaḥ*. The translation (p. 339) speaks of the reinstatement of kings by the 'powerful vassal king', while in fact it deals with the question as to how the dominator will utilise the services of the self-submitters of various descriptions.

The last paragraph at p. 311 of the text which has been continued to the next page describes six kinds of helping kings, the first set of three kings rendering their help to the dominator

directly, and the second set of three giving their assistance indirectly by causing harm to the dominator's enemy. In view of this fact the text (p. 312) *yad amitram āsāraṃ copakaroti tad ubhayatobhogi* as well as its translation (p. 339) 'whoever *helps* also his enemy and his enemy's allies is a friend affording enjoyment to both sides' is incorrect and self-contradictory in its meaning. The correct reading is *yad amitram āsāraṃ cāpakaroti* (see Trivandrum ed.), of which the translation would be 'he who *harms* the enemy as well as the enemy's ally is one who helps in two ways......'.

In the rendering (p. 340) of the last sentence of the text (p. 312) *pareṇānadhivāsyayā svayam eva bhartāram upagrāhayet,* the word *pareṇa* remains untranslated, while the rest of the sentence has been translated wrongly. The translation runs thus : (he should provide) 'his own protector with an uninhabitable piece of land'. As the advice contained in the whole paragraph is meant for the daṇḍopanāyin and not for the daṇḍopanata, the translation has become the reverse of the actual meaning which is '(the daṇḍopanāyin) should conciliate (the daṇḍopanata) by giving the (former) holder (i.e., the daṇḍopanata) himself a piece of land which cannot be occupied except by him'.

The first word (teṣām) of the next paragraph refers to the various descriptions of the daṇḍopanatas mentioned in the preceding lines and the nominative of the sentence is evidently the daṇḍopanāyin and not the vassal king desirous of making conquests as pointed out by Dr. S. This wrong impression pervades the whole paragraph and has vitiated its correct import. The last three lines of the paragraph cannot appropriately be taken to refer to what should be done by a 'vassal king' 'to the protector' (daṇḍopanāyin). On the other hand, they speak of the line of action to be taken by the daṇḍopanāyin towards the daṇḍopanata. The sentence (p. 313) *evam asya daṇḍopanatāḥ putrapautrān anuvartante* [thus (i.e. by the line of action mentioned in the preceding lines) the daṇḍopanatas will follow loyally his (daṇḍopanāyin's) sons and grandsons] explains the situation.

In view of the errors shown above the translation of the whole chapter should be re-written.

VII, 18. The opening sentence of the chapter should be *madhyamasya ātmā tṛtīyā pañcamī ca prakṛtī prakṛtayaḥ* (Trivandrum ed.)

instead of *madhyamasyātmatṛtīyā pañcamī ca prakṛtī prakṛtayaḥ*, as otherwise the use of the word *prakṛtayaḥ* in *bahuvacana* would not be justified as there will be only two prakṛtis viz., *ātmatṛtīyā* and *pañcamī*.

The translation which has been based on the wrong text is therefore incorrect. Here in the first two sentences of the chapter a grouping of certain States has been made with reference to the dealings of the king under our consideration, viz., the Vijigīṣu (the central king or state) with the madhyama. The madhyama (medium power) and the third and the fifth states from him are *prakṛtis*, i.e., natural friends, while the second, fourth and the sixth states from the same are *vikṛtis*, i.e., natural enemies.

The situation contemplated in the next two sentences of the first paragraph of the chapter has been misunderstood.

It is stated in the text that if the Madhyama be friendly to both the sets of kings (prakṛtis and vikṛtis), the Central State should be friendly to him. Should the Madhyama show no leaning to any of these two sets of kings, the Central State should take the side of his own prakṛtis (i.e. friends). But Dr. S. translates (p. 344) the last sentence thus : 'If he does not favour them, the conqueror should be friendly with those states.' Here 'those states' evidently refer to both *prakṛtis* and *vikṛtis*, while the text speaks only of the prakṛtis, implying thereby the prakṛtis with reference to the Vijigīṣu (cf. vijigīṣur mitraṃ mitramitraṃ vā 'sya prakṛtayaḥ —*K.*, VI, 2, p. 261).

VII, 18 (transl. p. 344). The first sentence of the second paragraph of the translation should be "if the Madhyama *wants to bring under sway a really friendly king* (mitrabhāvin mitra) of the sovereign of the 'Central State', the latter should save him", instead of "if the Madhyama king is *desirous of securing the friendship* of the conqueror's *would-be friend*,……the conqueror should preserve his own friend" as translated by Dr. S.

VII, 18 (transl. p. 346). The rendering of the term *udāsīna* by neutral is, as already pointed out, extremly misleading. A reader who does not consult the text will be puzzled to find that a 'neutral' king is coming into conflict inspite of his 'neutrality.' The udāsīna, as a matter of fact, has a technical signification attached to it in the *Kauṭilīya* as also the term *madhyama* which

has been translated by Dr. S. as mediatory (transl. 290). The name mediatory would *prima facie* convey the impression that the sovereign so called mediates between two other kings, but according to the description of the Madhyama found in the text, the name has a reference to the amount of strength possessed by a sovereign situated in the neighbourhood. The name Udāsīna has also a similar implication as to the amount of strength of the sovereign so called. The Madhyama is situated within the first zone of both the Vijigīṣu and the Ari (arivijigīṣvor bhūmya[na]ntaraḥ.—vi, 2, p. 261) and is therefore within the zone of enmity to each of them. The text (vi, 2, p. 261) lays down that the Madhyama is capable of subduing each of the Ari and Vijigīṣu when they are not combined, but can help them whether they are combined or not i.e. when they are allied, he is able only to help them and not to subdue them. It follows from this that the strength of the Madhyama is greater than that of either the Ari or the Vijigīṣu, but less than the combined strength of the two powers.

The Udāsīna (ut = ūrdhvam āsīnaḥ i.e. seated on a height) is the strongest power supposed to exist within the first zone of the 'Central State.' It is stated in the text (vi, 2, p. 261) that besides Ari, Vijigīṣu and Madhyama, there is another sovereign capable of subduing each of them when they are combined, but can help them whether they are combind or not i.e., when they are allied, he is able only to help them and cannot subdue them. The inference should therefore be that the strength of the Udāsīna is greater than that of the Madhyama and necessarily much greater than that of either the Ari or the Vijigīṣu taken separately, but less than the combined strength of the three taken together.

VII, 18, p. 320. The translation of the verse *nopakurvāt amitraṃ vā gacched yad atikarśitam* has been made as follows : 'The conqueror should never help his friend when the latter is more and more deteriorating.' It should however be : 'The Vijigīṣu should not help one (referring to mitra mentioned in the second verse) who, much reduced in strength (atikarśita), *goes over to the enemy* (amitraṃ gacchet).'

There is also a defect in the translation of the following śloka. The words *calaṃ mitram* should be rendered as 'an unstable friend' instead of as 'a wandering friend (i.e. a nomadic king).'

Niveśya pūrvaṃ tatrānyaṃ daṇḍānugrahahetunā has been tran-

slated by Dr. S. thus : 'having made some *previous arrangements to punish or favour the friend.*' This should be : "having *previously stationed* (niveśya) *there another person* for rendering *military help* (daṇḍānugrahahetunā)."

The first portion of the next śloka *apakuryāt samarthaṃ vā* has been wrongly translated. It has been rendered as 'the *conqueror* may harm him when he has grown powerful,' while it should be translated as (*the mitra*) 'who does harm (to the Central State) when powerful'.

Dr. S.'s translation of the last śloka at p. 320 of the text is altogether wide of the mark. His translation runs thus : 'when a friend keeps quiet after rising against an enemy under troubles, that friend will be subdued by the enemy himself after getting rid of his troubles.' The rendering should be as follows : 'if a Mitra after growing in power (utthitam) owing to the vyasanas (calamities) of his enemy becomes disaffected (towards the Vijigīṣu), then by the removal of the vyasanas of the enemy (of the Mitra), he (the Mitra) is brought under control through the enemy (of the Mitra).

I refrain from pointing out the blemishes from the other Books in the translation of the *Kauṭilīya* as I think that those shown above are sufficiently illustrative of the nature and number of the errors to be found more or less in other portions of the treatise. I hope the learned translator will try to remove them when the opportunity presents itself, while in the mean time, I caution the readers against relying on the translation alone for arriving at correct meanings of the passages of the *Kauṭilīya.*

NARENDRA NATH LAW

An Inscription dated in the reign of Emperor Muhammad Shah

There is a stone (1008,)$^{\underline{58}}$ inscribed with Devanāgarī characters, in the gallery of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. It is marked "Not Read". From the label attached thereto it appears that neither the provenance of the inscription nor the name of the donor is known. The language seems to be a Sanskritised form of the "Khaṭolā Bundelī of Damoh," illustrated in the *Linguistic Survey of India,* IX, pt. I, p. 464. The epigraph was probably discovered in the Damoh region.

The inscription records the erection of a funeral pillar in honour of a private individual. Its importance lies in its form of dating. It is dated not only in both the Vikrama and the Śaka eras, but also in the "gati-varṣa" (current regnal year) of the Emperor Muhammad Shah, the Mughal emperor of Delhi, who ruled from 1719-1748 A.D. Another interesting thing is that it contains more than one instance of that philological fact, about which M. Sylvain Lévi has said, "les deux lettres 'ṣa' et 'kha' s'emploient constamment l'une pour l'autre, et les théoriciens posent en principe leur identité absolue dans les jeux de mots." (*Le Népal*, II. p. 145).

The inscription contains fourteen lines, which we read as follows:

1 Sidhi (॥) Śrī-Gaṇesāya namaḥ । Śrī-Sarasvati
2 namaḥ (॥) Dhṛttesvara-nāma (?) saṃvatsare Śrī
3 Vikramādittyarājye Saṃvat 1803 (,) Sā-
4 ke 1668 Śrī-sūrya utrāyane vasa-
5 tti * * Śrī Pāttisāhi Mahaṃmada Sāhi-gativarṣa
6 28 vaisāṣamāse krasnapakṣe trayodasī 13 caṃdravāsare
7 vadi nemahā uttipakaraje (?) nijabāgamadhye Udeyapura-
8 nagre Subha asthāne (॥) Suve Mālava * * -nivāsabāva-
9 lī isthitticharī (?) Vaisyavarane parmadharmaḥma Śrī-Cauḥ Ca-
paṃta
10 Rāījī-laghubhrātā Jasavaṃta Rāījī (॥) Tīnanai nivahaī—Mīra
11 Śrī-Cauḥ-Capaṃta Rāījī (,) tasya putra Śrī-Cauḥ Amānata
Rāī-
12 jī tasya putra Ciḥ (?) Śrī-Cauḥ-Varajora Siṃgha (॥) Dighāyu-
rastū
13 leṣaka (॥) Sūbhaṃ bhavatū maṃgalaṃ (॥)
14 Kārīgara Cainduvā Siṃghamana (॥)

TRANSLATION

"Success. Adoration to Śrī-Gaṇeśa. Adoration to Śrī Sarasvatī. In the year 1803 according to the era founded in the reign of Srī-Vikramāditya, in Śāka 1668, when the illustrious Sun is in the Uttarāyaṇa (Northern course), in the current year 28 of the illustrious emperor Mahaṃmada Sāha, in the thirteenth 13 lunar day of the black fortnight of the month of Vaiśākha......in an auspicious place in (their) own garden at the town of Udeyapura. Jasavanta Rāījī, the younger brother of Srī Caudhuri (?) Capaṃta Rāījī, a very pious man of the Vaiśya sect,......who is an inhabitant of the Mālava Suvā.

(These) three perform (it)—Mīra Śrī Caudhuri Capaṃta Rāījī, his son Śrī Caudhuri Amānata Rāījī, (and) his son Śrī Caudhuri Varajora Siṃgha. May the writer live long. Let it be auspicious and prosperous.

The scribe (is) Cainduvā Siṃghamana.

NOTES

1. Muhammad Shah (1719-48) is the Mughal emperor of Delhi. The 28th year of his reign was 1719+27=1746 A.D. The Vikrama and Śaka years referred to in the inscription (1803 V.E.—57=1746 A.D.; 1668 Ś.E.+78=1746 A.D.) also give the same date.

2. Udayapura-nagara appears to be an unimportant town in Mālava.

3. The omission of the word 'Śrī' before the name of Jasavaṃta shows that he was dead. We have left this word untranslated except in two places for the sake of avoiding awkwardness.

DINESH CHANDRA SIRCAR

"Caṃdasutānaṃ" in the Nanaghat Cave Inscription

In the Nanaghat Cave Inscription No. I, edited by G. Bühler in the *Archæological Survey of Western India*, vol. V, the passage "Namo Saṃkasaṇa-Vāsudevānaṃ caṃdasutānaṃ mahimāvatānam cātuṃnaṃ ca lokapālānaṃ Yama-Varuṇa-Kuvera-Vāsavānaṃ" (line 1) has been translated as "Adoration to Saṃkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva, the descendants of the Moon, who are endowed with majesty, and to the four guardians of the world, Yama, Varuṇa, Kuvera and Vāsava."

Bühler translates "Caṃdasutānaṃ" as the descendants of Caṃda and takes it as an epithet of "Saṃkasana-Vāsudeva." I, however, differ from him on the following grounds:

The vowel-mark in "s," the third letter of the word "caṃdasutānaṃ," is distinctly "ū," and there is hardly any instance of Sanskrit long "ū" being changed into short "u" in Prakrit. Then the next letter, of which the lower part is lost, seems to me to be "ra" and not 'ta.' The word therefore is "Candasūrānaṃ," (=candrasūryayoḥ) and the epithet "mahimāvatānaṃ" then suits it excellently.

DINESH CHANDRA SIRCAR

The Bhāgavṛtti

The name Bhāgavṛtti occurs fairly frequently in commentaries on grammar and lexicons but we know practically next to nothing about the work and its author. The late Prof. Sris Chandra Chakravarti in his highly erudite introduction to the काशिकाविवरणपञ्जिका inclines to the view that Bhartṛhari is the author of the Bhāgavṛtti. Prof. Chakravarti writes :— 'It-sing in a part of his book makes भर्तृहरि the author of a commentary on पाणिनि. He calls it "pei-na" which is surmised by the Japanese translator (Mr. J. Takakusu) to be the Veda-vṛtti or वेदवृत्ति............ Now this "pei-na" is probably the भागवृत्ति which is a commentary on the अष्टाध्यायी ' (pp. 13-14). In a foot-note Prof. Chakravarti asks : "May not the Vedavṛtti as well be a corruption of the word भैजवृत्ति or भैदवृत्ति i.e., भागवृत्ति ?" This argument need not be seriously considered. By turning and twisting the vowels and consonants in a word we can prove anything, but that is not scientific.

Prof. Chakravarti's second argument is that Bhartṛhari is mentioned as the author of the Bhāgavṛtti in several grammatical treatises. He says :—"As to its authorship the following statement is found in the तन्त्रप्रदीप by मैत्रेयरक्षित on the Sūtra VIII, 3, 21, viz.,—भर्तृहरिणा चास्य नित्यार्थतैवोक्ता। तथा च भागवृत्तिकृता प्रत्युदाहरणमुपन्यस्तं तत्र उक्तं तत्रयुक्तमिति। वामनोऽपि लोपेनैवोदाहरणमुक्तवान्।—शरणदेव says in his दुर्घटवृत्ति on the Sūtra VIII, 3, 37—उपराम उदयाम इत्येव भवतीति भर्तृहरिणा भागवृत्तिकृता चोक्तम्। सृष्टिधराचार्य, the author of the भाषावृत्त्यर्थविवृति, a commentary on the भाषावृत्ति by पुरुषोत्तमदेव, remarks in the end of his book—भागवृत्तिर्भर्तृहरिणा विरचिता श्रीधरसेननरेन्द्रादिष्टा।"

Prof. Chakravarti evidently thought that the three passages quoted above pointed to the same conclusion, but the fact is just the reverse. In the quotation from मैत्रेयरक्षित who certainly was most intimately acquainted with the भागवृत्ति, तथाच means 'similarly', so the passage contains the views of three grammarians, viz., भागवृत्तिकृत्, भर्तृहरि and वामन. In the second passage quoted शरणदेव distinctly says—'it has been said by Bhartṛhari as also the author of the भागवृत्ति'

(भर्तृहरिणा भागवृत्तिकृता चोक्तम्). As regards the statement of सृष्टिधर, it is clear that सृष्टिधर confuses भागवृत्ति with भट्टि. As a matter of fact the author of the Bhāgavṛtti was quite distinct from Bhartṛhari as in numerous passages in commentaries on grammar the opinions of both have been quoted side by side.

In a learned preface to the Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Collections of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (vol. VI), Mm. Haraprasāda Śāstrī does not offer any suggestion of his own but contents himself with showing the unreliable character of the facts and arguments put forward by Mr. Chakravarti. Says Mm. Sastri : "No reliance can be placed on any historical statements of Sṛṣṭidharācārya as he belongs to the 17th century and to North Bengal. In this very quotation he confounds Bhaṭṭi and Bhartṛhari, for Srīdharasena was the patron of Bhaṭṭi the poet, and not of Bhartṛhari the grammarian".

I shall now try to glean some information about the author of the Bhāgavṛtti and his approximate date from the references to the work I have come across in the course of my studies in Sanskrit grammar.

Though भागवृत्ति and भागवृत्तिकृत् are pretty frequently referred to in Sanskrit grammatical literature, in only one passage have I found the name of the author mentioned. In his Kātantra-Pariśiṣṭa (I. 142). Śrīpatidatta says : द्यौरोकोऽस्य दिवौकाः, औत्वमोकारस्य। यद्यपि दिवर्थे दिवमिति निश्चितम् तथाप्योकारनिवृत्त्यर्थमिह दिवौकसः पाठः। तथाच भागवृत्तिकृता विमलमतिनापैष निपातितः।

It would appear from the above extract that Vimalamati is the author of the Bhāgavṛtti. One Vimalamati is mentioned by Eggeling as the author of a commentary on the Candravyākaraṇa. Trilocanadāsa in his Kātantravṛttipañcikā on Kātantra, Samāsapāda 1, quotes the following verse from Vimalamati :

विशेष्यस्य विशेषेण मिलितं युक्तमुच्यते।
समासाख्यं तदेव स्यात्तद्धितोत्पत्तिरेव च॥

In our present state of knowledge it is difficult to say whether all these three Vimalamatis refer to one and the same person or not.

That the Bhāgavṛtti was not among the early वृत्तिs on Pāṇini would be clear from the following remarks of Śrīpati (*Ibid.*, II, 16): भागवृत्तिकृता छान्दसं वचनम् इत्यभ्युपगतम्। न तन्मतमाद्यानां वृत्तिकृतां न चन्द्रस्य i.e., the author of the Bhāgavṛtti holds that the dictum is applicable to the Vedas alone; but that is not the view of the early Vṛttikāras nor of Candra. The early Vṛttikāras refer, of course, to Kuṇi, Jayāditya, Vāmana and others.

That the author of the भागवृत्ति could not have been Bhartṛhari is evident from the following:

[प्रह्निखनम्, प्रह्निन्वनम्] भर्तृहरिसम्मतमिदमुदाहरणं भागवृत्तिकृताप्युदाहृतम्। अत्र णत्वं वामनादीनामसम्मतम्।—Goyīcandra on Saṅkṣiptasāra, I. 328.

[आगमास्तद्गुणीभूतास्तद्ग्रहणेन गृह्यन्ते इति परिभाषायां] सत्याम् प्रातिपदिकान्तनुम्विभक्तिषु च [८।४।११] इत्यत्र नुम्ग्रहणस्य प्रयोजनं न दृश्यते। भर्तृहरिणा तूक्तम्—यः प्रातिपदिकान्तो नकारो न भवति तदर्थं नुम्ग्रहणम्, प्राह्निखदिति। अत्र हि ह्विनेर्लुङि नुमो णत्वमिति॥ तत्र च पूर्वपदाधिकारः समासे च पूर्वोत्तरपदव्यवहारः, तत् कथमिह णत्वमिति न व्यक्तीकृतमिति भागवृत्तिकृतोक्तम्।—Sīradeva on Paribhāṣā, 4.

गततात्च्छील्य इति भागवृत्तिः। गतविधप्रकारास्तुल्यार्था इति भर्तृहरिः।—Durghaṭavṛtti on हरतेर्गततात्च्छील्य इति वक्तव्यम्।

उपराम उदयाम इत्येव भवतीति भर्तृहरिणा भागवृत्तिकृता चोक्तम् (*Ibid.*, VII. 3, 31).

That it was posterior to the Kāśikā is clear from the fact that it discusses quotations from माघ as also the fact that in many cases it seems to controvert the views of the Kāśikā.

Thus—

"वारुणीमदविशङ्कमथाविश्चचुषोऽभवदसाविव रागः" इति माघे [१०।१९] व्यवहितप्रयोगः प्रमादेन इति भागवृत्तिः—Ujjvaladatta on उणादि २।१०९.

कथं चिक्रंसया कृत्रिमपत्रिपङ्क्तेरिति माघः [३।५१]। उच्यते ग्रहेर्जिघृक्षया इति पाठ इति भागवृत्तिः (दुर्घटवृत्तिः on स्नुक्रमोरनात्मनेपदनिमित्ते 7. 2. 36). प्राच्यास्तु "जिघत्सया" इति पठन्ति इति भागवृत्तिः—Goyīcandra on Saṅkṣiptasāra, 1097.

अतएव तत्रैव सूत्रे [१।१।२७] भागवृत्तिः—पुरातनमुनेर्मुनितामिति पुरातनीर्नदीरिति च प्रमादपाठावेतौ। गतानुगतिकतया कवयः प्रयुञ्जते न तेषां लक्षणं चक्षुरिति। — Sīradeva on Paribhāṣā, 29.

साहाय्यमित्यपि ब्राह्मणादित्वादिति जयादित्यः। नेति भागवृत्तिः (भाषावृत्तिः 5. 1. 132).

वृत्तौ ह्रेत्यस्यानुवृत्तौ दीर्घो नेहास्तीति वामनवृत्तिः। अस्तीति भागवृत्तिः (भाषावृत्ति on क्रियश्च पञ्चभ्यः 7. 2. 75).

Commenting on Pāṇini VI. I, 9 the Kāśikā remarks अनभ्यासस्येत्येव। जुगुप्सिषते। लोलूयिषते। On this the Padamañjari remarks: भागवृत्तिकारस्त्वाह—पूर्वसूत्रे "धातोः" "अनभ्यासस्य" इति द्वयमपि प्रत्याख्याय भाष्यकारेणोक्तम्—तिष्ठतु तावत् साभ्यासिकं धातुग्रहणमिति, उत्तरार्थमिति भावः। अनभ्यासग्रहणस्य तु न किञ्चित् प्रयोजनमुक्तम्, ततश्चोत्तरार्थमपि तन्न भवतीति भाष्यकारस्याभिप्रायो लक्ष्यते, तेनात्र भवितव्यमेव द्विर्वचनेनेति।

भागवृत्तिकारः पुनः प्राह—शपेरुपलम्भने प्रकाशने कथने वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति। देवदत्ताय शपते। देवदत्तं यत्किञ्चित् कथयतीत्यर्थः। वाचा शरीरस्पर्शनमुपालम्भनमित्यदः कस्यचित् काव्यम्।—(पुरुषकार on दैव cxxxii). Here the last sentence seems to be a hit at Jayāditya who explains उपालम्भनम् as वाचा शरीरस्पर्शनम्।

Sometimes it has a fling at the Nyāsakāra also. Cf. कथं पतन्त्यनेके जलधेरिवोर्मयः इति भारविः। तथा अनेकेषां नानास्यानेति न्यासः। * * * भागवृत्तिकृता ' "अनेकेषाम्" इति जैनेन्द्रोक्तम्। कालदुष्टा एवापशब्दाः' इति। Durghaṭavṛtti, II, 2, 6.

वृत्तिकृता नेष्यते, भागवृत्तिकारेण त्विष्यते (पदमञ्जरी vol. I, p. 251. l. 2).

Instances could be multiplied to any extent to show that on many important points of grammar the Bhāgavṛtti differed from the Kāśikā. It would appear also that it followed the Bhāṣya much more closely than Jayāditya or Vāmana.

वामनेनास्य [दम्भिश्रन्थिग्रन्थीनां लिटि] नित्यत्वमुक्तम्, भागवृत्तिकृता तु अनार्षत्वम् उक्तम् (Goyīcandra on Saṅkṣiptasāra II. 1709).

वानुवृत्तिर्जयादित्यचन्द्रप्रभृतिभिरुक्ता, वाचस्पत्यादिकृतकोषे च विकल्पो दृश्यते, भाष्येऽनुदाहृतत्वाद् भागवृत्तिकृता नित्यत्वमुक्तम्। (*Ibid.*, Taddhitapāda, 47).

भाष्यकारस्वरसेन बुद्ध्यर्थादिप्रयोगे च वर्तमाने एव क्तो न तु भूते भवति, अतः षष्ठ्येव भवितव्यमिति भागवृत्तिकृतो मतम्। (*Ibid.* Kārakapāda, 177).

Bhāgavṛtti's view on आजघ्ने विषमविलोचनस्य वक्षः [किराते १७। ६३] has been quoted or referred to by all subsequent commentators. Unlike most grammarians the author of the Bhāgavṛtti takes the bull by the horns and pronounces the form आजघ्ने in the line incorrect. He suggests the emendation आपेदे for आजघ्ने. Vide Jumaranandī and Goyīcandra on Saṅkṣiptasāra, 504.

Bhāgavṛtti often discusses the peculiar forms occurring in the Bhaṭṭikāvya. Cf. Bhāṣāvṛtti, 4. 1, 178. कथं प्राक् कैकयीतो भरतस्ततोऽभूदिति। आद्यप्रकृतेरेव

कुलहारिण सोऽयमिति स्त्रीवृत्तेः शार्ङ्गरवाद्यञो ङीन् इति भागवृत्तिः। (See also Rāmatarkavāgiśa on Mugdhabodha, 429). Cf. also उरिति क्तो विशेषणम्, तेन उदन्तविधेः, धनं ग्दधुः, रच्चोगणं चिप्रुरिति भागवृत्तिकृता दर्शितम् (Goyīcandra on Saṅkṣiptasāra Kārakapāda, 1641).

One important point on which the Bhāgavṛtti appears to differ from most grammarians is that according to it a transitive root can be conjugated in the भाववाच्य. Says Goyīcandra (Kṛdantapāda, 180): कान्दिशं गन्तव्यमिति कादम्बरीप्रयोगे कर्मोपादानेऽपि भावे तव्यङ्; अनुक्तत्वात् कर्मणो दिशमिति द्वितीया। तथा च, गम्यते ग्रामं विप्र येतन्नाद्यपि भावे भवतीति भागवृत्तिकृतोक्तम्। अन्ये त्वेवं नेच्छन्ति। Similarly Rāmatarkavāgiśa on Mugdhabodha 308 : सद्वाद् घोरपि भावे त्य इति भागवृत्तिः।

Its views on मतिबुद्धिपूजार्थेभ्यश्च have not generally been followed by later grammarians. Strictly following the Bhāṣya it restricts क्त in the case of these roots to the वर्तमानकाल and holds that such uses as त्वया ज्ञातो मया रचितः are wrong. इह वर्तमानक्तेन भूतक्तस्य बाधनमिष्यते तेन त्वया ज्ञातो मया रचित इत्याद्यचिकित्स्यमिति भागवृत्तिः—Bhāṣāvṛtti, 3, 2, 188. कालदुष्टा एवापशब्दा इति भागवृत्तिः—Durghaṭavṛtti 3, 2, 188. On Jumaranandin's line त्वया ज्ञातो मया ज्ञात इत्यसाधुरिति भागवृत्तिः, Goyīcandra remarks : भाष्यकारस्वरसेन बुद्ध्यर्थादिप्रयोगे च वर्तमाने एव क्तो न तु भूते भवति ; अतः षष्ठ्येव भवितव्यमिति भागवृत्तिकृतो मतम्। अत स्वरसाभावादिति भागवृत्तिरित्युपन्यस्तवान् (Kārakapāda 177). Haradatta (following Kaiyaṭa) steers a middle course in his Padamañjarī on 2. 2, 12 and says : कथं राजसम्मत राजाभिमत इति। अस्ति हि भट्टिकाव्ये प्रयोगः—कालहं स राममहितः कृतवानिति, मह पूजायां रामस्य महित इत्यर्थः। कश्चिदाह। यदा वर्तमाने क्तस्तदा षष्ठी समासनिषेधश्च, यदा भूते क्तस्तदा कर्तरि तृतीयैव भवति, यथा पूजितो यः सुरैरपीति तस्याः कर्तृकरणे कृता बहुलमिति समासः। स्यादेवं यदि भूते क्तो लभ्यः। नाप्राप्ते तस्मिन्नारभ्यमाणो मतिबुद्धिपूजार्थेभ्यश्चेति वर्तमाने क्तस्तस्य बाधको भवति, यथा च वडवाया वृषे वाच्य इत्यपत्ये प्राप्तो ढक् ततोऽपकृष्य विधीयतेऽपत्ये त्वणेव भवतीति वक्ष्यति, एवं च पूजितो यः सुरैरपीत्यचिकित्स्योऽपशब्दः, त्वया ज्ञातो मया ज्ञात इति तु भवत्येव, तेनेत्यधिकारे उपज्ञात इति निर्देशात्। Śrīpatidatta in his Kātantrapariśiṣṭa taking strong exception to the view of the Bhāgavṛttikāra holds there can be no बाध्यबाधकभाव here because the two have been prescribed for different times, and then quotes a host of examples from well-known authors to show that क्त is used with मतिबुद्धिपूजार्थक roots to denote past time, the nominative taking the instrumental case. The author of the अनुन्यास simply extends the ज्ञापक to all cases saying सामान्यापेक्षं ज्ञापकम्। This appears to be the view of all later grammarians.

It would appear that the name Bhāgavṛtti had its origin in the fact that it divided the अष्टाध्यायी of Pāṇini into two parts—the first part dealing with classical Sanskrit (भाषा) and the second with Vedic Sanskrit (छन्दः). Cf. Goyīcandra on Saṅkṣiptasāra II. 1729—क्वसुकानचौ छन्दस्येव विहिताविति भाषाव्याख्यातृभिर्व्यवस्थितम्, अतएव भाषाभागे भागवृत्तिकृद्भाषावृत्तिकारश्च क्वसुकानज्विधानलक्षणं न लिखितवान्, and on I, 190 अण् सानुनासिक इति वक्तव्यम्। अवसाने वर्तमानोऽन् सानुनासिको वा भवति।............अथवैतन्न वक्तव्यं छान्दसत्वात्। अतएव भागवृत्तौ भाषाभागे नास्तीयत्।

As regards the date of the Bhāgavṛttikāra it is difficult to be very definite until further data are forthcoming. But since the Bhāgavṛttikāra quotes or refers to Kālidāsa, Bhaṭṭi, Bhāravi, Kāśikā, Nyāsa and Māgha and has been referred to by Kramadīśvara (in his rule क्ति षष्ठी वेति भागवृत्तिः (कारकपाद, 101) and Maitreya Rakṣita, we shall not be very far wrong if we put him between A.D. 850 and 1050.

KSHITIS CHANDRA CHATTERJI

The Authorship of the Anunyāsa

Prof. Sriscandra Chakravarti in the introduction to his edition of the Kāśikāvivaraṇapañcikā remarks: "Some say that this तन्त्रप्रदीप is probably identical with the अनुन्यास or न्यासोद्योत।" This opinion is clearly untenable. From quotations in various works on grammar, we can easily make out that the Tantrapradīpa by Maitreya Rakṣita is quite a different work from the Anunyāsa. The following extract from Sīradeva's Paribhāṣāvṛtti (Benares edition, p. 79) settles the question of the authorship of the Anunyāsa :

एतस्मिन् वाक्ये इन्दुमैत्रेययोः शाश्वतिको विरोधः। तथाहि प्रत्ययसूत्रेऽनुन्यासकार उक्तवान्—प्रतियन्त्यनेनार्थान् इति प्रत्ययः। एरच् इत्यच्। पुंसि संज्ञायां घः प्रायेण इति वा घ इति। मैत्रेयः पुनराह—पुंसि संज्ञायामिति घप्रत्यय एव। एरच् इत्यच्प्रत्ययस्तु करणे ल्युटा बाधितत्वान्न शक्यते कर्तुम्। न च वासरूपविधिरस्ति क्तल्युट्तुमुन्खलर्थेष्विति वचनात्। अत्र मैत्रेयाभिप्रायः...............अनुन्यासकारस्य त्वयमभिप्रायः...........

From the above it is clear that इन्दु (often referred to in commentaries as इन्दुमित्र) is the author of the Anunyāsa. In the Durghaṭa-

vṛtti (3, 3, 58) we read : कथं क्रियते सारसंग्रहः ।[1] "हलश्च" इति करणाधिकरणयोर्घञापो बाधनात् । उच्यते । "करणाधिकरणयोश्च" इति ल्युटा घञ् बाधितः, सोऽपि "हलश्च" इति घञा, ततश्च वासरूपविधिना यथा ल्युट्, तथा तद्विषये वासरूपविधिना अबिति । भवति "क्तल्युट्तुमुन्खलर्थेषु वासरूपविधिर्नास्ती"ति । तत्र भावल्युटो ग्रहणम् इति प्रत्ययसूत्रे "एरच्" इत्यच् प्रवर्त्तते इति इन्दुनोक्तम् । रक्षितेन तु सामान्येन ल्युट गृहीतः । तन्मते बाहुलकादच् ।

KSHITIS CHANDRA CHATTERJI

1 The reference is evidently to the introductory verse of the Kāśikā which runs thus :

वृत्तौ भाष्ये तथा धातुनामपारायणादिषु ।
विप्रकीर्णस्य तन्त्रस्य क्रियते सारसंग्रहः ॥

REVIEWS

THE HISTORY OF RĀJPUTĀNĀ (in Hindi)—(Fasciculus III), by Mahāmahopādhyāya, Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar Hirāchānd Ojhā, (pp. 737-1136).

The present fasciculus continues the history of the state of Udayapur or Mevār for nearly 300 years—from about the third quarter of the sixteenth century to that of the nineteenth. It begins with an account of the reign of the celebrated Rāṇā Pratāp and closes with that of Mahārāṇa Sajjanasiṃha who was still ruling when this fasciculus went for publication.

As in the case of the earlier ones, the author has made use of all possible materials in the preparation of this volume. The careful student comparing the contents of the earlier volumes with those in the present one will, however, notice that whereas in the former ones references to inscriptions loom large in the eyes, in the present volume literary evidence has been laid much more in debt. Historical (?) poems like Rājavilās, Bhīmavilās, Rājapraśasti, Mahākāvya, Amarasiṃhābhiṣeka Kāvya etc. or later works written on the authority of such compositions like the Vaṃśabhāskar and the Vīravinoda etc. will be found referred to at almost every page in the present volume. The reason is not far to seek. As we enter into the history of Rājaputānā of the sixteenth century—we seem to enter into a new world. Dr. Tessitori has shown that the Rājput princes when they came in contact with the Mughal emperors sought to imitate them in every possible way and especially in their patronage of historical literature. But unlike the historical works written under the patronage of the Mughal emperors, those written under the auspices of the Rājput princes were very crude in their form and matter. Their value as historical evidence has been very carefully examined by that distinguished scholar, and those who are interested in Rājasthāni literature as a source of Rājput history must go through the most illuminating articles contributed by him to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The fact is that no one, who is not conversant with the western scientific method, can be expected to extract the truth out of this mixture of fact and fancy. It is easy for a student who has an idea of how European scholars have dealt, for example, with the traditions relating to early Roman history

contained in the pages of Polybius or Livy, to appreciate the amount of credence to be put upon the Rājasthāni literature professing to be historical in character.

The present writer has his own views regarding the value to be attached to the Rājasthāni literature and it is quite permissible to differ from him in this matter. If therefore any person may disagree here and there with him, it is because there is the fundamental difference in the outlook of their respective estimation of the Rājasthāni literature as a source of history. To take an example out of many, in his account of the early history of Rānā Pratāp the author has given preference to Rājput tradition over the evidence of the contemporary Moslem records.

One could not expect—and the author, it is hoped, did not also entertain the idea that the views expressed in this work would be universally accepted. To do so is to lose sight of the scientific character of historical studies. Leaving, therefore, questions of difference of opinion aside every person going through the volumes on the history of Mevār will agree that here is a really monumental work second only to Tod's famous Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān.

SUBIMAL CHANDRA DATTA

DIE KULTER UM DEN PERSISCHEN GOLF UND IHRE AUSBREITUNG. Von Amelia Hertz, Klio, Beiheft XX. Leipzig, 1930. Pp. 140, and 8 plates.

Recent discoveries in Mesopotamia and India have made it clear that the essential elements of "civilisation" were already in being in the fourth millennium B.C. ; upon these foundations of the modern world all else has been elaboration rather than discovery. These beginnings are to be connected with the first great development of agriculture, and antedate that of organised empires and warfare. The present work is an initial synthesis, arguing that the Persian Gulf culture (a term practically equivalent to "Early Asiatic") survives recognizably, with further evolution, in the later Indian, Greek and Hebrew civilisations. Above all in the Indian not as the result of later influences but as a tendency inherited from a common source or closely related sources the authoress regards it as certain that the Mesopotamian and the Indus Valley cultures were both of Elamite origin. The ultimate debt of existing civilisations to the

most ancient cultures of Western Asia is undeniable, and thus it becomes more and more clear that "Indo-European" is by no means the same thing as "Indo-Aryan". The latter term has an almost exclusively linguistic significance, the former primarily a cultural and only incidentally a linguistic significance. From the Mediterranean to the Ganges valley the Aryans inherited the pre-Aryan culture of the conquered races, contributing only the new language and nomenclature which became the vehicle of a new synthetic and more conscious civilisation, equally in the Mediterranean area and in India (in Mesopotamia where Aryan language failed to take root, no such consequences followed). Thus, for example, the vegetation cults in religion and the technique of metal work in industry are Indo-European, but Indo-Aryan only in the sense that "Aryan" peoples inherited these culture-goods equally in both areas.

Civilisation may then be said to have started with Proto-Elamite I. The special merit of the present work lies in its attempt to recognize the survivals of this early tradition, not merely as fossils, but as living tendencies. The religious aspect of the question is summarily treated ; this is perhaps due to the fact that in comparative mythology it so often, and unfortunately, happens that more stress is laid on the *names* of deities than upon their essential nature (in India, for example, the fundamental identity of Varuṇa-Prajāpati-Brahmā-Nārāyaṇa is often overlooked, though in all of these and in the myths connected with them, one and the same general concept of God is clearly preserved). The chief emphasis of the argument is made to rest on mathematics, a subject to which the authoress has devoted particular attention (see "Les débuts de la géometrie", *Rev. de Synthèse Historique*, June, 1929) : the advanced mathematical formulæ implied in the Indian rules for the construction of the Fire-altars (acquaintance with "root-rectangles" etc., in the Āpastamba Śulba Sūtra, etc.) is connected with the early development of a kind of mathematical theology and of geometrical design on pottery in Mesopotamia and Susa I. Somewhat imperfectly preserved in Babylonia and Egypt, the mathematical tradition is continued in India more clearly than anywhere else ; until in the middle ages Indian arithmetic and algebra reached Europe via the Arabs. Einstein, the spiritual descendant of the Proto-Elamites ! a sweeping synthesis, a grandiose conception of human unity, by no means altogether fanciful.

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

STUDIES IN TAMIL LITERATURE AND HISTORY, by V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar. Luzac and Co., 1930, 324 pp.

The object of this valuable work is to apprise the world of the fact that the Tamils have a distinctive culture of their own as hoary, noble, and varied as that of Northern India of the post-Vedic period. The author Mr. Dikshitar brings out in bold relief the part played by *Sangams* in the production of the Tamil literary treasures. He is of opinion that the origin of the Sangams may be shrouded in obscurity but there remains the fact that "there was something like an organized Academy from ancient times and it continued to exist for several centuries" (p. 15). The information collected here about the Sangams is interesting. The author has experienced some difficulty in establishing the history of all the three Sangams and in fixing their dates. Sangam, the author points out, meant an Institution or Academy, the functions of which were not only to produce the Sangam works but also to act as censor of new literary compositions.

The author is of opinion that some historical truth is embedded in the local traditions of a country. In purusance of that opinion, he has collected the traditions about the origin and activities of the institutions in a neat and concise form. He first gives an account of the extant Sangam works, the ten literary pieces forming the *Pattuppāṭṭu*—a production of the third Sangam, and the eighteen minor works collectively known as the *Padineṇ-kīḻakkaṇakku.* He then proceeds to give biographies of notable Sangam writers, including the poetess Avvaiyar, the prince Iḷaṇkoaḍgal who wrote the *Śilappadikāram*, and Śittalai Sāttanār, author of the *Maṇimekalai.*

In the third chapter Mr. Dikshitar deals with the religious writers in two groups: (i) Śaiva Samayācāryas and (ii) Vaiṣṇava Samayācāryas. The biographies of the Śaiva Samayācāryas reveal to us among other things the facts that they had to carry on a vigorous campaign against the *Samaṇas*, i.e., the Jainas and the Buddhists who must have at that time become obnoxious to the Śaivas on account of their great popularity and large number of adherents. The mystic love-poems of the Vaiṣṇava Samayācāryas, as the author points out, were indeed very charming and they well bear comparison with the noted Vaiṣṇava writings of the North. Among the Vaiṣṇava writers, he speaks of the celebrated poetess Āṇḍāl (716 A.C.) as also of the later religious and philosophical writers like Rāmaliṅgaswāmigal (1823 A.C.). It is a well-known fact that Southern India can claim to have produced the greatest religious thinkers of the mediaeval

period and it is not improbable that much of the doctrines and philosophy of Mahāyāna Buddhism was contributed by the Southern Indian thinkers. So the information collected in this book about the religious thinkers and their productions is very valuable for the religious history of India.

The fourth chapter is devoted to an examination of the life and times of the author of the *Tirukkuraḷ* (1st or 2nd centurv B.C.), which abounds in Nīti maxims similar to those found in the *Hitopadeśa*, *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra*, *Kauṭalīya Arthaśāstra*, etc. Mr. Dikshitar analyses this treatise under the three heads : *dharma* (*aṛam*), *artha* (*poruḷ*) and *kāma* (*imbam*) and shows by citations from Sanskrit Nīti works that the Tamil conception of *Muppāl* (*Trivarga*) was not different from that of Aryan India, whence it percolated into Tamil India at a very early date.

So far the author of the present work has been cautious in drawing his conclusions, but when he comes to the chapters on the "Administrative Institutions" and the "Art of War," his patriotic instinct seems to dominate his critical sense, the scanty materials scattered here and there in one or two Sangam works, supplemented by materials collected from some of the later Tamil works and inscriptions he infers the existence of "a wonderful system of polity, having very much in common with the North Indian polity, though in some respects strikingly original" (p. 177).

In the last chapter the author treats of "Social Life in Tamil Land." The information about life in towns and villages is scanty, but it has been partially recompensed by the interesting and well-written sections on marriage and marriage customs, dancing, music, amusements, festivals and superstitions.

We quite appreciate the remark of the author that it is not an easy task to present a complete picture of the ancient Tamil society within the small compass of 50 pages. The task undertaken by him viz., to present us with not only a social picture of the ancient Tamils but also a fairly comprehensive picture of their political institutions, religious and literary activities is really onerous. He has enlivened the book by biographical accounts of the personages who have contributed to the culture which makes Drāviḍa what it is today. The value of the work has been much enhanced by the accounts of the Sangam works, their probable dates and the nature of the historical materials that can be found in them.

N. D.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISTRICT OF PURNEA—by Francis Buchanan—Edited by V. H. Jackson M.A., I.E.S.—1928 (Bihar and Orisa Research Society).

The Bihar and Orissa Research Society has done considerable service by undertaking the gradual publication of those portions of the Buchanan Mss. which relate to the districts of Bihar. The Journals of Francis Buchanan kept during the survey of the districts of Patna and Gaya in 1811-12, and the district of Shahbad in 1812-13 were published by the Society in 1925 and 1926 respectively. These volumes were enriched by valuable editorial introductions and notes by two well-known scholars—the Patna report being edited by Mr. V. H. Jackson and the Shahbad report being edited by Mr. C.E.A.W. Oldham. The volume under notice is not the Journal, but the Report of the survey of the Purnea district made in 1809-10. The Journal kept by Buchanan during the survey appears to have been lost, which enhances the value of the Report. In the Buchanan Mss. the Journals are quite distinct from the Reports on the corresponding districts. Buchanan used to keep a daily journal, not intended for publication, recording the information which he received and his own observations on the day's march, The matter recorded in the Journal together with a large amount of supplementary information was at the end of the survey of each district rearranged and put under the appropriate sections for publication as a Report. The Reports are therefore carefully finished works following in their arrangement the actual order of Buchanan's instructions.

When in January 1807 the Court of Directors selected Dr. Francis Buchanan to carry out a "statistical survey" of the Bengal presidency, their choice fell upon a person who was eminently qualified for that kind of work. Dr. Buchanan came to India in 1794 as a surgeon on the Bengal establishment. From the first, the scientific turn of his mind inclined him towards Botanical and Zoological enquiries. He was sent on a mission to the Court of Ava in course of which he acquired knowledge of the plants of the Andamans, Pegu and Ava. On his return he was stationed at Luckipore, where he wrote a description of the fishes of the Brahmaputra. He was then sent by the Board of Trade at Calcutta to Chittagong and its neighbourhood to conduct investigations. In 1800, after the conquest of Mysore, Lord Wellesley selected Buchanan to make investigations which were to extend "throughout the dominions of the present Raja of Mysore, and the country acquired by the Company in the late war from the Sultan, as

well as to that part of Malabar which the Company annexed to their own territories in the former war under Marquis Cornwallis," directing that "the first great and essential object of your attention should be the agriculture of the country under which your enquiries should include the following points :—esculent vegetables, cattle, farms, cotton, pepper, sandal wood and cardamums, mines, quarries, minerals and mineral springs, manufactures and manufacturers, climate and seasons and inhabitants of Mysore." These inquiries carried on during the years 1800-1 resulted in a daily journal entitled "A Journey from Madras through the countries of Mysore, Canara aud Malabar" and was published in 1807 by order of the Court of Directors. In 1802 again Buchanan accompanied the embassy of Capt. Knox to Nepal and made collections of rare plants. It was to such a man that the statistical survey of the Bengal presidency was entrusted in 1807.

"The subjects of more particular inquiry were as follows: 1. A full topographical account of each district; its climate and meteorology; its history and antiquities. 2. The number and condition of the inhabitants; their food, habits, diseases etc,; education and resources for the indigent. 3. Religion; the different sects or tribes; the emoluments and power of their priests and chiefs; their feeling towards our Government. 4. Natural productions, animal, vegetable and mineral; fisheries, forests, mines and quarries. 5. Agriculture, in the most comprehensive sense of the term, including the state of the landed property and tenures. 6. The progress made by the natives in the fine arts, the common arts, and manufactures. 7. Commerce."

This work was carried on from 1807-14 during which time the districts of Gaya and Patna, Shahbad, Bhagalpur, Monghyr, Purnea, Dinajpur, Rangpur, Jalpaiguri, part of Bogra, Malda and Assam were surveyed at a cost of about Rs. 3 lakhs. The materials thus collected were forwarded by the Bengal Government to London in 1816 and did not see the light of day until published in abridged form in 1838 (nine years after Buchanan's death) in Montgomery Martin's "Eastern India." Martin's abridgement was unfortunately defective, having omitted matters of considerable value. The Bihar and Orissa Research Society has therefore undertaken a very useful task in gradually publishing in full the Journals and Reports relating to the districts of Bihar. So far as the publication in extenso of the Mss. relating to the Bengal districts are concerned, only the Dinajpur Report appears to have been published in 1833. It will be a great boon to the

students of the economic and social condition of eastern India in the early years of the 19th century, if these reports too are made available in print.

Apart from the historical portions, there cannot be any word as to the great value of the Report under notice. The scientific bent of Buchanan's mind, his careful methods of investigation, his unflagging zeal which enabled him to surmount the difficulties of poineer work,—all these have gone to make his mss. a reliable source of information. An introduction to the Purnea Report from the pen of Mr. Jackson would have enhanced the value of the present publication.

A. D.

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Indian Antiquary, June 1931

PRANNATH.—*The Date of the Compilation of Kauṭalya's Arthaśāstra.* In support of the writer's view that the author of the *Arthaśāstra* could not have been the minister of Candragupta Maurya and that the work was compiled at a time between 480 and 510 A.D., the following reasons have been put forward in this article continued to the next issue of the Journal :

(1) The references in the Arthaśāstra to seaports, ships sailing for pearl fishery and pirate vessels show that the author lived in a country situated somewhere near the sea coast. (2) The chapter dealing with the management of crown lands (svabhūmi) indicates that the king contemplated therein possessed landed properties near the Western sea, forming a political unit including Koṅkaṇa, Kaccha, Surāṣṭra, Sindh etc. with its capital at Ujjain in Malwa. (3) Historical evidences point to the existence of a Malwa empire answering to the conditions of the supposed 'political unit' in Western India during the early centuries of the Christian era (from 126 A.D. to 510 A.D.). (4) The author's references to a law punishing offences against the Hūṇas show that his work was written at a time when his country occupied a dependent position and was afraid of the Hūṇas. This was in fact the position of the Malwa empire during the last part of the 5th century.

A. VENKATASUBBIA.—*A Buddhist Parallel to the Avimāraka Story.* Parallelism between a story in the Kuṇālajātaka and the main facts of the drama *Avimāraka* has been pointed out in this paper. Different versions of the story have also been shown to exist in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* as well as in the *Jayamaṅgalā* commentary on the *Kāmasūtra.*

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society

vol. xvi, pts. iii and iv.

K. P. JAYASWAL.—*Problems of Saka Sātavāhana History.*—Mr. Jayaswal first states the conclusions of Dr. Sten Konow, with which

he agrees, e.g., ayasa, the date (year 1) on the Peshawar casket of Kaṇiṣka Khalastse Inscription, identification of Kuyula Kaphasa, arrangement of the Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions, and Kamboja. The writer then states the points, on which he differs from Dr. Sten Konow and gives his own views. They are

Re. Śaka History :—Bhūmaka—The two Śaka Eras and the Founder of the Era of 78 A.D.—The Date of the earlier Śaka Conquest—Date of the earlier Śaka Era—Years of Gondophares—Chinese date for Kuṣāṇa Kadphises and W'ima—Date of Śoḍāsa—Patika—Nahapāṇa—Vikrama era—Kuṣāṇas.

Re. Śātavāhana History :—Struggle of the Śātavāhana dynasty with the Śuṅgas and the Śakas—Chronology of Śātakarṇi II and his son Pulumāvi—Early Śātavāhana or Andhra kings—Fixed Points in the Śātavāhana Chronology—Order of the Kings—Purāṇas and Nahapāṇa—New Light on Nahapāṇa—Identification of the Nānāghāt Statues—Dynasties contemporary with the Andhras—Appendix A: Extracts from Āvaśyakasūtra (uttarārdha pūrvabhāga) and Abhidhāna-rājendra—The last Kāṇvāyana and his Śātavāhana Conqueror—Identification of Guṇāḍhya's and Somadeva's Vikramāditya and the Śātavāhana of 78 A.D.—Course of events after 83 A.D.—Identification of the Dynasties contemporary with the Andhras—Their Reign-Periods—Verification of the numbers of kings and reign-periods in the contemporary dynasties—The Śakas of the Purāṇas—Traikūṭa Era—The Purāṇas and the so-called Dark Period.

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR.—*Linguistic Analysis and Dravidian Names denoting 'Peacock' and 'Bat.'*—The object of the writer is to substantiate the theory propounded by Prof. J. Przyluski that there were in pre-Aryan India not only Dravidians but also a large population of Austrics by showing that there were mutual loans of words between Dravidians and Austrics. In this paper, the writer proposes "to discuss purely from the standpoint of the Dravidist, the possibilities of Dravido-Austric relationship" in connection with certain Dravidian forms denoting the names of (i) Peacock and (ii) Bat.

SYED MOHAMMAD.—*Old Muslim Inscriptions at Patna.*—The writer has edited and translated 112 inscriptions dating from 916 to 1276 (Hijri era). He classifies them into four sections, the first section includes those which "refer to the royalties, governors, their deputies and other servants" and fall within the time

of Aurangzeb ; the second contains the inscriptions of the weak rulers who followed Aurangzeb within 50 years (i.e. up to 1757—the date of the battle of Plassey) ; the third speaks of the inscriptions on mosques and tombs (1757-1807) and the fourth of mosques built by barbers, drum-makers and the like (1807-1857). There is also an index to names in the above mentioned inscriptions.

N. TRIPATHI.—*Two Sulki Plates.* These records were published by Mm. H. P. Śāstrī in vol. II, pt. iv of this journal (JBORS.). The present writer identifies the following geographical names and titles : *Kodālo, Stambha* and *Stambheśvarī*, and *Gondrama.* He gives the readings, in which he differs from those of Mm. H. P. Śāstr.

N. TRIPATHI.—*Jayapura Copper-plate grant of Dhruvānanda Deva.* The writer gives a revised reading of this inscription first published by Dr. A. Banerji Śāstrī in the JBORS. 1929 with a free translation of the text and notes on the script, date, language and the identification of Jayapura and Gondrama. He has appended a note on the words. *Nanda, Varṇacatuṣṭayaḥ, Godhā, Parama Saugata, Samadhigata-pañcamahāśabda and Rājanaka.*

March, 1931

BINAYAK MISRA.—*Narasinghpur Charter of Uddyotakeśarī Mahābhavagupta* IV. This inscription has been edited with translation and ample historical notes. It was a grant issued from Yayātinagara (=Biṅkā in the Sonepur State), the donor of the grant was Uddyotakeśarī, son of Yayāti II, whose reign falls between 960-70 A.C. The date of Uddyotakeśarī is placed at the 11th century A.C.

TARAPADA CHOWDHURY.—*On the Interpretation of some Doubtful Words in the Atharva-veda.* The writer deals with the following words :—ákṣu, ákṣya, ádrūkṣṇa, ádroghāvitā, aparāparaṇáḥ, arāṭakī, alají, álpaśayu, ávarjuṣīṇām, aśvakṣabhā, asaṃsūktagilá, áharjāta, aṇḍīka, āśuṅgá, āsrāvá, uttaradraú, ṛdantu, éru, kákutsala, kanáknaka, kamála, kalmalí, kúmba, kurīra, kurūṭinī, khaḍūra, khṛgala, galuntáḥ, ghṛtastāvas, cīti, jabhya, tardá, tāyādarám, tirīṭin, turmiśam, taimātá, taūlá, duradabhnā, dūrśá, nyá, paṭūrá, paruṣá, párśāna, pavásta, pṛsṭi, péṣṭra, prārtha, bhṛmalá, maṇ(n)aú, madhyamaśír, mūra,mūradeva, vrā, samuṣpalā, suśīma.

HIRANANDA SASTRI.—*Were Rāgamālās painted by the Artists of Kangara.* The object of this paper is to refute the contention of Coomaraswamy that the "Kāṅgrā painters never painted Rāgamālās.' He comments also on the sense of the nomenclature 'Kāṅgrā School' or 'Pāhāṛī School.'

BINAYAK MISRA.—*Copper-plate Grant of Neṭṭabhañja.* "The grant records the gift of the village *Sthambakāralauṇḍaka* of the Olāśṛṅga District." The gift was made in memory of the merit of Bāsaṭādevī, the deceased queen of the donor. In the introduction the writer deals with the history of the Bhañja family of Mayūrabhañja.

SUDHAKAR PATNAIK.—*Śobhaneśvar Inscription of Śrī Vaidyanāth.* This inscription contains a Praśasti and was found on the Śobhaneśvar temple (near Puri). The temple was built by King Vaidhanāth.

PARAMATMA ŚARAN.—*Sher Shah's Revenue System.* The object of the writer is to examine the conclusions already arrived at by Qanungo and Moreland in the light of evidences supplied by the original works. He takes up three main questions: "(1) the mode of assessment, (2) the form of payment, (3) the proportion or amount of the state share," and studies them "in respect of the two periods of Sher Shah's administration, viz., the period of his governorship of his father's jagir, and second, the period of his kingship."

MATHURALAL SHARMA.—*Magical Beliefs and Superstitions in Buddhism.* The writer has collected the beliefs and superstitions referred to in the early Buddhist literature as well as in the works of later Buddhism,

Journal of Oriental Research, vol. V, pt. ii

A. PADMANABHAYYA.—*Ancient Bhṛgus.* In continuation of the article amplifying the theme that the Drāviḍas, Asūras and Bhṛgus are identical, an account of the chief Bhṛgu leaders mentioned in literature has been given here as also of their original home and their relation with the outside world.

N. AIYASWAMI SASTRI.—*References to Ancient Stories in the Rāmāyaṇa.*

T. N. RAMACHANDRA.—*Madras Museum Plates of Bhaktirāja.* These dated plates of the 14th century record the grant of a village called

Kaṇḍvakolnu to Viśvanātha, a Śaiva teacher at Śrī Parvata by Bhaktirāja Coḍa who was also known by the name Kāmarāja belonging to the Sūryavaṃśa. The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it gives the genealogy of an unknown line of local chiefs, who call themselves Coḍas of the solar race.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

G. TUCCI.—*Notes on the Nyāyapraveśa by Śaṅkarasvāmin.* Prof. Tucci has studied the commentary of Kúei-chi on the Nyāyapraveśa recently published in the Gækwad's Oriental Series. Kúei-chi was a disclple of Yuan Chwang and had a wide knowledge of the Indian philosophy. Prof. Tucci presents in this article only those discussions which seemed to him to have elucidated the problems tackled in the *Nyāyapraveśa* in greater details.

S. K. DE.—*A Note on Pañcakāla in connection with Pañcarātra.*

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THE

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Edited by

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THE
Indian Historical Quarterly

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Finger-posts of Bengal History*

In Bengal, many historical land-marks have been completely effaced; the identity of famous cities like Paundravardhana or Karnasuvarna is now a matter of conjecture, and contradictory opinions prevail about the conquest of Nadia where, according to Minhaj (1260 A.D.), the king of Bengal was residing when Ikhtiar-ud-din took it about 1200 A.D. The existence of the Hindu king Gaṇeśa, who for a short time ousted the Pathans from the throne of Gaur, is also a matter of conjecture. In fact, till Akbar came, and with the Mongolian instinct (evidence of which we see in the chronicles of the Chinese and the Ahoms) had the *Āin-i-Akbari* (1558 A.D.) compiled, we possess no contemporary chronicles of Bengal. We have indeed the *Rāmacarita*, a 12th century work brought from Nepal by MM. Haraprasād Śāstrī and the comparatively modern *Kulapañjis* of several sections of the Brāhmaṇas and the Kāyasthas, but the former is a *dvyartha-kāvya*, for nearly two thirds of which again, no authoritative key is available, while the latter are of a more recent date and are in conflict with certain known facts of history.

Another factor, from which the other parts of India are comparatively free, has confused the history of Bengal. Four rivers of entirely different

*Read at the Literary Conference of the Varendra Research Society, March 1931.

The following abbreviations have been used: *I.H.Q.*=*Indian Historical Quarterly*. Fleet=Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*. Allan=Allan's *Gupta Coins*.

characters have been at work in its bosom for ages, viz., the snow fed Ganges from the north-west, the hill torrents of the Dāmodar and the Rūpnārāyaṇa bringing down heavy loads of sand in the monsoons from the hills of the west, the mighty Brahmaputra with its tributary, the Surma on the east, and the smaller and clear streams of North-Bengal, such as the Karatoyā, which is represented now by the Ātreyī and is realistically described in the verse *sarvā raktavahā nadyaḥ Karatoyāmbuvāhinī* (*V. R. S. Monographs* No. 2, p. 27, v. 41). The working of this hydrographical factor may be detected, even in the present days of unification, in the speech and culture of the four divisions of Bengal, viz., Varendra, Rāḍha, Vaṅga and Bagri (*Pravāsī*, Bhādra, 1335, p. 692 ; *Bhāratavarṣa*, 1338, p. 236), the divisions of the Bengalee Brāhmaṇas into the four sections, Varendra, Rāḍhī, Pāścātya-Vaidika and Dākṣiṇātya-Vaidika and of the Bengalee Kāyasthas into the four sections, Varendra, Uttara-Rāḍhī, Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍhī and Vaṅgaja and possibly in the predominence of the Muslim population in Varendra and Vaṅga. These rivers again have changed their spheres of action from time to time effacing old land-marks, so that it is hard to trace even comparatively recent changes, e.g., the birth of the Padmā (*J.A.S.B.*, 1924, Art. 8 and Adams Williams, *Gangetic Delta*, p. 1), not to speak of older land-marks, e.g., the confluence of the Karatoyā and the Ganges, where Rāmapāla founded Rāmāvatī (*Rāmacarita*, III, 10 and 31). The present hydrographical condition of Bengal has given rise to much discussions among scholars from Sir Arthur Cotton's time to that of Sir William William Willcocks.

Thus several factors have obscured our ancient history. Baṅkim Chandra referred in his woks to many historical incidents (of the Mughal and early British periods and of North, West and South Bengal, which he personally knew) and at places he paid glowing eulogies to ancient Hindu monuments, e.g., the *Mātṛkā* images on the Lalitagiri hill (*Sītārāma*, ch. 13) which are attracting the attention of archaeologistis now, after forty years (Chakladar, *Modern Review*, August, 1928, p. 217, and Chanda, *Arch. S. I. Memoir*, No. 44). Since Bankim's time much work has been put in, in Bengal, by the publication of Bengali histories of many districts and several *Kulapañjis*, and some parts of Mr. Nagendranath Basu's comprehensive work on the 'Castes and Sects of Bengal', and by articles and discussions in the vernacular monthlies, few of which are issued now-a-days without one or more contributions of this class. Articles of a more scholarly

nature find place in the learned journals, while the two parts of Rakhaldas Banerji's *Bāṅglār Itihāsa* are a veritable mine of information on Bengal history down to the 16th century A.D.

But the real advance in our knowledge has been due to the discovery of numerous important inscriptions during the last 20 years or so, which has pushed back our documented history to the Gupta period (cf. Monahan, *Early History of Bengal* with the corresponding chapters of Banerji's *Itihāsa*). Our literary evidences are poor, while images and sculptures throw but an uncertain light even on art and religious movements, and the find of coins is insufficient, a few being of the Guptas and none of the Pālas or Senas. Of the Pathan Sultans, many coins have come down to us, but by themselves they do not yield history. So for 1200 years from 350 to 1550 A.D., corresponding roughly to the Middle Ages of Europe but divided in our history into the four periods, Gupta, Pāla, Sena and Pathan (i.e., Pre-Mughal Muslim), the inscriptions are the real *finger-posts of history* for Bengal.

Of the Gupta period some 30 inscriptions are now available, including those found in Magadha (Bihar) and Kāmarūpa (Assam) with which in this as in the next period, Bengal was linked up. The recent notable find is a plate of Samudragupta discovered at Nalanda in 1928. Some sixty inscriptions and manuscripts refer to the Pālas themselves and some twenty to their contemporaries, and they are being discovered even now ; a recent addition is a copper-plate of Dharmapāla found at Nalanda in 1928. Again, one plate, the long lost Munger plate of Devapāla has been recovered in curious circumstances, 'hidden away between a beam and the roof of Kenwood house' (*E.I.*, XVIII, p. 304). Of the Senas who wielded a shorter sway, and of their contemporaries a much smaller number is available, all of which have been brought together in the *Inscriptions of Bengal*, vol. III, except the one from Saktipur, Mursidabad District recently deposited in, and published by, the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat (*S. P. Patrikā*, Saka 1837, p. 216).

Of the Pathan period, some 180 inscriptions have come to light, including one recently found near the Bhawanipur shrine (south of Bogra). For an authentic history of Bengal it is essential to have these 'finger-posts' presented in a connected and properly edited form. This task the Varendra Research Society began some years ago when they published in Bengali the principal Pāla inscriptions then known as *Gauḍalekha-mālā*, vol. I, edited by the well-known scholar, the late Mr,

Akshay Kumar Maitra. The task has since vastly increased, and at the instance mainly of Mr. Nani Gopal Majumdar, sometime Curator of their Museum, the Society have decided to publish a work named the *Inscriptions of Bengal* in English, in four volumes for the four periods, of which Vol. III is the first issue. We are shortly expecting a *corpus* of the Assam inscriptions of the Gupta and Pāla periods entitled *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvali* from the pen of the erudite scholar MM. Padmanatha Vidyavinoda who has made a life-long study of them.

But even in their present state, these inscriptions point to several striking facts, one of which is that although some of them, such as the copper-plates, are portable, they are seldom found far removed from the localities to which they relate. Again, copper-plate grants and deeds are peculiar to Hindu India. They are all of oblong shape, but their size and seals vary. The only plate of any Gupta emperor published so far is the Gaya plate of Samudragupta, which, however, was issued by an *akṣapaṭalādhikṛta* and is said to be spurious (Fleet, p. 254), though the Nalanda plate of the same Emperor may possibly upset this opinion. Its seal bears the figure of Garuḍa. The other plates of the period are mostly deeds of land-transfer issued by governors (*uparika* or *sāmanta*) except the Nidhanpur grant of king Bhāskaravarman. Their sizes vary from about 7″×5″ to 10″×7″. Only one seal of a Gupta *uparika* is legible. It bears the figure of a trident and the name of the *bhukti*. Of the plates of the *uparikas* of other kings, several bear the 'Gaja-Lakṣmī' seal and a few the 'Couchant bull' seal. The grants of the Pāla kings measure 16″×11″ or more, and all bear the 'dharma-cakra' seal with the king's name. Of the contemporaries, Śrīcandra's plates measure 9″×8″ and have the 'dharma-cakra' seal, Kāntideva's plate measures 7″×7″ and its seal bears the figure of a lion *en face* below a trifoil arch, and Bhojavarman's one measures 10″×10″ and has a 'Viṣṇu-cakra' seal. The plates of the Sena kings measure about 13″×12″ and bear the 'Sadāśiva' seal. Of their successors, the Adavadi plate of Daśaratha is 12″×9″ and its seal bears the figure of a 'Caturbhuja Viṣṇu' and the Chittagong plate of Dāmodara measures 7″×7″ and is surmounted by the figure of 'Viṣṇu riding on Garuḍa'. Regarding Kāmarūpa, all the plates found from the time of Bhāskaravarman to that of Vaidyadeva are about 10″×7″ and their seals bear the same figure of an elephant *en face* inspite of all the changes of regime.

The Gupta Period c. 350-750 A.D.

About the year 1910, a copper-plate of 433 A.D., referring to Kumāragupta and the Khātā-pāḍā *viṣaya* was found at Dhanaidaha (7 miles north of Ishurdi Ry. Stn., and near Santail) where a Kālī image is said to have preserved the memory of the Sānyāls, who dominated this tract in the seventeenth century and whose line is continued in the present Puthia house. Connecting this with other Gupta inscriptions and literature then known, Prof. Rādhāgovinda Basāk made a sketch of the condition of Bengal in the Gupta age (*Mānasī* of Āṣāḍh, 1322). Since then many more antiquities of that age have come to light, enabling us to develop that sketch. Thus five copper-plates (of dates between 444 and 544 A.D.) have been discovered at Damodarpur, a Jaina copper-plate of 479 A.D. and several stone images at Paharpur (see *Modern Review*, 1928, p. 502 and *Arch. Survey Ind. Ann. Rep.*, 1925-26, p. 110), and several coins, bronze images and stone carvings in and around Mahāsthāna, which some writers identify with the ancient city of Pauṇḍravardhana (*V. R. S. Monograph* No. 2). A sand-stone image of Buddha of the Sarnath type has been found at a place bearing the significant name of Bihar-il. All these places are in Varendra.

As for other parts of Bengal, the finds reported are : a hoard of 200 Gupta coins at Kālīghāṭ in Warren Hastings' time and lesser hoards near Hughli, Tanda and Muhammadpur (Allan, *Catalogue*, p. xccv) ; a copper-plate referring to a king Jayanāga in the Mallia Indigo estate (probably near Tanda); four similar plates of Samācāradeva and others in the Koṭālīpāra tract ; a similar copper-plate of Lokanātha in the Tippera state, a plate of 508 A.D., of Vainyagupta at Gunaighar, near Chittagong (*I. H. Q.*, 1930, p. 45) ; inscriptions referring to king Śaśāṅka in Rhotas-garh and Ganjam ; a bronze *caitya* (Banerji, *Itihāsa*, pl. 8) ; two grants of the Khaḍga kings at Asrafpur ; and imitations of Gupta coins in the ruins at Sabhar.

In Bihar, to the inscriptions published by Fleet, there have been some important additions, such as an inscribed image of Neminātha on the Vaibhāra hill of Rajagir, which is ascribed to the reign of Candragupta II (*Annual Report A. S. I.*, 1925-26, p. 125), a copper-plate grant of Samudragupta discovered at Nalanda in 1928, the seals, found at the same place some years before, which are ascribed to certain Maukhari and Vais kings and king Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa (*J. B. O. R. S.*, 1919, p. 302), and the Nālanda stone

inscription referring to Bālāditya and Yaśovarman (*E. I.*, XX, p. 37; *Modern Review*, 191, p. 306).

As regards Assam, besides the above seal and reference to Bhāskaravarman's father in the Aphsad Inscription (Fleet, p. 206) we have his Nidhanpur grant. It is significant that all the copper-plate grants discovered in the province dating from Bhāskaravarman's to Vaidyadeva's time are invariably of the Gupta type, and the Gupta era was in use as late as 830 A.D., as seen in king Harjara's rock inscription at Tezpur (*J. B. O. R. S.*, 1917, p. 508).

Some scholars are of opinion that it is really the Guptas who under the poetic disguise of the Raghus form the theme of Kālīdāsa's *Raghuvaṃśa*, and that Canto IV of the poem is a disguised version of the conquering tour of Samudragupta, a record of whose conquest is inscribed on the pillar now in Allahabad fort (but originally at Kauśāmbī, 30 miles westward on the Jumna). With regard to the eastern powers of the age, this inscription describes Samudragupta as *Samataṭa-Davaka-Kāmarūpa-Nepāla-Karttṛpurādi-pratyanta-nṛpatibhiḥ*.........*praṇāmāgamana-paritoṣita-pracaṇḍa-śāsanasya* (Fleet, p. 8). It may be noted incidentally that Karttipura is identified with present Kumaon (V. Smith, *J. R. A. S.*, 1897, p. 881).

Raghu's progress through Bengal is thus described by Kālīdāsa (Canto IV, verses 34 to 38).

पौरस्त्यानेवमाक्रामन् तांस्तान् जनपदान् जयी। प्राप तालीवनश्याममुपकण्ठं महोदधेः॥
अनम्राणां समुद्धर्तुस्तस्मात् सिन्धुरयादिव। आत्मा संरक्षितः सुह्मैर्वृत्तिमाश्रित्य वैतसीम्॥
वङ्गानुत्खाय तरसा नेता नौसाधनोद्यतान्। निचखान जयस्तम्भान् गङ्गास्रोतोऽन्तरेषु सः॥
आपादपद्मप्रणताः कलमा इव ते रघुम्। फलैः संवर्द्धयामासुरुत्खातप्रतिरोपिताः॥
स तीर्त्वा कपिशां सैन्यैर्बद्धद्विरदसेतुभिः। उत्कलादर्शितपथः कलिङ्गाभिमुखो ययौ॥

There is little agreement between the two versions. It is significant of the hydrographical condition of the time that the poet—always very accurate in his geographical details—makes the conqueror reach first the seacoast and then cross Suhma and then Vaṅga. The Hadaha inscription of 553 A.D., of Īśānavarma of the Maukhari dynasty which dominated the Madhyadeśa after the Guptas also calls the Gauḍas *samudrāśrayas* (Banerji, *Itihāsa*, I, p. 94). This is the earliest record which mentions Gauḍa. It is interesting to note that different degrees of martial spirit are attributed to the three peoples by Kālīdāsa who describes the Suhmas and Utkalas as tamely submitting to Raghu, and the Vaṅgas putting up a tough fight. Regarding the omission of their names in Canto VI it may be said that before

the herald reached any of their chiefs her task was cut short by Indumatī accepting Aja, as was the case with the king of Kāmarūpa who is omitted in Canto VI but mentioned as Aja's best man in verse 17 of Canto VII.

From the fact that the plates found in west Varendra refer to Gupta emperors while those found elsewhere in Bengal refer to kings of other lines, it appears that the Gupta sway in Bengal was confined to west Varendra or what was afterwards known as the kingdom of Gauḍa, while the rest of Bengal and Kāmarūpa merely adopted the Gupta script and the Gupta system of administration but were not under their sway. From the fact that none of these inscriptions go beyond Kumāragupta's time we may conclude that Bengal was included in the Gupta empire when it reached its palmy days under that emperor, as the poet Vatsa-Bhaṭṭi puts it in the verse *catuḥ-samudrānta* etc. (Fleet, p. 82).

We also find that even in the Gupta age Nalanda in Magadha and Paharpur in Varendra were important religious centres—the latter being a Jaina one. The importance of Nalanda even in that age can be judged from the fact that about 539 A.D., a mission came there from China and after several years' stay left with a collection of Buddhist manuscripts along with the learned scholar Paramārtha (*Guide to Nalanda*, p. 9). In Samudragupta's Nalanda plate, Skandagupta's inscribed pillar at Bihar town, the Aphsad inscription of Ādityasena, (*c.* 672) and the Maukhari, Vais and Bhāskaravarma seals and the inscription referring to Bālāditya (*c.* 530) and Yaśovarman of Kanauj (728-740) found at Nalanda, we have an almost unbroken chain of evidence of the political importance of the Nalanda-Bihar tract throughout the Gupta period.

It is difficult to say exactly which faith was professed by the Guptas or where was the capital of their vast empire. From Garuḍa standard and Lakṣmī figures on their coins some scholars infer that they were Vaiṣṇavas,—a view confirmed by the Garuḍa seal of the Gayā plate. Their capital is said by some to have been Patna. But Kālīdāsa refers to that city (or Puṣpapura—*Raghu*, VI, 24) as the capital of Parantapa, king of Magadha, and places the capital of the Raghus *i.e.*, the Guptas at Sāketa or Ayodhyā (*Raghu*, XIII, 61 and 99). According to Rhys Davids the two places were close to each other (*Buddhist India*, p. 39). The latter name is confirmed by the Gayā plate (though V. Smith questions it, *J. R. A. S.*, 1897, p. 24). Some scholars think that Bhittri, near Ghazipur, was the capital of the Guptas as several inscribed pillars and other relics of their sway have been found in its

vicinity, and probably it was there that the Sarayu joined the Ganges in those days (*Raghu*, VIII. 95). We look to the Nalanda plate of Samudragupta to throw decisive light on the above two points as also on the antiquity of Nalanda and the authenticity of the Gayā plate.

The art of bronze-casting and stone sculpture were carried to excellence in the Gupta age, as is proved by the few samples that have survived in Bengal. The gilt bronze Bodhisattva in the V. R. S. Museum is remarkable not only as a work of art but also for the skill in bronze-casting which it exhibits (*Modern Review*, 1926, p. 426). The engraver of the Aphsad inscription was a Gauḍa artizan (Fleet, p. 201).

Transition from Gupta to Pāla Period

It is not known which power rose in Gauḍa when the Gupta power fell before the Huns about the middle of the 6th century, A.D. The Mallia plates suggest the name of a king Jaya-nāga at Karṇasuvarṇa, as will be discussed later. Early in the seventh century, however, the kingdom of Gauḍa with its capital at Karṇasuvarṇa was under the sway of Śaśāṅka. His name occurs in a seal matrix, in several coins and in the Ganjam grant of his *Sāmanta* Mādhava-Varman (one piece of whose Puri plate is in the V. R. S. Museum, *Sāhitya*, 1319, p. 889) as well as in Bāṇa's *Harṣa-carita*, and Hiuen Tsang's *Records*. He probably succeeded king Jaya-nāga at Karṇasuvarṇa. According to Mr. Allan, he reigned from *c.* 600 to 625 A.D. (*Catalague*, p. lxiv). No *viruda* of his is known but his coins as well as the seal on his *Sāmanta's* copper-plate bear the figure of a bull, though an image of Lakṣmī figures on the reverse of the coins. He is said to have been a Śaiva and a persecutor of Buddhism. He was a powerful ruler exercising his sway as far as Rhotasgarh in the west and Ganjam in the south, and though his attempt on Kanauj failed, he held his own against Harṣa-vardhana, whose sway never reached Bengal. Kanauj, it may be noted, was made a capital by the Maukharis in the 6th century, and thereafter for 600 years, until the Muslim conquest, with various names (Kuśasthalī, Mahodaya, Gādhipura), and under various dynasties (Harṣa, Yaśovarma, the Ayudha, Gurjjara and Gahaḍavala kings) it was the principal province of the Madhyadeśa (*Pravāsī*, 1336, Bhādra p. 705).

After Śaśāṅka's death his kingdom probably passed to Bhāskaravarma of Kāmarūpa as the latter's Nidhanpur grant was

issued from Karṇasuvarṇa, and he appears, from H. Tsang's account to have controlled the sea-route from Bengal (Beal's *Hiuen Tsang*, p. 188), while the discovery of his seal at Nalanda and the reference to his father in the Aphsaḍ inscription prove that there was a close contact between Magadha and Kāmarūpa in those days. It is to be noted also that, the inscriptions so ably edited now in the *Kāmarūpa-śāsanāvalī* show that it was the Kāmarūpa kings,—both before and after Bhāskara, *e.g.*, Bhūtivarma (5th century A.D.) and Vanamāla (9th century A.D.),—who held the Bengal Duar between the Tista and the Karatoya, calling it the Candrapurī *viṣaya*. At the time of Hiuen Tsang's visit (643 A.D., Eastern Varendra or Puṇḍravardhana formed a separate principality, but it is not known under which ruler.

On Bhāskaravarma's death about 630 A.D. (Gait, *Assam*, p. 363), or on the overthrow of some successor of his by Yaśovarma of Kanauj (*c.* 740 A.D.,) as commemorated in the poem of *Gauḍa-vaho*, anarchy ensued in Gauḍ. His name occurs in an inscription found at Nalanda, and Yaśovarmapura close to it (*Gauḍalekhāmālā*, p. 52) was very likely named after him. It was probably at this time that Śrī-harṣa of Kāmarūpa overran *Gauḍ-Odrādi-Kaliṅga-Kośala* as recorded in the inscription (A.D. 748) of his son-in-law, king Jayadeva, at Paśupatināth (Nepal) (*Ind. Ant.*, IX, p. 178).

During the transition period as in the early Gupta age, other parts of Bengal pursued different courses of history. Of the early period we have the doubtful Sisunia hill inscription near Bankura town and the *Travels* of Fa Hien (405-411 A.D.) who mentions Tamluk as the capital of Suhma. Hiuen Tsang (630-645 A.D.) mentions also Samataṭa and four principalities to the east of it, which are identified with Sylhet, Comilla, Tippera and Manipur by Mm. Padmanath Vidyavinod (*I.H.Q.*, 1928, p. 169). In the 6th and 7th centuries there were at least three principalities in Southern Bengal which though so far apart as Tanda, Koṭālipāḍā and Tippera, yet had, as evidenced in the use of their *Sāmantas*, the same type of seal consisting of an image of Lakṣmī with an elephant on either side pouring water on her. It may be noted that this figure occurs in ancient Buddhist architecture, e.g., on a gate at Sāñcī (*Buddhist India*, p. 279), a Barhut pillar and a Bodh-Gaya railing.

One copper-plate with this seal, found about the year 1854 in the indigo estate of Mallia and deposited in the Museum of Perth, has recently been published (*E.I.*, XVIII, p. 60). It refers to king Jayanāga of Karṇasuvarṇa, a *Bhāgavata* and records the grant of a village in the Audum-

barika *viṣaya* by his *sāmanta* Nārāyaṇa-bhadra. Mr. Banerji identified this *viṣaya* with *sarkar* Audambar or Tanda of later days (*E.I.*, XIX, p. 286). The term *gaṅginika* occurs in this as in two other grants viz., the Nidhanpur grant which was issued from Karṇasuvarṇa and the Khalimpur grant which was found near Tanda. Another term *yānaka*, meaning a channel, also occurs in the Mallia and Khalimpur grants. From these and the find of Gupta coins at Tanda, it appears that the kingdom of Karṇasuvarṇa or Gauḍ, as it was also called, centred round Tanda, and it is in that locality that we should look for the lost site of its capital. Kansat near Gauḍ suggests a clue. To this king Jayanāga Mr. Allan attributes certain coins which he left unattributed on p. 150-51 of his *Catalogue*, and which bear the word *Jaya* on obverse and *prakāḍa yaśah* on reverse. One is tempted to go further and suggest that the same king is referred to by *Jaya* on the obverse of Śaśāṅka's coins (Allan, *Catalogue*, p. 147-48) and that it was under him that Śaśāṅka was a *mahāsāmanta*, as referred to in the Rhotas-garh seal matrix (Fleet, p. 284), before he became king himself as recorded in the Ganjam plate of 620 A.D. of Mādhavavarma (*E.I.*, VI, p. 144).

In the Koṭālipāḍā tract four inscriptions with the Gaja-Lakṣmī seal have been found, two of which refer to king Dharmāditya and *uparikas* Sthānudatta and Nāgadeva, one to king Gopacandra and *uparika* Nāgadeva and the fourth one to king Samācāradeva and *uparika* Jīva-datta (*I.A.*, 1910, p. 193; *J. A. S. B.*, 1911, p. 475 and *E.I.*, XVIII, p. 47). The order of succession of these kings is uncertain, but Mr. Bhaṭṭasāli attributes to the last named king two coins (Allan, *Catalogue*, p. 149-150) which bear the words *Samacha* on obverse and *Narendrāditya* on reverse (*E.I.*, XVIII, p. 80). One of these coins was found with a coin of Śaśāṅka at Muhammadpur, 30 miles west of Koṭālipāḍā and is pronounced to be of an earlier date, probably end of the 6th century A. D. All the four grants were issued by *Uparikas* of Varaka *maṇḍala* of which Navyavakāśikā was the capital and they give no indication of either the capital or the faith of the kings over them. One of the coins, however, bears a 'bull' standard on its obverse and both of them, the figure of Lakṣmī on their reverse. Varaka *maṇḍala* may be identified with the present Koṭālipāḍā tract, where many Gupta coins as well as a Sena copper-plate have been found.

In the Tippera tract only one plate with the Gaja-Lakṣmī seal has been discovered, viz., that of year 44 of Lokanātha found in the Tippera State (*E. I.*, XV, p. 301). The seal, however, is 4″ in diameter,

while that of each of the other plates is 3", and in its middle the word *Lokanāthasya* is stamped in characters of probably the 7th century, while the original legend *Kumārāmātyādhykaraṇasya* is of the early Gupta age. No overlord is referred to, nor has any coin been found which can be connected with this grant. There is mention, however, of a suzerain Jīvadhāraṇa who apparently relinquished his authority over Lokanātha and there is also mention of the latter's fight with one Jayatuṅga varṣa. The grant begins with an invocation to Śiva and records the genealogy of Lokanātha for six generations down to his son Lakṣmīnātha, and a grant of land in the 'forest region' of Suvvuṅga *viṣaya* to the *mahāsāmanta* Pradeśa Śarman for a temple of Ananta-Nārāyaṇa. Incidentally it indicates the setting of over 100 families of Brāhmaṇas in this forest region and speaks of their mixed marriages.

In (British) Tippera a plate with a different seal and of an earlier date has been found at Gunaighar, about 18 miles N. W. of Comilla town. It is a grant of Vainya-gupta of 188 G. E. or 507 A. D. (*I. H. Q.*, 1930, p. 45). The seal is oval, 4"×5" containing the figure of a couchant bull (an emblem also of the Maitrakas of Valabhi, Fleet, p. 164) with the king's name below it. The grant was issued from Krīpura and conveyed land to a *vihāra* of Mahāyāna Buddhists. Prof. Dines Chandra Bhattacharya who has published the grant traces in it several non-Sanskrit words which are in use in modern Bengali.

Two plates of the same size and with 'bull' seal but of a later date and different dynasty, the Khaḍgas, were found along with a small bronze *caitya* (Banerji, *Itihās*, I, pl. 8) at Ashrafpur, in the N. E. corner of the Dacca Dist. (*A. S. B. Memoirs*, Vol. I, pl. 85). Both of them record the grant of land for a Buddhist *vihāra*, and were issued from Karmanta. They tell us of four generations of the line, viz., Khaḍgodyama, Jata-Khaḍga, Deva-Khaḍga (whose queen Prabhāvatī's name was read on an inscribed image which has again disappeared) and Rāja-rāja. Mr. Bhattasali identifies Karmanta with Kanta (12 miles W. of Comilla town and some 50 miles S. of Asrafpur) and the last named king with King Rājabhaṭṭa of Samataṭa mentioned by I-sting (673-687 A. D.) (*J. A. S. B.*, 1914, p. 86) and connects Śīla-bhadra, the Abbot of Nālanda, the teacher of Hiuen Tsang (640 A. D.), with this dynasty.

About the same time probably another dynasty ruled at Sabhar N. W. of Dacca town. Of it, however, the only evidence are the ruins

there from which several 'imitation' Gupta coins (one of which is now in the V. R. S. Museum) have been discovered (*Modern Review*, January, 1929, p. 42). Some scholars hold that the renowned abbot Padmasambhava, who went from Nalanda to Tibet in 747 A. D. and initiated Lamaism there (*Guide to Nalanda*, p. 7), and his relative Śānta-rakṣita, author of the *Tattvasaṃgraha*, were connected with Sabhar (*Proceedings*, *Oriental Conference*, 1924, p. 132).

From this time until about the end of the Pāla period, about 1000 A. D., the history of South and East Bengal is almost a blank.

Pāla Period c. 750-1050

It was to end the anarchy that had ensued in Bengal about the end of the seventh century that Gopāla was made king. After him, however, the succession to the throne was hereditary, as was also that to the office of minister for the first four generations.

The history of the Pālas falls into two halves, which differ not only in time but in their character and location. The *first half* which ended with king Nārāyaṇapāla was a glorious one when the Pāla power was in the ascendant. During this period their sway was over Eastern Magadha to which practically all their inscriptions of the time relate, except notably the Khalimpur grant of year 32 of Dharmapāla's reign, granting land in the Mahantaprakās *viṣaya* (probably present Manda) in Vyaghratati *maṇḍala* of Pauṇḍravardhana *bhukti*, and the *Śrī Somapure Śrī Dharmapāladeva mahāvihārīya* seals at Paharpur. Somapura *vihāra*, it may be noted, is mentioned in an inscription on a Buddha image at Bodh-Gaya and by Tāranātha as well as in the *Pag-sam-jon-zang*, where it is said that king Devapāla founded it after conquering Varendra (Majumdar, *Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, XXIII, p. 69 and p. 72). The Pāla headquarters of the period were in Magadha, first at Patna, from which the Khalimpur grant was issued and later at Munger, from which Devapāla and Nārāyaṇapāla issued their grants, and which was invaded by the Gurjara chief Kakka (Banerji, *Itihās*, I, p. 223). The second plate of Dharmapāla found at Nalanda will, it is hoped, further elucidate this point.

During this half, in king Devapāla's reign, Nalanda reached its palmy days as a Buddhist centre, drawing votaries from far and near. King Balaputra of Sumatra erected there a vihāra for his subjects (*V. R. S. Monographs*, No. 1, p. 31) in the ruins of which Devapāla's plate and a number of bronze images have been found (*A. S. I.*,

Annual Report, 1926-27, p. 133). Vīradeva repaired here from Nagarhar (modern Jelalabad) and became, the abbot erecting shrines at Ghoswara (ancient Yaśovarmapur) near by. The attraction of Nalanda continued in Nārāyaṇapāla's time, as we find from the inscription of Dharmamitra of Andhradeśa, and even later.

The Pālas came into conflict with their neighbours at the very outset of their sway. Their first opponents were the Rāṣṭrakūṭas who contested their westward expansion. It was the Gurjjaras, however, who pressed the Pālas home and eventually their king Mahendrapāla (890-908 A. D., *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, p. 265), whose inscriptions have been found in the Gaya-Hazaribagh tract, dispossessed the Pālas of Magadha and penetrated into Varendra, as indicated by a stone pillar inscription of year 5 of his reign turned up in the Pāhārpur mound by the 'magic' spade of late Rakhaldas Banerji (*London News*, 29th January, 1927, p. 160). This reversion to Pāla sway occurred probably at the end of Nārāyaṇapāla's reign. The old line of ministers, who claimed to have been the power behind the Pāla throne, in the Badal inscription, probably died at this time with Gurava Miśra. According to the inscription on the Lakṣmaṇa temple at Śrīpur (Raipur Dt. C. P) ascribed to the 9th century A. D., there ruled in Magadha at that time a Varman dynasty to which belonged Sūrya-Varma whose daughter Vasata married the Śrīpur king and built the temple (*E. I.*, IV, p. 196).

Then commenced the *second half* of the Pāla history, which witnessed a decline of their power and its final extinction and during which their dominions shrank to west Varendra or Gauḍ, to which all their three grants of the period relate. Their head-quarters too must have been in this tract and we can clearly see the precarious condition of their rule in the frequent change and obscurity of the headquarters. Mahīpāla's Bangarh grant was issued from Vilāsapura : Vigrahapāla III's Amgachi grant from Haradhama (*E. I.*, XV, p. 295) while Rāmapāla overthrowing the Kaivarttas founded a new capital at Ramāvātī, from which Madanapāla issued his Manahali grant. Between Nārāyaṇapāla and Mahīpāla, an interval, according to Prof. Dines Chandra Bhattacharyya, of 90 years (*I. H. Q.*, 1930, p. 167), no Pāla inscription has come to light. The Pāla power was evidently in an eclipse under the Gurjjaras. It reappeared with Mahīpāla who, according to his own and his successors' grants, recovered the *anadhikṛta-vilupta rājya* of his fathers (l. 13 of Bangarh, l. 15 of Amgachi and l. 14 of Manahali grant)—probably, only Gauḍ or west Varendra. It is

significant that in his Sarnath inscription of 1025 A. D., Mahīpāla is called 'Gauḍādhipa' the only instance of a Pāla king being definitely so called, and that it is in west Varendra that his memory is still cherished in such sayings as *dhān bhānte Mahīpāler gīt*, though inscriptions referring to him have been found at Sarnath, Nalanda, Bodh-Gaya and even at Baghaura (in Tippera Dt.), the last (*E. I.*, XVII, p. 355) being the *only* Pāla inscription found in Bengal outside Gauḍ.

Even of the whole of Gauḍ, the Pālas did not have undisturbed possesion, for an inscribed pillar—the date of which is uncertain—records the erection of a temple to Śiva at Bangarh by a king of the Kamboja race, who claims to be 'Gauḍapati'. But what gave the death blow to the Pāla power was a rising of the Kaivarttas, which drove Vigrahapāla III from the throne. Certain *drammas* are ascribed to Vigrahapāla (V. Smith, *Catalogue of Indian Museum coins*, I, pp. 223, 239) with but little probability. After a generation of Kaivartta rule, the Pāla sway was revived by Rāmapāla and even extended to Kāmarūpa under his son Kumārapāla, as we learn from the Kamauli plates of Vaidyadeva. This grant indicates that the power of the Kāmarūpa kings, who, as noted before, held the Bengal Duar in the later Gupta age, had disappeared. In this grant we find the first mention of a Bengalee Brāhmaṇa in the rôle of a king and the earliest mention of *Varendri.* Of Kumārapāla's son and successor, Gopāla III, little is known beyond a mere mention in l. 24 of the Manahali grant and probably also in a cryptic stone inscription discovered at Nimdighi, 12 miles N. W. of Manda (*Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, 1319, p. 155). With his successor Madanapāla the line came to an end, Lakṣmaṇasena probably succeeding to the throne of Gauḍ, as will be seen later.

A contemporary history of the last phase of Pāla rule (Rāmapāla to Madanapāla) is contained in the cryptic poem of *Rāmacarita* and an effort is being made by the Varenda Research Society to publish a fully annotated edition of it, but in the absence of any authoritative key to nearly two-thirds of the poem, it is defying the attempts of scholars to unlock its meaning fully.

In this second period a monastery grew up at Vikramaśilā, the site of which is identified with present Pathargbata, 24 miles east of Bhagalpur and 6 miles north of Colgong. It is from this monastery that Dīpaṅkara is said to have carried the torch of Indian culture to Tibet.

At this time the monastery at Nalanda appears to have declin-

ed and it is doubtful if the Pālas had any temporal authority over this tract though inscriptions referring to Mahīpāla, Rāmapāla and even Madanapāla have been found there. Some scholars hold that a branch of the family continued to rule at Udantapur (subsequently named Bihar by the Pathans) until about 1200 A. D, when it was wiped off by Ikhtiar-ud-din.

Gaya, unlike Nalanda, was never a popular Buddhist centre, at any rate after the 7th century A.D., for the Buddhist inscriptions even at Bodh-Gaya are of earlier dates (*I.H.Q.*, 1930, p. 26). Even in Dharmapāla's reign a *caturmukha* Mahādeva with a *Trimurti* slab was set up there and the Vandadeva inscription of year 7 of Nārāyaṇapāla's reign, near the Viṣṇupāda temple at Gaya records the erection of a monastery for Brāhmaṇical ascetics (Banerji, *Pālas*, p. 60) and later—probably as a result of the Gurjjara occupation—Gaya became a Vedic or Vaiṣṇava centre—to which eloquent testimony is borne by Viśvāditya's Viṣṇupāda temple and Kṛṣṇadvārikā temple inscriptions of year 15 of Mahīpāla's son, Nayapāla's reign (Banerji, *Itihās*, I, p. 262).

All the grants of the Pāla kings bear the *dharma-cakra* seal and begin with an invocation to Buddha, and all of them record the *saṃkalpa* in Buddha's name with the single exception of Nārāyaṇapāla, who in his Bhagalpur plate records it in Śiva's name. He is credited with having erected and endowed several temples to Śiva and was probably a Śaiva, while all other Pāla kings—before and after him—were Buddhists. But they evidently tolerated other faiths, for, besides the inscriptions at Gaya noted before we find Dharmapāla in his Khalimpur plate granting land for a Nara-Nārāyaṇa temple and among the inscribed bronzes of Devapāla's reign found at Nalanda is an image of Balarāma (*Annual Report A.S.I.*, 1927-28, p. 132fn.) while the family of their minister, Gurava Miśra, appears from the Badal inscription to have been ardent Vaiṣṇavas.

The Pāla kings were married into several Cedī and Rāṣṭrakūṭa families. Dharmapāla married Ranna-devī, daughter of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa chief Paravāla, Vigrahapāla I married a Haihaya or Cedi princess Lajjādevī, Rāyapāla married Bhāgyadevī, daughter of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa chief Tuṅga. Vigrahapāla III had two queens. One was the sister of Mahana, a Rāṣṭrakūṭa chief of Aṅga, whose daughter's daughter, Kumāradevī was married to the Gāhaḍavāla king Govindacandra as recorded in her Sarnath Buddha image inscription (*D.I.*, IX, p, 324). The other was Yauvanaśrī, daughter of the Cedi king Karṇa, whose other daughter Vīraśrī was married to Jātavarma, who hailed from

Surāṣṭra. The Gāhaḍavālas and the Varmans were Vaiṣṇavas. So these matrimonial unions indicate that a strange mingling of races and creeds prevailed at that time. It is to be noted that these unions were restricted to races indigenous to India and were not extended to the Gurjjara outlanders or the Colas of the south, though they too came in contact with the Pālas. It appears that many Rāṣṭrakūṭa families were settled in Kanauj (*J.A.S.B.*, 1925 p. 106). Aṅga, Nepal (*Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, p. 44) and other places in north India and it was in some of these families and not those in the Deccan that the Pālas married.

Another evidence of the great impression that the Pālas made on their age is furnished by the fact that their family name was borrowed by other royal families, e.g., the Gurjjara king Mahendrapāla and his successors, the dynasty of Brahmapāla in Kāmarūpa and that of Jayapāla in the Punjab.

Under the Pālas, image making in Bengal as well as in Magadha assumed a new character, which it retained in the Sena period. Some examples of Bengal sculpture of this age are illustrated in the *Calcutta Sāhitya Pariṣat Handbook*, Mr. French's *Pāla Art*, Mr. Bhattasali's *Iconography* and Dr. Kramrisch's article in the *Rūpam* of October, 1929. The study of the technical side of the art is yet an untrodden field. Magadha artizens had probably a hand in the erection of the Lakṣmaṇa temple at Śrīpur (*E.I.*, XI. p. 188) and one is clearly mentioned as the engraver of the Silimpur inscription (*E.I.*, XIII, p. 295). The neighbourhood of Gaya, probably present Patharkati, was an image-making centre in this age, as Mathurā had been in the Gupta age. The art of bronze casting also thrived in Magadha as proved by the hoards discovered at Nalanda (*Arch. Survey Report*, 1928-29, p. 132) and recently at Kurkihar, where some 160 bronze images of great variety and sizes, varying from 2 in. to 4 ft. in height have come to light. It flourished also on the environs of Pāla sway as indicated by a hoard consisting of a miniature temple of *Nāgara* type studded with gems, and 63 images of Buddha varying in height from 2″ to 15″ ascribed to the period, from 7th to 10th century A.D. found at Thewri village, near Chittagong town, and the beautiful Jaina bronzes recently brought to the Patna Museum from Chausa.

Transition from Pāla to Sena Period

When the Pāla power was hastening to its end in Gauḍ, the western

part of Magadha was under the sway of the Gāhaḍavālas who had succeeded the Gurjjaras on the throne of Kanauj. This is indicated by Govindacandra's Maner grant of 1124 A.D., and Lar grant of 1144 A.D. (*J.A.S.B.*, 1929, p. 81 and *E.I.*, VII, p. 98) and Jayacandra's Bodh-Gaya inscriptions of about 1190 A.D. (*I.H.Q.*, 1929, p. 18). Aṅga or Eastern Magadha north of the Nalanda tract was held by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family of Mahana, which was the chief support of Rāmapāla and Madanapāla (*I.H.Q.*, 1929, p. 46) and the Yādava family of Jātavarman, which migrated afterwards to East Bengal.

In Bengal, Pāla sway being confined to Gauḍ, the rest of the country must have pursued different courses of history, of which, however, the records relating to this period are meagre and uncertain. The Silimpur inscription of Prahasa (*E.I.*, XIII, p. 290) mentions a king Jayapāla of Kāmarūpa. which indicates that the Bengal Duar came under Kāmarūpa sway. In Pauṇḍravardhana, a Nandī family appears to have risen to power as recorded in the fragmentary Mahāsthāngarh inscription (*J.A.S.B.*, 1922, p. 439).

Rāḍh or south west Bengal appears to have been invaded successively by the Candels, Colas and Cedis. In his Khajuraho inscriptions of 954 A.D., a Candel king named Yaśovarma claims to have defeated the king of Gauḍ (Banerji, *Itihās*, I, p. 231). It is interesting to note that certain Brahmin families near Kandi in Uttara Rāḍh, of which the late Ramendrasundar Trivedi was a prominent member, claim to have migrated from the Khajuraho tract, and that Kṛṣṇa Miśra who composed the play of *Prabodhacandrodaya* to celebrate the victory of the Candel king Kīrtivarma (*c.* 1098 A.D.) over the Cedi king Karṇa (*Ibid*, p. 260) belonged to Rāḍh—probably Uttara-Rāḍh as in Act 2 of the play he flings many cutting remarks against Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍhī Brāhmaṇa whom he personifies as *Ahaṃkāra* and *Dambha.* The passage *Gauḍaṃ rāṣṭram anuttamaṃ nirupamā tatrāpi Rāḍhapurī Bhūriśreṣṭhika nāma dhama* indicates that at that time Rāḍh was included in the kingdom of Gauḍ. Bhūriśreṣṭhika is present Bhursut, south of Tarakesvar and the birth place of the poet Bharatcandra (18th century). There Śrīdhara composed his *Nyāyakandalī* commentary on Vaiśeṣika Philosophy in 991 A.D. (Benares 1897, ed. p. 13).

Bhursut was evidently the centre of a flourshing settlement of Brāhmaṇas and Kāyasthas who probably migrated from the Madhyadeśa and settled in the valley of the Sarasvatī (which river as well as Triveni are named after their North Indian prototypes). Nyāya

philosophy was cultivated here (culminating much later in the foundation of the school of Navya-nyāya at Navadvīp). Bhaṭṭa-Nārāyaṇ. author of the *Veṇī-Saṃhāra* probably belonged to this tract. From this age probably dates the hydrographical change by which Tamluk ceased to be a port and Triveṇī or Sapta-grām took its place, and drew to it the influential Suvarṇa-vanik community. The Gupta coins found there (Allan, CXXVIII) as well as the Buddhist and Jaina relics, scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* and other Hindu relics which occur in the Muslim structures there (*J.A.S.B.*, 1909, p. 245) testify to the antiquity of the locality. Similar remains occur at Pandua (*Bengal Past and Present*, Oct. 1908, p. 431).

It is significant that in the *Prabodhacandrodaya* as well as in the Maner and certain other grants of the Gāhaḍavālas the word *Turuṣka* occurs. After the Candels came the Cola king Rājendra who, according to his Terumalai inscription of 1023 A.D., overran Uttara and Dakṣiṇa Rāḍh (Banerji, *Itihās*, I, p. 247) but there is no other evidence of this raid, unless we take it that the Senas came in his train. Then came the Cedi king Karṇa (*c.* 1042 A.D.), as a pillar bearing his name is seen at Palkor in Uttara Rāḍh (*Ibid.*, p. 265) along with one of Vijayasena (*Ins. of Bengal*, III, p. 168). The daughters of this Cedi king married king Vigrahapāla III and the Aṅga chief Jātavarma.

About this time probably occurred a migration of people from West to East Bengal, and in the Belāva plate (*Ins. of Bengal*, III, p. 14) we find Jātavarma's grandson, Bhojavarma ruling at Vikramapura. He came there evidently after Śrī-candra (whose grants also are issued from Vikramapura, as will be seen later) and ruled over a smaller area in the east part of Dacca district. The plate tells us that the family which professed the Vaiṣṇava faith came originally from Siṃhapura, where one of its members led a Yādava army to victory. This points to Surāṣṭra as their original home, Siṃhapura being modern Sihor. Such distant migrations appear to have been common in olden days e.g., Brāhmaṇas from Lāṭa (modern Gujrat) were settled in Varendra (Khailmpur grant) and according to Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, Nāgara Brāhmaṇas migrated to Sylhet, the very name of which is derived by Prof. Kisorimohan Gupta from Śrī-Hātakeśvara, their patron deity (*I.H.Q.*, 1930, p. 60).

Another record which is connected with the Belāva plate is an inscription in the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple at Bhuvaneśvar in Orissa

recording the erection of that temple and the excavation of a tank for it, by a remarkable man of the age, Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva (*Ins. of Bengal*, III, p. 25). The tank must be the present Vindu-sāgar, for though situated in a *Śiva-kṣetra* and so close to the Liṅgarāja temple, the ministry here is vested in Brāhmaṇas of a different order, and the *Saṃkalpa* is made in Vāsudeva's name. The Bhaṭṭa was vastly learned and composed several treatises, some of which are extant (unlike those of Prahasa and his ancestors referred to in the Silimpur inscription). He was a Vaiṣṇava and is described metaphorically as having 'swallowed up the Buddhists.'

The inscription tells us of the existence of Savarṇa and Vandyaghatīya Brāhmaṇas in Rāḍh where they are numerous even now. Read with the Belāva plate it indicates further their emigration from Madhayadeśa to Rāḍh (which is dignified by inclusion in Āryavarta probably for this very reason) and thence to East Bengal. This affinity is still recognised by intermarriage among the Rāḍhī Brāhmaṇas of East and West Bengal. According to Mr. A. K. Ray, Siddhala of Uttara-Rāḍh, the original settlement of the Savarṇas was near Gaṅgārām on the Ajai river, in Burdwan District (Laṣmikānt, p. 12) and that it was a Savarṇa Caudhurī who, with the patronage of the Bansbaria family, founded the Kālīghāṭ shrine, in Akbar's time (*Ibid.*, p. 28)—which, if true, would indicate a change from his ancestral Vaiṣṇava faith to Śāktaism.

The descent of the Bhaṭṭa is traced through six generations from Bhavadeva, a Savarṇa Brāhmaṇa of Siddhala, who received the village of Hastinībhiṭṭa from a *Gauḍa-nṛpa.* Fourth in descent from him was Ādideva, who was the chief minister of a *Vaṅga-rāja*, and whose grandson was Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva who was the minister of a king Harivarma and his son. Unfortunately there is no indication as to where this Harivarma ruled. Two manuscripts merely dated in year 19 and 39 of his reign were found in Nepal and so are of little help on this point. But Mr. Nagendra Nath Basu has published a copper-plate which was found at Samantasār (near Idilpur) and appears to have been of the same type and seal as the Belāva plate and was issued by king Harivarma, son of king Jyotivarma from Vikramapura (*Ins. of Bengal*, III, p. 28 and p. 168). We may take it that all these four records refer to the same king and that he ruled in East Bengal, after Bhojavarma, who was probably the *Vaṅga-rāja*, whom Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva's grand-father served as minister. The *Gauḍa-nṛpa* belonged probably to an earlier generation (that is, before the migration from West Bengal

which tract, as we have seen in the *Prabodha-candrodaya*, was included in Gauḍ.

To this age also belongs two local chiefs of Buddhist persuasion who held sway in East Bengal. One was Kāntideva, of whom a draft grant with a 'lion' seal issued from Vardhamāna in Harikela, was found at Chittagong (*Modern Review*, 1922, November p. 612) and is now in the Dacca Museum. Prof. Dines Chandra Bhattacharyya who edited the plate has ascertained that it came from the ruins at Italla village, 2 miles N E. of Comilla town. He has further drawn attention to the ruins on the Lalmai and Mainamati hills, 5 miles west of the town, in which another plate, that of Raṇavaṅkamalla of 1219 A.D., has been found, and which he identifies as the centre of ancient Harikela.

The other was Śrī-candra, whose family had migrated from Rohita-giri to Candradvīp, in Harikela, and four of whose grants—all issued from Vikramapura have been found (*Ins. of Bengal*, III, p. 2). From these grants it is concluded that Śrī-candra ruled over the western part of the Dacca District, from Dhulla in the north to Idilpur (now in Faridpur District) in the south. It was Śri-candra's grand-father who turned Buddhist (though we find Śrī-candra himself offering *homa*). It is to these Buddhist families and the Khaḍgas of Karmanta (and not the Pālas who never ruled this tract) that the spread of Buddhism in this part of Bengal was due.

In fact, in the Pāla period, as in the later Gupta, Samataṭa was a noted Buddhist centre, and it was to its ruling family that the great saint Dīpaṅkara, the abbot of the Vikramaśilā *vihāra* who conveyed the Buddhist faith to Tibet, and Vīryendra-bhadra, who helped Kṣemendra in composing the *Bodhisattvāvadāna-kalpalatā* belonged (*S. P. Patrikā*, XXIII, p. 73).

These Varman inscriptions and the Śrī-candra grants indicate that a close connection existed in this age between West and East Bengal and that Vikramapura became the political centre of the whole of Southern Bengal from Rāḍh to Vaṅga. This is probably how the way was made for the spread of Sena power and why Vikramapura figures as the capital in practically all the grants of the earlier Senas.

The Sena Period c. 1050-1200 A.D.

The founder of the dynasty was Vijayasena, whose grand-father is said to have come from Karṇāṭaka, the identity of which is uncertain.

So also is the caste of the Sena kings, but following Rai Bahadur Kalicharan Sen (*Bhāratavarṣa*, Bhādra, 1337, p. 419) we may class them as Vaidyas, of which term 'Sena' is almost a synonym in Bengal. Vijayasena's queen Vilāsadevī belonged to a Śūra-family, which one is tempted to connect with Raṇa-śūra of Rājendra Cola's Tirumalai inscription (*E.I.*, IX, p. 231) and with Ādiśura who, as tradition goes, imported the ancestors of the Rāḍhī Brāhmaṇas and Kāyasthas. Vallālasena married a Cālukya princess, Rāmadevī. The Sena kings were Śaivas. Their seal bore an image of Sadāśiva and as the Gupta emperors had *viruḍas* ending with *āditya*, they had *viruḍas* ending with *śaṅkara*: thus Vijayasena was Vṛṣabha-Śaṅkara, Vallālasena was Niḥśaṅka-Śaṅkara and so on. It is curious to note that some Vaidya families of Bengal affect this sort of name even at the present day.

No evidence has been found of Sena sway in the whole of South Bengal from Basirhat to Tippera and the history of the Senas like that of the Pālas falls into two distinct halves. The sway of the first three kings of the line, Vijayasena, Vallālasena and Lakṣmaṇasena was apparently confined to Western Bengal, as all their inscriptions except one (see specially Vijayasena's Paikor pillar inscription and the Barrackpur grant of year 62) relates to this tract and are mostly found in this neighbourhood of the Ganges along its present course from Murshidabad to Calcutta and then along the Ādigaṅgā through the Sundarvan, where the explorations of Mr. Kalidas Dutt have revealed a vast number of antiquities of this age (*V.R.S. Monographs*, No. 3 & 4). A Caṇḍī image of year 3 of Lakṣmaṇasena's reign is the only relic of Sena sway of this period found in East Bengal, yet all the grants, except one, are issued from Vikramapura,—which naturally raises a doubt about its identity with the East Bengal city of that name.

Lakṣmaṇasena's inscriptions introduce us to a new *bhukti*, Vardhamāna which lay west of the Bhāgīrathī, and extended from Salar in the north to Baruipur in the south. North of it probably was the Kaṅkagrām *bhukti* of the Śaktipur grant (*Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, 1337, p. 219). The Senas made little headway into Varendra. Deopāḍā (where stood Vijayasena's lofty temple) as well as Lakṣmaṇavatī or Gauḍ (said to have been founded by Lakṣmaṇasena—though it occurs in no Sena inscription) is on the southern fringe of Varendra. The only grant found in the interior of it is the Tapandighi one. The Madhainagar grant which is probably the last grant of Lakṣmaṇasena refers to the Sena king as *Gauḍeśvara* for the first time and from the passages *Gauḍeśvara-Śrī-haṭa-haraṇa-kāla yasya kaumāra-kelī* applied to him in

verse II of the grant and *Gauḍendram adravat* to his grand-father in verse 20 of the Deopāḍā inscription, it is clear that the title belonged till late in Lakṣmaṇasena's reign to kings of some other line, possibly the Pālas. It seems that when the Madhainagar grant was issued Lakṣmaṇsena had lost Lakṣmaṇavatī to the Pathans and retreated eastwards to the Doab between the Karatoyā and the Calan *bil* (the Rāvaṇa lake of the grant). Besides this grant (and a Pathan inscription) stone images, ruined tanks and buildings of the age have been brought to light in clearing the jungle in this tract and it is significant that Dhāryagrām from which this grant was issued is without the epithet of *jayaskandavara.*

The sway of the last two Sena kings, Keśava and Viśvarūpa was confined to East Bengal as all their grants are found in the Koṭālipāḍā, Idilpur and Vikramapura areas, but strangely enough none of them were issued from Vikramapura. They were issued instead from Phalgugrām which is styled *jayaskandavar.* Both the kings bear the epithet *Garga-Yavanauvaya-pralaya-kāla-rudra* which probably means that they kept the Pathans out of Eastern Bengal—as we find that even in 1283 A.D., when the emperor Balban went there in pursuit of his fugitive governor Tughril Khan, he met a Hindu Rājā of Sonārgaon, Danuja Rai, who has been indentified with Daśaratha of the Adavadi inscription who claimed to have obtained the *Gauḍa rājya* (*Ins. of Bengal*, III, p. 182).

The ministers of the first three Sena kings, viz., Vijayasena's Sāladda Nāga, Vallālasena's Hari Ghosh and Lakṣmaṇasena's Nārāyaṇa Datta were probably Kāyasthas. Vallālasena is said to have introduced Kulinism or gradation of the various families of Rāḍhī Brāhmaṇas and Kāyasthas. There is no reference either to this or to the Ādiśūra tradition in any inscription, but it may well be that with the growth of Hinduism there was a reconstruction of society under the Senas. To this period probably is to be ascribed the setting of religious faiths in Bengal, Rāḍh or South-West Bengal adopting Śiva and Kṛṣṇa worship, and Varendra or North-East Bengal developing the Tāntrik faith (which lives now in Kālī and Durgā worship), Chittagong alone retaining Buddhism.

The art of image-making in stone was much patronised in this age, and to it are to be attributed the numerous *Catur-bhuja* Viṣṇu images which occur all over Bengal—even in the wilds of Sundarban—as well as the 'Mother and Child' images (*V.R.S. Monographs*, 3, p. 19) and probably the combined icons like Viṣṇu with *dhyānī* figure (*V.R.S.*

Monographs, 3, p. 48) or Mārttaṇḍa-Bhairava (*I.H.Q.*, 1930, p. 465). The architectural pieces and other sculptures of Vijayasena's temple found at Deopāḍā show that a class of artizans grew up in Bengal in this age and the engraver of the inscription on that temple is styled *Vārendraka śilpī-goṣṭī-cūḍāmaṇi*. Though stone carving is no longer practised in Bengal (except on a very modest scale at Dainhāṭā, near Navadvīp) the art survives in the modelling of clay images for worship, which is peculiar in Bengal.

Sanskrit literature also flourished in this age, Rāḍh (S. W. Bengal) leading in *Kāvya* and *Darśana* and Varendra (N. E. Bengal) in *Tāntrik* literature and *Vyākaraṇa*.

Lakṣmaṇasena himself is said to be the auther of two learned treatises and his minister, Halāyudha of the *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva*, the *Abhidhāna-ratna-mālā* and other works and a verse is current naming the five poets who adorned his court. Of their works, the *Pavana-dūtam* of Dhoyī is a poetic sketch of the east coast of India and the *Gīta-Govinda* of Jayadeva presents the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult (which was given a new turn by Caitanya in a later age). The Bengali script took its present shape in this age, as we gather from the inscriptions in early Bengali characters on the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* scenes in Jafar khan Ghazi's tomb at Triveṇī (*J.A.S.B.*, 1909, p. 246 and pl. II)., Lakṣmaṇasena is credited with introducing a new era (*Ins. of Bengal* III, p. 192).

But soon a foreign element—the Muslims entered Bengal and gave a shock to the system we saw growing on the soil for more than 800 years, and the government, the administrative division, the social structure, the culture and even the names of persons and places and the language of the people were thrown into confusion.

(*To be continued*)

BIJOY NATH SARKAR

The 'Queen's Donation' Edict

This edict on the Allahabad-Kosam pillar, which has hitherto been known as 'the Queen's Edict', should more properly be called *the Edict on the Queen's Donation*, so as to guard against its being taken as issued by Aśoka's queen. Verily, it is the king's edict, for it commences with the authority of his word and contains some specific direction to his Mahāmātras, viz., the direction as to how to reckon, or rather, re-reckon the gifts of his second queen. It is important to note that the words *Devānaṃpiyashā vacanenā*, with which the edict begins, are as peremptory as the opening words of the Separate Rock Edicts (Dhauli), and that, like the latter, the edict is meant for his Mahāmātras (*savata Mahamatā vataviyā*).

The record is, as is well known, inscribed on the same (Allahabad-Kosam) pillar as bears the Kosambī text[1] of the Schism Edict as well as a version of the first six Pillar Edicts. It spreads over five lines; and, "with the other edicts, found on the same monument, it agrees only in not arranging the words in groups or separating them. Its characters show a number of cursive and otherwise peculiar forms, which are not very common in Aśoka's inscriptions."[2] Some of these peculiarities can be traced in the Jaugaḍa version of the Separate Rock Edicts, while such use of the letter *sh* as occurs in *piyashā* (l. 1) and *she* (l. 4) is also observable in the Kālsi version of the Rock Edicts, with which it also agrees in respect of some grammatical forms[3]. In the circumstances, it will be advisable, when making restoration, to adhere first to the evidence of the edict itself and then, if need be, to such records as may be allied to it in form or matter.

Although the pillar is disfigured here and there by later scribblings and incisions, the letters of our inscription fortunately for the most part remain unimpaired. In spite of the mutilation of a few letters towards the end of line 3, the words represented by them have been satisfactorily restored[4]. But Aśokan scholars have not been equally fortunate in respect of the lacuna of effaced letters at the end of line 4.

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1 The other texts are on the Sāṃcī and Sārnāth pillars.

2 Bühler, *I.A.*, vol. XIX, p. 123. 3 *Ibid.*

4 *Ibid.*, p. 123; Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 159.

The lacuna after [*he*]*vaṃ* is, according to Hultzsch, one of three letters, of which the middle one he read *na*, tentatively completing the whole as *vinati*, 'request'. The reading *na* seems to be all right, but *vinati* is doubtful, as he himself believed[1].

With this restoration, he proceeded to construct the concluding clause as : *hevaṃ vinati dutīyāye devīye ti Tīvala-mātu Kāluvākiye*, rendering it : "This (is) [the request] of the second queen, the mother of Tīvala, the Kāluvākī." Now, what is the request ? The request is, as Hultzsch would have it, that "whatever gifts have been made by the second queen, etc., these shall (?) be registered in the name of that queen." It is to be noted that the word which he has been forced to render '(shall) be registered' is *ganīyati*, which is clearly in the Present and not in the Future, and, therefore, means 'is reckoned'. It is evident, and important at the same time to note, that Hultzsch had his doubts from the very nature of the text and could not avoid thinking that some idea of injunction was involved in the 'request', or else he would not have used the word *shall* within brackets, understanding *ganīyati* anyhow in the future sense, even though it was grammatically unwarranted. The restoration *vinati* is at the root of this difficulty. It gives rise to another anomaly. The donor, occupying as she did the exalted rank of a queen,—the queen of an emperor such as Aśoka was, and being, as we understand her to have been, quite free under the authority of the emperor's sanction to bestow gifts[2], had in all probability no need of making *vinati* to the Mahāmātras to have her gifts 'registered', and consequently, *vinati* seems to be too ill chosen a a word to be attributed to her. As a matter of fact, making *vinati*, sounds like 'imploring', 'petitioning', and does not tally with the tone of the opening words of the inscription, where the gravity of the royal word is patent (*Devānaṃpiyashā vacanenā savata Mahamatā vataviyā*). To put it clearly, the term *vinati* does not possess that force of expression which is required to give to the concluding clause a tone of injunction compatible with the authoritative bearing of the edict.

The difficulty, however, disappears if we follow the procedure suggested by Bühler. According to him, there is, after *she nāni* (l. 4), a

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1 Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 159, n. 4.

2 See R. E. V, and P. E. VII, where Aśoka's relatives are mentioned as having their own alms-houses and bestowing gifts.

lacuna of five or six letters, which "must have contained the word wanted to complete the chief clause which begins with *she nāni*"[1]. Hultzsch practically dealt with five letters, including *hevaṃ* (e.g. [*he*]*vaṃ vinati*), of which the second letter had already been read *va* by Bühler). But his restoration is, as we have seen, untenable. Now, if we turn to the alternative of six letters, we get virtually four in all to deal with, excluding *hevaṃ*, which is fairly established by Hultzsch. Of these four, the first, which he doubtfully restored *vi* (viz. the *vi* of *vinati*), seems to be the traces of a *ga*, resembling the initial letter of *ganīyati*, which occurs in this very inscription earlier in the same line. The next letter, which he read *na*, is, as we have noted, all right. The last two, it must be admitted, cannot be made out at all. Thus, out of four letters, the first two, viz., *ga* and *na* are fairly certain. What about the remaining two? If we remember Bühler's suggestion that the word wanted to complete the chief clause must be found among these letters, and, if, according to him, we take the clause to begin with *she nāni*, we cannot resist the conclusion that this lacuna of four letters can only be filled by a *verbal form*, to complete the sense. And the sense is somewhat like this : "whatever gifts have hitherto been reckoned (*ganīyati*), as of the second queen, all those (*she nāni*) . . . . thus (*hevaṃ*) : 'from the second queen',—i.e., 'the mother of Tīvala, the Kāluvākī'." Reading between the lines, there can be no doubt that the word of four letters which is wanted to fill up the gap means 'must or should be reckoned,' or, 'you must or should reckon'. Half our difficulty vanishes through our acquaintance with the word *ganīyati*, which means 'is reckoned', and we think that a verbal form derived from √gaṇ will fit very well here. The task is further rendered easy by the happy coincidence of our restoration, the incomplete *gana*—. Now, taking our cue from P. E. VII, l. 22 (*vide* Hultzsch), where occurs the mandatory expression *hevaṃ ca paliyovadātha*, addressed to the Lajūkas, and, again, from the Sārnāth inscription, where occur the words *nikhipātha* (l. 7), *vivāsayātha* (l. 10) and *vivāsāpayāthā* (l. 11), similarly addressed in all probability to the Mahāmātras, the presumption arises that here, too, in the present inscription which is also addressed to the Mahāmātras, we have to do with a similar verbal form in order to complete the sense. And the only way in which *gana-* can be completed into the required verbal form of *four letters* is by making it *gana*(*yātha*), 'reckon ye',

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 124.

on the analogy of the examples just referred to, regard being also had to the fact that Sk. *gaṇ* belongs to the *Curādi* or the tenth class of conjugation. In the light of this restoration, we understand the edict as follows :—

TEXT

1 Devānaṃpiyashā v[a]canenā savata Mahamatā
2 vataviyā (:) e hetā dutīyāye devīye dāne (,)
3 aṃbā-vaḍikā vā ālame va dāna-[gah]e [va (,) e vā pi a]ṃne
4 kīchi ganīyati tāye devīye (,) she nāni [he]vaṃ [ga]na(yātha) (:)
5 dutīyāye devīye ti Tīvala-mātu Kāluvākiye (.)

TRANSLATION

1 In the name[1] (lit. by the word) of Devānaṃpriya, the Mahāmātras have everywhere to be told :
2 what(ever) gift (has been given) here by the second queen,—
3 (whether) mango-garden, or pleasure-ground, or alms-house, or whatever
4 else is reckoned as of that queen, those reckon ye thus :
5 "Of the second queen", i.e., "of Tīvala's mother,[2] the Kāluvākī."

1 There is a sense of 'keenness' coupled with 'injunction' in this expression, which imparts a peremptory character to the direction that follows. For the weighty tone of the expression, cf. Pāli *mama vacanena*, Dīgha, ii. 72 ; Aṅg. ii. 144 ; Mil. 14 ; PvA. 53 ; and also the opening words of the Separate Rock Edicts (Dhauli) and of Minor Rock Edict I (Brahmagiri and Siddāpura). I am thankful to Prof. Kshitischandra Chatterji for referring me to Raghu. XIV, 61, where occurs the forceful expression *madvacanāt*.

2 With *Tīvala-mātu* cf. Pāli *Rāhula-mātā*, the familiar name of Yasodharā, and *Jīvaputāye* in Yaśamatā's brick-tablet inscription (ed. J. Ph. Vogel, *JRAS*, 1921, which Barua also notices, *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, p. 160). It is interesting to note that teknonymy, or the practice of naming parents after their children, is very old and widespread also amongst primitive tribes. I am indebted to my colleague, Dr. Panchanan Mitra, for drawing my attention to its reference in Tylor's paper, *On a Method of Investigating the development of Institutions* (*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. xviii, p. 248) and in Lowie's *Primitive Society* (1921), p. 102.

The restoration infinitely improves the sense. In the first place, it gives us a better substitute for Hultzsch's *vinati*, the incongruity of which has been pointed out above. Next, it does away with the compulsion under which he was driven to render *ganīyati*, doubtfully though, into '(shall) (?) be registered'. Moreover, it substantiates the peremptory tone of the edict by means of a suitable word of injunction, like the one occurring in P. E. VII and the Sārnāth record, just referred to. Lastly, it further establishes by its mandatory connotation that our edict is not the queen's, but out and out the king's.

Thus it appears that the purpose of the address to the Mahāmātras was not, as understood by Hultzsch, to have the second queen's gifts 'registered (in the name) of that queen',—for these gifts are stated in the edict to have been already registered as such (*ganīyati*),—but to have them reckoned anew (*ganayātha*) by a fuller statement of the name of the donor-queen—a statement that would represent her not only as 'the second queen' as previously, but also as 'the mother of (prince) Tīvala, together with her personal designation 'Kāluvākī.' Such an alteration of epithet at the time of issuing the edict could only have been necessary if the second queen had already given birth to a child and thereby attained to the much coveted glory of motherhood. The very pith and substance of womanhood lay, in those ancient times, in becoming a mother and being known preferably by the child's name when one was born (cf. the epithet *Rāhula-mātā*[1]), and especially as the mother of living children (cf. *Jīva-putāye rājabhariyāye Bṛhāsvātimitadhitu Yaśamatāye kāritaṃ*[1]); and the birth of a child certainly invested the mother with incomparable rank and renown, especially among womankind, even as it does to the present day. In India, even today, the gift from a woman, not blessed with a child, hardly commends itself to the acceptance of the donee. It seems that Aśoka could not miss the blissful occasion of sharing with his second queen the merit and pride of parenthood, so that the new position the queen had acquired was thought proper to be reflected in an appropriate change of the donor's title. Evidently, Aśoka sought to attach a special importance not only to her exalted rank as *his* queen, but also to the glory of her personal name which had become hallowed by the birth of Tīvala, and to her relation, as mother, to a prince who, too, was *his* son.

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1 See p. 461, n, 2.

The edict further shows that the gifts of the second queen were many. They must have been scattered, at least, over the jurisdiction of the Mahāmātras of Kosambī. If at all, as is quite possible, these donations were severally recorded (as we understand by *ganīyati*) and re-recorded (as we similarly understand by *ganayātha*), e.g., by suitable labels inscribed on enduring materials, it is not unthinkable that we may be fortunate enough some day to come across at least a few, if not all, of them. That gifts were given by the members of the royal household, both in Pāṭaliputra as well as in the cities outside, which the Dharma-mahāmātras were required to deliver, will be evident from R.E.v. (*Pāṭalipute ca bāhirasu ca* [*nagarasu*]—Girnar). The same R.E. further informs us that it was also the function of the Dharma-mahāmātras to be occupied with the donations from the family-establishments of the king's brothers, sisters and other relatives (*bhātīnaṃ me bhaginīnaṃ va aṃnesu vā nātisu*—Dhauli). Again, in P. E. VII the king has specifically mentioned, among others of his family, himself, his queens in the different royal households, and the princes of the royal blood as the persons whose grants the Dharma-mahāmātras were required to deal with, both in the capital and outside it (*hida ceva disāsu ca*). Further, P. E. VII makes it clear that there were queens more than one, and the 'Queen's Donation' Edict at any rate proves by the expression *dutīyāye deviye* that queens there were at least two, if not more. Now, if all these various donations of the king, the queens, the princes and princesses were, as we have suggested, severally recorded by appropriate inscriptions, it is not at all difficult to understand how large the number of such donations and inscriptions would be. But the fact remains that these votive records have yet to be discovered.

SAILENDRANATH MITRA

Studies in the Kauṭilīya

I

The Methods of Self-Defence in the Kauṭilīya (for an invaded weak king)

When a Yātavya[1] is being attacked by another king assisted by one or more allies (sāmavāyika), he should try to extricate himself from the difficulty by persuading one or more allies of the invader to join the Yātavya after seceding from the alliance and thus ceasing to help the Yātavya's enemy. The means by which this is likely to be effected is by offering to one or more of the allies of the invader twice the amount of consideration which has been promised to them by the invader. At the same time, it should be made clear to the parties that if they secede from the alliance, they will not have to suffer the troubles of sojourn, losses and expenditure, and incur the sin involved in the operations connected with the war. Further, it should be explained to them that the alliance is only benefiting the other party and causing them discomfort.

The means left to the Yātavya for his rescue.

Another alternative left to the Yātavya is to cause dissension among the parties to the alliance made against himself.

The measures suggested in the preceding paragraphs for adoption by a weak king when attacked contemplate combinations of kings on one or both the sides of the conflicting parties. The measures are directed principally to create a breach in the camps of the

1 From an examination of the passages in *K.*, VI, ch. 1, p. 259; ch. 2, p. 258 and VII, ch. 5, pp. 275f., a Yātavya appears to be a sovereign whose resources have become so much handicapped that he cannot himself recover his normal strength within a short time. The term implies that with reference to another king, the sovereign mentioned above has incurred the former's displeasure somehow or other, but happens to be very weak at the time. This Yātavya may, of course, be helped by a king whose condition is not so hopeless as that of a Yātavya. Either for this reason or because his feeling of enmity is greater, he maintains a stiffer attitude towards the invading king even if he be afflicted with calamities.

opponents or to draw away the allies by offers of wealth and other inducements. Next comes the case of a powerful king who is supposed to be attacking a weak king without entering into combination with any ally for the purpose of the attack. The steps to be taken by the weak king have been delineated in the Kauṭilīya, with a special reference to the circumstances in which he can take his position in a fort for opposing the force of the invasion. As the enemy is without any allies, the course of action suggested previously for adoption by the weak king for bringing about a disunion among them, winning over one or more of the allies to his side, or neutralizing one or more of them by various means has been left out of account. The steps that are suggested in this connection[1] for adoption by the weak king comprise

(i) Combination with one or more allies,

(ii) Fighting by making a fort the principal centre of his operations,

(iii) Suing for a treaty of peace, which may or may not be accepted. In the former case, the weak king may be reduced to the position of a daṇḍopanata. In the latter, the weak king should either come out of the fort and enter into a face to face war with the enemy, or escape from the fort.

Re. (i). This line of action may consist in

(*a*) Taking to saṃśraya with a king more powerful than the invader in military strength and mantra-śakti[2] (strength of wisdom). If there be two or more kings of equal military strength and mantra-śakti, then the one who possesses faithful or experienced counsellors should be preferred.

Should a king superior to the invading power be not available, the assistance of two or more kings equal to the latter in strength, or at least in regard to the size of the army should be utilized. From among two or more kings equal to one another in mantra-śakti and prabhu-śakti, the one who has the capacity to make preparations for war on a larger scale is to be preferred.

If no king equal to the invader be available for help, an effort

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1 See *K.*, VII, ch. 15.

2 *Mantra-śakti* means *janabalam.* Cf. *K.*, VI, ch. 2, p. 261, and IX, ch. 1, p. 340.

should be made for a combination with those who though inferior to the invader in strength are his opponents and are sincere and possessed of utsāha-śakti (energy). This combination should be continued till the invaded king can overreach the invader by the application of the combined strength of mantra-, prabhu-, and utsāha-śakti. Should two or more kings of equal utsāha-śakti be there to choose from, the one whose territory can provide lands that can constitute suitable battle-fields for the invaded king should be preferred. In case there be two or more kings whose States can provide battle-fields advantageous to the invaded king, the one whose State can be reached in a season suitable for a war should be resorted to.[1] If there be two or more kings having equally suitable lands that can be used as battle-fields in suitable seasons, the one who has draught animals, weapons, and armours in plenty should be taken as superior.

Re. (ii). In the absence of help from others, the weak king should take shelter in a fort, from which the powerful enemy cannot cut off supplies of food, grass, fuel and water, but which by its position will involve him in great loss and expense in his attempt to bring it down.

In comparing between two or more forts of similar advantages, the one, from which the supply of the necessaries of life can be maintained, and which affords a means of escape when necessary, is the best. The fort must of course be a *Manuṣya-durga*, i.e., provided with an adequate number of brave soldiers belonging to the four sections of the army.[2]

A fort may also be resorted to by a weak king if he finds that in any one of the following situations, he will have an advantage by fixing his station in the fort :—

He (1) can have the help of pārṣṇigrāha, āsāra (i.e., pārṣṇigrāhāsāra), madhyama, or udāsīna ;

(2) can have the help of a neighbouring king, a chief of a wild tribe, or, any member of the family of the enemy hostile to him[3] ;

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1 The months of Mārgaśīrṣa, Caitra and Jyaiṣṭha are the seasons suitable for war.—*K.*, IX, 1.

2 The speciality of a manuṣya-durga lies in the numerical strength of the qualified soldiers contained in it.

3 तत्कुलीनविरुद्धानां in the text has, I think, been converted into तत्कुलीनावरुद्धानां by a slip of the copyist's pen. With the latter

(3) can create disaffection among the enemy's people in his kingdom, fort, or camp ;

(4) can kill those who come near through secret agents using weapons, fire and poison, (mentioned in *K.*, Book. XII : Ābalīyasam) or, through the secret means mentioned in Book XIV : Aupaniṣadikam of the Kauṭilīya ;

(5) can cause the enemy loss of men and money through spies resorting to means other than those mentioned in (4).

(6) Can gradually cause through spies disaffection among allies or soldiers when they are worried by sojourn and losses of men and money ;

(7) can cut off the enemy's supply of the necessaries of life and help, and thus subject the people in the camp to privations ;

(8) can create a vulnerable point in the arrangements made by the enemy for the war by first sending some soldiers to his camp and then attacking him with all the forces ;

(9) can conclude a treaty of peace with the enemy on satisfactory terms by chilling his courage ;

(10) can rouse up the surrounding kings against the enemy for making the attack ;

(11) can attack the capital of the enemy's kingdom with the help of the allies and the wild tribes at a time when it is not likely to receive any help from outside ;

(12) can effect the acquisition and preservation of wealth within his own large kingdom from within the fort ;

(13) can bring together his own scattered forces and those of his allies by stationing himself in the fort, and can make them unconquerable by the enemy by this union ;

(14) can enable his soldiers expert in fighting on low grounds or trenches, or during night to shake off their fatigue by taking shelter in the fort and then commence the fight at the required time ;

(15) can inflict loss of men and money on the enemy without any effort on his own part by reason of the former having to come

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reading, the meaning would be 'a member of the family of the enemy confined in a prison.' To be able to render help to the weak king, he ought to be at large and hence we have to assume that he was imprisoned at some time in the past and was continuing hostile to the enemy ; or, we may assume that he is 'interned' in a particular place in the kingdom.

near the fort at an unfavourable time and occupy an unfavourable position ;

(16) can continue in a position of vantage by taking his station in the fort as it can be approached by the enemy only after much loss of men and money, the surrounding region being difficult to negotiate on account of the existence of several forts and forests affording means of escape, or, the surrounding region being unhealthy may cause diseases among the soldiers of the enemy, who will also be handicapped by being unable to get proper grounds for the exercise of his troops, and if by some means he enters into the place, he is not likely to come out safely.

If by reason of his occupation of a fort the invaded king does not get any of the advantages mentioned above and if the forces of the enemy be very powerful then he should, according to the Ācāryas, escape from the fort or rush into a war with the enemy. As a flame, into which a moth rushes, may be exitinguished by chance, so success may be achieved by the desperate king as a chance result of his daring. Kauṭilya differs from the Ācāryas only in regard to this point that the escape from the fort or entrance into the war should be preceded by an offer of a treaty of peace which if rejected should be followed by either of the steps mentioned by the Ācāryas. If neither of these two courses succeeds, he has to surrender everything to the enemy and accept the position of the daṇḍopanata (self-submitter).[1]

II

Considerations about an Attack upon a Yātavya

If a defeated weak king, who has entered into a treaty of peace with a powerful enemy, disregards the terms of the treaty relating to the payment of wealth, the aim of the powerful enemy would be to reduce him to the position of a Daṇḍopanata. He will try to march against the recalcitrant king, over lands favourable for march or fight, at a time suitable for the soldier's activities, and in a part of the country where the enemy has no fort or means of escape. The powerful king should also take precaution that at the time of the

1 For details about the relation of a daṇḍopanata to the daṇḍopanāyin, *see I. S.*, pp. 62-64 and 66-68.

march or the fight, no rear enemy is likely to invade his territorty from the rear, and that his enemy does not receive assistance from an ally. But as all these opportunities may not be available simultaneously, the invader should adopt the necessary measures calculated to make his position secure inspite of the absence of one or more of these opportunities. These remedies consist principally in the application of one or more of the means called *sāma, dāna, bheda*, and *daṇḍa* to the strong or weak opponents in the first and second zones around the kingdom of the invader. *Sāma* may be put into effect in his dealings with a weak king through the protection of the latter's cattle in villages and forests, the prevention of obstructions in the free use of his land-routes and waterways, and the capture of seditious or unfaithful officers and other persons who have absconded after causing him harms. *Dāna* (gift) may include lands, girls (in marriage), and abhaya (assurance of safety) in danger. *Bheda* may consist in inciting a neighbouring king, a wild tribe, a kinsman of the enemy, or a prince interned by the enemy to demand wealth, army, land, or family properties from him. *Daṇḍa* signifies capturing the enemy through prakāśayuddha, kūṭayayuddha, tūṣṇīṃyuddha, or by adopting the measures mentioned in the *Kauṭilīya* in connection with the methods of storming a fort.

Which of the two enemies, one a Yātavya and another an Amitra should be first attacked ?

Just as before making a yāna, the drawing of powers to one's side for material consideration is a problem, so it is also at the same time a problem as to which of the two kings, one a yātavya and another an amitra (i.e., usually a king whose kingdom is in the zone next to the dominion of the king, of whom we are speaking) should be first attacked, should they form the objects of attack simultaneously. The solution of this problem facilitates the task of the invader a good deal. The Kauṭilīya has dealt with the subject in detail, which may be conveniently put in a tabular form. The reasons why a particular time of action is preferred to another are also stated.

Who should be first attacked?		Answer
(1) A Yātavya	or an Amitra	The Amitra first, because when he is invaded, the Yātavya may help the invading king. The Amitra will not help him if the Yātavya be attacked first.
The one is as much afflicted with calamities as the other.		
(2) A Yātavya in calamities much less than the Amitra ;	or an Amitra in great calamities.	The Yātavya first, according to a school of opinion, but according to Kauṭilya, the Amitra first, because his troubles will be increased still by an attack. No doubt, the troubles of the Yātavya will also increase by an invasion but the Amitra may, if left to himself, regain his normal strength and unite with the Yātavya, or attack from the rear the king about to commence the invasion.
(3) A Yātavya just in his dealings but in great calamities, the subjects being loyal because the king is just.	A Yātavya unjust in his dealings and in light calamities, the subjects being disloyal because the king is unjust.	The unjust Yātavya in light calamities should be first attacked, because his dissatisfied subjects will not help him. The milder section among them will be indifferent but the extreme section may go so far as to turn him away.
(4) A Yātavya whose subjects have grown greedy through improverishment.	A Yātavya whose subjects are oppressed.	The former (in col. 1) should be first attacked according to one school of opinion, because his subjects can be easily won ever or kept in check, while the oppressed subjects of of the latter can be conciliated by their king by the punishment of the chief officials. Kauṭilya advises the invasion of the latter, because the subjects of the former though poor and greedy are still loyal and would stand by their king in times of invasion of the kingdom.
(5) A Yātavya comparatively stronger but unjust.	A Yātavya comparatively weaker but unjust.	The former (in col. 1) should be attacked first, because his subjects will not help him.

It is evident from the statements[1] in the appended Table that the discontent and disaffection of the subjects in a kingdom were recognized as a factor that exposed it to invasions, because the alienation of active sympathy of the citizens from their king was a cause for great weakness in the body politic. The Kauṭilīya lays a great emphasis on the need for the application of the causes that bring about this state of affairs. The two main causes that should be specially guarded against are the acute economic stringency, and the oppression of the people. Some other causes that operate to alienate the people from the sovereign are also mentioned. The list is of interest not merely from the historical standpoint but also as containing advice and warning, the widsom of which has not diminished by the lapse of centuries. These are disregarding the good and favouring the wicked; unrighteous and unprecedented slaughter of animals; prohibition of salutary customs; doing improper and unrighteous acts, and neglecting to do the proper and righteous ones; non-payment of grants and dues to the people and exaction of illegal impositions; inflicting punishments more severe than what is deserved, and not punishing the culprits; recruiting the incompetent for appointment and rejecting the competent; doing works detrimental to the interests of the kingdom and ruining those that are beneficial; not protecting the people against thieves and depriving them of their possessions; not doing works requiring enterprise and chilling the enterprise of others; injuring the leaders of the people and insulting the worthy; oppressing the elders and incurring their displeasure by impropriety and untruthfulness; not rewarding the services rendered to him and not observing the established usages; and carelessness and indolence in regard to the acquisition and preservation of wealth.[2]

Causes that alienate the sympathy of the people from the sovereign and make him ill able to resist attacks.

III

CONSIDERATIONS ABOUT HELPING OTHER KINGS

In inter-state dealings, the rendering of help to a king does not always mean loss of men and money to the helper. It has also

1 *K.*, VII, ch. 5, pp, 274-276.

2 *K.*, VII, ch. 5, p. 276.

another aspect, viz, that the helping king can become also a gainer in the long run by having as his ally a king who may more than compensate him for the expenditure and losses incurred. The considerations for which help should be extended with a view to have the ultimate gain are :

Ultimate gain inspite of losses in a prudential selection of the party to be helped.

(*a*) that the ally is śakyārambhin i. e., engaged in an operation, the completion of which is well within the limits of his ability ;

(*b*) that he is Kalyārambhin (i. e. whose undertaking is not fraught with danger in a special degree) ;

(*c*) that he is Bhavyārambhin (engaged in an undertaking which is sure to yield a good result) ;

(*d*) that he is Sthirakarman (steady in the pursuit of his aim i. e. will not give up a work until it is completed) ;

(*e*) that he is Anuraktaprakṛti i. e. he has his officials and subjects devoted to him. This implies that the helper will not be put to much loss of men and money in rendering the assistance.

Kings of these descriptions are likely to be successful in the operations for which the assistance is given and are expected to compensate the helper by giving him men and money in the latter's need.

Other considerations that may come in connection with this subject are:

A. (i) Of the two kings each helping one other king, the one who helps a natural friend gains more than the one who helps a natural enemy (now an ally by virtue of the alliance). The reason is that the natural enemy rarely continues the friendship brought about by the alliance, after the need for help ceases. Hence the losses of the helper are not compensated.

(ii) Of the two kings, each helping one other king, friendly to them, the one who happens to render assistance to the king friendly to him in a special degree (mitratara), becomes a gainer.

B. (i) Of the two kings each helping a madhyama[1] (medium).

(ii) Of the two kings, each helping a madhyama, friendly to him, the one who happens to help a madhyama, friendly to him in a special degree, becomes a greater gainer than the other.

C. Similarly there may be two cases in regard to the help

1 For the meanings of madhyama and udāsīna, see *I. S.*, pt, 1, pp. 11 ff. ; *K.*, VI, ch. 2, p. 261.

extended to the udāsīna (superpower) in the maṇḍala of each helping king. The one who helps a friendly, or a specially-friendly udāsīna becomes a greater gainer.[1]

If both the madhyamas helped by the two kings turn false to their respective helpers, the king who had helped the inimical madhyama (temporarily in alliance with him), becomes a gainer.

The two helpers now face to face with their madhyamas turning false enter into alliance with each other in their common interest. But the one who loses the alliance with his inimical madhyamas loses less than the other who is bereft of his friendly madhyama.

Just as there may be a greater gain or a greater loss on the part of one king as compared with that of another in regard to the help rendered by each to either of two other kings selected by him, similarly there may be a greater gain or a greater loss to the side of one king in comparison with that of another in respect of the manner in which the help is rendered. As for instance, a king may have to suffer loss if in extending his help to a medium (madhyama) or a superpower, (udāsīna) he sends brave, hardy, and loyal troops well equipped with weapons instead of those of an inferior sort. The king who does not do so may stand on a better footing so far as loss is concerned. Where, of course, troop of an inferior efficiency can be of no avail in achieving the purpose for which they are sent, then he can lend out those belonging to any one of these classes viz., maula (hereditary), bhṛta (salaried) śreṇī (recruited from military clans), mitra (ally), aṭavī (recruited from wild tribes). Should there be reason for the suspicion that the army sent out to help either the madhyama or the udāsīna will not be received back, or will be stationed on lands belonging to an inimical king or inhabited by wild tribes, or unfit habitation, or will be made to take the field during unfavourable seasons, or will not be allowed to appropriate to themselves their share in the booty, then he should avoid lending the army on some pretext or other. When no such pretext can achieve his object, he should lend an army inured to the kind of hardships to which it will be subjected and allow it to stay outside his dominion and fight up to the end of the operations for which it is taken. He will however remain watchful against any calamity befalling the army, and bring it back as soon as the need for its stay outside comes to an end. One other alternative is left to him viz., not to send any help, and strengthen

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1 *K.*, VII, ch. 2.

his position of entering into an alliance with the Yātavya of the king seeking such help.

Four cases are mentioned by way of illustration for guiding the kings who are approached by the Yātavya for help against a strong enemy :

When a Yātavya is about to be invaded by a king, the considerations that should guide a third king approached for help.

(1) If the third king be diffident about the receipt of his remuneration from another king, who is invading a Yātavya and wants to break away from the alliance into which he had entered under the pressure of a need for money, and if he wishes to help the Yātavya expecting to have a large consideration from him in future, he can do so for a small one for the present expecting to cause loss of men and money to the invader of the Yātavya, to obstruct the march of his army towards the Yātavya, or to attack him within the kingdom during a march.

(2) When the third king finds that by joining the particular side he will be rendering a service to a friend and causing harm to an enemy or will be securing help from one who had helped him in the past, he should agree to render help for a lesser gain, rejecting an offer of a larger consideration.

(3) Should a king be attacked by an enemy working in collusion with the former's traitorous subjects, or by a very powerful king threatening the ruin of the former's kingdom, then a neighbouring king can help him without any stipulation for remuneration, present or future, if he has in view that he may be similarly helped in future by the king now in distress, or if he has the hope of establishing a matrimonial connection with the latter's family.

(4) If a king who has entered into an alliance with another king (marching against a Yātavya) wants to recede from the alliance, either to help the Yātavya, or to refrain from increasing the strength of the other king who may attack him after the operations are ended successfully, he can demand an immediate payment of his dues, or can demand a larger sum as his remuneration, which will serve to put a financial pressure upon the subjects (prakṛtikarṣaṇa), or incite other parties to alliances with the king to rescind their agreements following the example.

NARENDRA NATH LAW

The Economic Conditions of Bengal during the Years 1793-1858

The most revolutionary change brought about in the economic system of Bengal and India during the Nineteenth Century was the new attitude towards the ownership of the soil. This new attitude was due to certain economic theories which were sharply in conflict with those of the Muhammadan and early British period.

In the *Permanent Settlement* of 1793, the new rulers of the country for the first time committed themselves to a definite understanding and agreement as regards the economic conditions and institutions of the country. This famous settlement, a real land-mark in Indian history, introduced factors, subtle but sure, which were to change the economic structure of large portions of India, changes which in due time made *land a marketable article.*

There had been sales of land also in the 18th century, even if the actual terms of buying and selling had been avoided in the documents of conveyance, but it remained for the 19th century to include land in the list of things that can be bought and sold in the open market. This makes a clear brake with all previous Indian conditions.

In earlier times, before the coming of the Muhammadans, the land had often been communal property, or at least property belonging to clans, families and other consanguine groups. Later on the Muhammadan rulers had claimed to be the owners of all the land in the realm, *de jure* or *de facto.*

In addition to what I have said in my two former papers, on the Muhammadan theories and their practice in land-holding, I should like to subjoin what Bernier, the great French traveller of the 18th century, had to say on that subject :—

"Those three states of Turkey, Persia and Indostan, for as much as they have, all three, taken away the *meum* and *tuum* as to land and propriety of possessions, cannot but very near resemble one another ; they have the same defect, they must at last, sooner or later, needs fall into the same inconvenience which is the necessary consequence of it, namely tyranny, ruin and desolation. Far be

it therefore, that our monarchs of Europe should thus be proprietors of all the lands which their subjects possess".[1]

Now land in Muhammadan times was, strictly speaking, not transferable any more than in Hindu times, with this exception, that the crown, or the state, for non-payment of land-tax, could take away land from defaulters, and grant it or lease it out to other middlemen, Zemindars, farmers and other tax collectors. But as far as these middlemen or the tenents were concerned land was not transferable property any more than in Hindu times. Just as a new Zemindar succeeding his deceased father needed a special *sanad* to establish him in the rights and privileges that his father had enjoyed, so probably also the tenancy of every new generation of tenants was hedged in sufficiently with restrictions to remind all concerned that the land was not their property. Land always, actually or nominally, reverted back, in the final analysis, to the state, and the state only could effect or sanction any transfer of land.

The sale of land in ancient India would have seemed as strange and impossible as the sale of air, or the sale of the water of the rivers.

By the time of British rule in Bengal we discover the first sales of Zemindari rights, the family of the Birbhum Rājāhs, selling several of their *parganas* to the Bose Family of Sutanuti in Calcutta, This transaction took place in 1796 A.D., involving a purchase price of Rupees 120,000 (Mitra's *Types of Early Bengali Prose*).

Since that time lands have changed hands in Bengal freely and frequently. Land holding has become a profession, a business like every other business. What is actually sold, legally and technically, are still only certain rights pertaining to the holding, sub-letting and leasing of that land, yet, *ipso facto* land has become a personal property. Like every other possession, it is transferable, no matter by how many safeguards the transaction may be hedged in, or hidden; it is a real and actual sale. That is to say, the economic life of India in this matter has been going through a process of complete transformation during the British period, and the end is not yet.

Of course, the old is still with us in the form of joint family properties; there is perhaps little property that is not held in some joint family ownership relation. But private ownership once recognised by law,

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1 Bernier's Travels, Bangabāsi Reprint, p. 213, 1904.

the whole tendency during the 19th century has been towards that goal, and away from the restrictions of the older theories of property holding.

One important and disturbing factor in this devolution of property rights in the soil is the large and still growing number of really unproductive middlemen, *patnidars* of various degrees, that stand between the really large land owners and the tenants, living off the system and off the land, without making valuable contributions to the common stock of wealth in the economic system of the country.

Sir George Campbell says :—

"At the Permanent Settlement Government by abdicating its position as exclusive possessor of the soil, and contenting itself with a permanent rent-charge on the land, escaped thenceforward all the labour and risk attendant upon detailed mofussil management. The Zemindars of Bengal proper were not slow to follow the example set before them, and immediately began to dispose of their Zemindaries, in a similiar manner. Permanent under-tenures, known as *putnee* tenures, were created in large numbers,and extensive tracts were leased out on long terms. By the year 1819, permanent alienations of the kind described had been so extensively effected, that they were formally legalized by Regulation VIII of that year, and means afforded to the Zemindar of recovering arrears of rents from the *patnidars* almost identical with those by which the demands of Government were enforced against himself. The practice of granting such under-tenures has steadily continued, until at the present day with the *putnee* and subordinate tenures in Bengal proper and the farming system of Behar, but a small proportion of the whole permanently settled area remains in the direct possession of the Zemindars."[1]

Relation of Land-rent to Government Revenue

The Permanent Settlement provided 1/10 of the gross amounts of land-rent collected to go to the Zemindar as his share, while 9/10 of it was to go to the Government. (In the Statutory Commission Report, 1/11 and 10/11 are given as the respective shares).

The assessment fixed on the land was declared to be unalterable for ever, and the government specifically undertook not to make any

1 Quoted by Phillips, *Land Tenures of Lower Bengal*, Calcutta, 1876 pp. 366-7.

demand on Zemindars, or their heirs or successors "for augmentation of the public assessment in consequence of the improvement of their estates."

This brings us face to face with a rather interesting question namely the relation of originally *tithes* of the produce of the land on one hand, and a regularly fixed and settled *land-rent* on the other.

Since Muhammadan times, and earlier, there had been two ways in which government, could raise their revenue, either *in kind* as their share of the yearly produce of the land, or as a fixed amount of annual ground-rent, or land-rent, in *money*, regardless of crops. The Muhammadans distinguished these two totally different kinds of revenue by these terms :

mūkasumah Kirāj, or the share of the produce of the land and *wuzeefa* Khirāj, or regular land-rent.

"The obligation to pay the (latter) class of *Khirāj* was considered a personal liability on account of a definite portion of land, depending on its actual capability, and not on its actual produce.

"It was consequently the *wuzeega* Khirāj, which was imposed on conquered unbelievers." (p. 45, Arthur Phillips, *Land Tenures of Lower Bengal*).

Now what was the actual share which the state could or did receive of the produce of the land ? In Hindu times it must have been much smaller than in Muhammadan times, when the State sometimes claimed as high as three-fifths of the income of the land (Phillips, p. 221). The question, of course, does not touch the portions of India settled by the Permanent Settlement, except as to the theory which was underlying the settlements which were made in Muhammadan, and early British, times.

Romesh Ch. Dutt states as follows :—

"In Bengal the Land Tax was fixed at over 90 per cent. of the rental (?)—and in North India at over 80 per cent. of the rental, between 1793 and 1822. It is true that the British Government only followed the precedent of the previous Mohammadan rulers, who also claimed an enormous Land Tax. But the difference was this, that what the Mohammadan rulers claimed they could never fully realize ; what the British rulers claimed they realized with rigour. The last Mohammadan ruler of Bengal, in the last year of his administration (1764), realized a land revenue of £817,553 ; within thirty

years the British rulers realized a land revenue of £2,680,000 in the same province."[1]

I have not been able to verify the two figures given in this statement; from another source, however, the "*Musnud of Murshidabad*," I got the ***assessment*** of Mir Kasim, the last ruler of Bengal, for the year 1763, amounting, with abwabs (imposts) to Rs. 25,624,223.

Another set of figures, taken from Ramesh Ch. Dutt's book, (p. 85) gives the following amounts of land revenue, *actually collected.* (He quotes from Shore):

1762-63	...	Rs. 6,456,198
1763-64	...	„ 7,618,407
1764-65	...	„ 8,175,553
1765-66	...	„ 14,704,875

It will be seen that there is a wide divergency between the amounts assessed and the sums actually realized. That even the Permanent Settlement did not always insure a ***permanent revenue*** approximately equal every year, is shown by the following facts.

In a list given by Romesh Ch. Dutt, of the years 1793-1837, the land revenue realized in Bengal, varies from some 30 Million Rupees in 1813-14, to over Rupees 70 Million in 1814-15. It then keeps on a high level till 1832-3, after which it drops down again in 1834-35 to a little over 30 Millions.

In figures published in 1854 by M. Wylie, a judge of the Calcutta Court of Small Causes, we find the figure of Rs. 37,596,998 as the total revenue of Bengal Presidency as it stood then, comprising Bihar, Orissa and Assam (also included in the previous figures).

Deducting the outlying districts, which form separate provinces now, we get for Bengal people, as it is today, a total of Rs. 22,424,876 for that year. Compare with this the Rs. 32,700,000 of land-rent raised from the same area in 1928-9 according to the Bengal budget published in the Report of the Statutory Commissioner. (In all these figures the changing value of the rupee must be taken into account, of course).

In 1833 another important change took place in the history of British India. The trading business of the Company was abolished, and from now till the end of its history in 1858, the East India Company was a pure landholding stock company, but with practically

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1 *Economic History of British India*, Preface, p. ix, London 1902.

sovereign power, controling the whole sub-continent of India, the former great empire of the Mughals. Speaking of this latter event, the total abolition of the East India Company in 1858, Dutt says (Preface p. xiii):

"Their capital was paid off by loans, which were made into an Indian debt, on which interest is paid from Indian taxes. The empire was transferred from the Company to the Crown, but the people of India paid the purchase-money. The Indian Debt, which was £51,000,000 in 1857, rose to £97,000,000 in 1862. Within the forty years of peace which have succeeded, the Indian Debt has increased continuously, and now (1901) amounts to £200,000,000. 'The Home Charges' remitted out of Indian revenues to Great Britain have increased to sixteen millions."

In a subsequent paper I hope to deal with the industrial and commercial aspects of this period—aspects which were of the utmost significance in the economic life of the country. The year 1833, when the East India Company abolished its own trading system, is the turning point of that development.

G. L. SCHANZLIN

The Frontier Problem of the Mughals

The frontier problem of the Indian Mughals was no less complicated than that of the British. In fact the Mughals were more vitally concerned with the people and provinces of North-Western frontier, and to them, in a much greater degree, the frontier problem was the pivot of their political existence. Their home was beyond the frontier, and their ambition fondly cherished an empire in which the transfrontier provinces, once their ancestral dominions, should form a part. That was not all. The conquest of Hindustan had been achieved from a transfrontier kingdom, and throughout the existence of their empire they recruited their soldiers from those regions. Thus the love of motherland, the pride of possessing ancestral dominions, and the military needs of the empire had combined to make the frontier problem extremely consequential for the Mughals. As new tribes rose to power and endangered these interests, the Mughal empire grew nerveless and decayed. The satisfactory solution of the frontier problem in a way controlled the existence or extinction of the Mughal sway in Northern India, and hence it demands much more attention at the hands of the historian, trying to explain the downfall of the Mughal empire, than it has hitherto received.

The causes that were responsible for the flight of Bābar from his ancestral dominions, for his unsuccessful attempts at their recovery, and for the foundation of the Mughal empire in India were also the deciding factors in the frontier policy of the Mughals. The steady rise of the Uzbegs under Shāibāṇi Khān, and their gradual conquest of the whole Timurid kingdom compelled Bābar to run away to Kābul, and to endeavour from there, to recover his lost dominions with the help of the Persians. Since he failed in his attempts and his powerful allies, the Persians, occupied Khorasan and Bokhara he had to remain content with the poor principality of Kābul, and when opportunity arrived, turned eastward to India for fresh conquests. Thus the neighbourhood of two powerful nations, the Persians and the Uzbegs set Bābar's foot on the road to India; for, Bābar's relations with the former were none too friendly and the latter were his hereditary enemies. Kābul, hemmed in between the dominions of these two hostile nations, would have fallen an easy prey

to either, had it not been for the fact that they were themselves mortal enemies of each other. In their mutual enmity they overlooked Bābar, who thus had a quiet time for himself to consolidate his kingdom, and to prepare for the conquest of Hindustan. Bābar handed down to his successors his transfrontier possessions, and therefore, ruling from India, they had to face the very same problems and had to come into conflict with the very same peoples—the Persians and the Uzbegs. The diplomatic relations subsisting between the Indian Mughals, and the Uzbegs and Persians, form the foundation of the Mughal frontier problem. The course, these relations took, depended, upon the comparative strength of the parties, and varied from time to time. Under Bābar's successors, from Ākbar to Shāhjāhān, the Persians were evenly matched, and the Uzbegs, overpowered ; while before Ākbar, both the Persians and the Uzbegs were overpowering. Hence the policy of the Mughals before Ākbar was one of respectful but defensive vigilance towards the Persians and Uzbegs ; while, after Ākbar it assumed a pronounced form of aggression.

The nature of the problem was also determined by the geographical situations of these nations. The physical configuration of Central Asia necessitates the mastery of Badakshan, Balkh and Kandahar for the ruler of Kābul. Otherwise there is no scientific frontier and Kābul is exposed. In the north Kabul is bounded by the lofty walls of the Hindukush penetrated by several passes, the most famous of them being the Hindukush. "This has indeed been a veritable gateway of nations. This way came Alexander with his Greek following, and it would take a chapter to record the successive tides of human migration (Scythian and Mughal) which have swept through those frozen gateways to the north of Kābul"[1] To guard this gateway of the north, Balkh and Badakshan, situated between the mountain and the Oxus river flowing westwards, should be strongly held, and to hold these two provinces the line of the Oxus must be secured. In the south Kābul is equally exposed. The magnificent heights of the Hindukush as they run in a southwesterly direction sink into lower altitudes, and "the western borders of the country maintain a general average of about 3000 ft. from Herat to Kandahar"[2] From Kandahar to Herat, the country is also traversed

1 *Imperial Gazetteer*, vol. I, p. 19.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 11.

by a number of rivers like the Helmand, the Harirud and the Khasurd, which make it fruitful. South-east of Kandahar is the desert, but north of it, as far as Ghazni and Kābul, the country is fertile, full of irrigated fields and green pastures. Once Kandahar is taken, Kābul is in a precarious position, for the distance between Herat and Kandahar is only 360 miles and takes ten days for the cavalry to cover it. "Herat was but the gateway to Kandahar and Kābul in the days when Kābul was India."[1] Hence the two river lines, the Oxus in the north, and the Helmand in the south, were of supreme importance to the Indian Mughals, and so long as the Uzbegs were established on the former, and the Persians on the latter, they could not rest in peace at all.

But this was only a part of the problem. Behind this outer frontier there was another the inner frontier, and the Mughals were equally concerned to hold it in strength. It lay between Kābul and the Punjab formed by a rugged stretch of mountainous country from Baluchistan to Kashmere. This is inhabited by wild uncivilized tribes and through it run the chief passes to Afghanistan—the Gomal, the Tochi, Kurram and the Khyber in succession from the south. To the north of the Khyber, there are the valleys of the Swat, Bajaur and Panjkora, affording facilities for human habitation. Still further north lies the Kashmere state, with its fascinating landscape and salubrious climate. The communication between the two parts of the Mughal empire—Kābul aud Hindustan—was maintained through the passes, and their security was of as great a consequence to the internal peace of the empire, as that of the outer frontier, for the perfect mastery of the inner frontier meant the security of Kābul and sure supply of recruits for the army of the Indian Mughals.

Hence the Mughals had to tackle three problems in order to maintain their frontier defence intact. The first was to establish themselves in Balkh and Badakshan to the prejudice of the Uzbegs; the second was to establish themselves in Kandahar to the prejudice of the Persians; and the third was to keep the tribes on the North-western border of India under control, so as to keep the line of communication between Kābul and Hindustan open at all times.

With the expulsion of Bābar from his ancestral dominions, and with his conquest of Kābul in 1504 began the frontier problem. Till he conquered Hindustan more than twenty years later, the line of

1 Holdich, *Gates of India*, p. 529.

Badakshan, Balkh, and Kandahar was of supreme importance. In 1505 Nasir Mirza took possession of Badakshan, only to be expelled by Shaibani Khan soon after. Shaibani not only conquered Badakshan, but Khorasan also. It was only after he was killed at the battle of Merv, that Shah Ismail occupied the latter province, and compelled, by his immense prestige, the Arghuns of Kandahar to recognize his suzerainty. If the death of Shaibani profited the Shah of Persia, it did Bābar no less. With the help of the Shah he recovered almost all his ancestral dominions. But his triumph was short-lived, and he was once again expelled from those dominions, which were the glory of his youth, the dream of his life, and the mission of all Indian Mughals.

This expulsion, however, did not mean the loss of all. During those memorable days, when for the last time he ruled from the capital of Taimur, he had bestowed upon his cousin Wais Mirza, the provinces of Badakshan along with Shadman and Khutlan[1], and these remained to the Mughals yet. Safe from the direction of Badakshan, which he acquired after the death of Wais Mirza in 1520 and fully aware of the futility of all attempts to recover Balkh, then under the Uzbegs, be turned his attention to Kandahar. In 1522, after much worry and vigilance he conquered it from the Arghuns, who retired into Sindh. Thus of the whole line one patch had slipped off his hands, and the rest remained under his control. But Bābar was not satisfied. Six years later, when he had become the emperor of Hindustan he attempted to recover Balkh from the Uzbegs and used Badakshan as his base. Humayun had been placed in charge of the campaigns. His sudden departure for Agra, to counteract the conspiracy hatched by Khalifa and Mahdi Khwaja, to exclude him from the throne, spoiled the projects of Bābar, and caused much annoyance to him. Bābar asked his experienced minister Khalifa to take the place of Humayun in Badakshan, but he objected to go. Humayun also showed his reluctance to return to his post, and therefore, in the last resort, he deputed Suleiman Mirza, the heir-apparent, to take possession of his father's kingdom. Bābar still considered that the retention of the province was of great importance for the recovery of his lost ancestral dominions[2]. But he did not live to realize his ambition, and he was laid in the grave before a year was out.

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1 *An Empire Builder of the 16th Century*, p. 104.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 173.

On Humayun fell the burden of maintaining the double line of defence—the inner and outer frontiers, besides a kingdom, whose stability was extremely precarious. He lost the empire of Hindustan by his own faults, and the most outstanding of them was his leniency towards his brothers. Out of that leniency he divided his dominions among his brothers, and Kamran received the whole of the trans-frontier possessions of Bābar. Hence so long as Humayun was ruling over Hindustan, as well as after his expulsion from India Kamran was concerned about the frontier defence. After 1540, he was required to maintain the outer frontier line alone. For five years more till 1545, he ruled Kabul, Kandahar and Badakshan, and successfully held his own against the Uzbegs and the Persians. He had deprived Suleiman Mirza of his hereditary principality of Badakshan, and had brought it under his direct control. When in 1544 Humayun came with Persian auxiliaries to wrest his kingdom from Kamran, he had made an agreement with the friendly Shah of Persia, that Kandahar, after its conquest, would be surrendered to him. Whether it was due to the offensive attitude of the Persians or to the strategic importance of Kandahar, whatever it be, Humayun took possession of it and broke faith with the friendly Shah. Shortly after, he recovered Kabul from Kamran, who fled away to Sindh. In the meanwhile Mirza Suleiman, who had been released by Kamran at the time of Humayun's invasion in order that he might be of some help to him, had estabilshed his independence and taking advantage of the unsettled condition of Humayun's affairs, had annexed the districts of Qunduz, Khost and Anderab. These were the dependencies of Kabul under Kamran, and when Humayun demanded them Suleiman would not part with them. In 1547 Humayun led an army into Badakshan, and defeated Suleiman Mirza, who fled from his country. Though for some time the districts were annexed, Badakshan and Qunduz were bestowed upon Hindal, Khost upon Munim Beg, and Talikan upon Bapus, yet, political expediency dictated the restoration of the country to Mirza Suleiman, who thenceforth remained a faithful ally of Humayun.

But if secure from the side of Badakshan, he was not so from the side of Balkh. It was under the Uzbegs, and they had given offence to him by helping Kamran against him in 1548. In the spring of 1549, therefore, he marched into Balkh, and commanded Suleiman, and Kamran, who had in the meanwhile submitted to Humayun, to join him with their forces. Suleiman did, and Kamran did not. In 1550

he "wandered about the country with bad intentions",[1] and because of these bad intentions Humayun achieved nothing. On the other hand he was severly wounded in a dastardly attack by Kamran, and thus ended the Balkh expedition never to be repeated till the time of Shāhjāhān.

Until Kamran was blinded and sent away to Mecca (1553), Humayun's position in Kabul was very unsafe. Hindal had been killed (1551) and Askari, taken prisoner, was also sent to Mecca, where he died in 1557. Kandahar and Badakshan did not give him any trouble. Suleiman remained loyal to Humayun, who sealed this goodwill by giving his daughter Bakshni Banu to Suleiman's son Ibrahim. Thus free from his brothers and all frontier troubles, he invaded Hindustan, and recovered it with comparative ease. On 23rd July 1555 he sat on the throne of Delhi for the second time, and before six months were over he died by a fall from his library (27th January 1556).

Humayun left for Akbar the legacy of a contested succession in a nascent state. His minority and insecurity gave rise to all sorts of trouble on the frontier. Kandahar fell into the hands of the Persians in 1558, and Prince Suleiman assumed airs of independence. The latter went so far as to invade Kabul, owing to extreme young age of Muhammad Hakim Mirza, who was only five at the time, and retired because his own kingdom was threatened by the Uzbegs on the north west. In 1561 Munim Khan the regent for Muhammad Hakim was called to the Court, and then began a really troublous time in Kabul. Munim Khan, had been succeeded by his son Ghani Khan, but the government was seized by Mahachuchak Begum, Hakim's mother with the help of three nobles, Shah Wali Afgan, Fazal Beg and Abul Fath Beg. When Akbar sent Munim Khan to set things right, he was defeated by the Begum. In the meanwhile she had put to death the three nobles, who had helped her in usurping power, and had taken one Haidar Kasim Kohbar, as her adviser whom she had intended to marry. At this juncture arrived the fugitive Abul Maali from India, wormed into her favour, married her daughter, and ultimately put her to death. Upon her lover also fell the same fate, and then Abul Maali seized power, and ruled like a tyrant over Kabul. Poor Muhammad Hakim fled away to the shelter of Prince Suleiman.

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1 Mrs. Beveridge, *Introduction to Humayun Nama*, p. 45.

who took up his cause, defeated and captured Abul Maali, and handed him over to Muhammad Hakim, who had him strangled to death in May 1564. This friendliness was cemented by the marriage of Prince Muhammad with the daughter of Prince Suleiman. On this occasion the ruler of Badakshan was given a part of Kabul in recognition of his services, but it offended the Kabulis, and there was an insurrection. In 1566 therefore, the Badakshan prince invaded Kabul with the intention of seizing his son-in-law, but failed. Shortly after died his (Suleiman's) wife, the spirited Haram Begum, and her death landed him into all sorts of troubles. He fell out with his grandson, and successor, Prince Shah Rukh, and was driven out of the kingdom. He wandered a good deal, seeking shelter first with the Uzbeg ruler of Balkh and then with the sovereign of Bokhara, Iskandar Khan, the father of Abdulla Khan Uzbeg.

But the unsettled condition of Badakshan, and the loss of Kandahar did not stand alone. Kabul went its own way, and actually became instrumental in jeopardising the safety of Akbar's empire in Hindustan. Instead of being a bulwork of Hindustan, her ruler tried to imitate Mahmud of Ghazni or Muhammad Ghori, in attacking Hindustan when Akbar was in a critical situation. Muhammad Hakim twice invaded the Punjab, once in 1567 when Akbar was exerting to crush the rebellion of the Uzbegs and the Mirzas, and again in 1581, when Akbar had, by his religious speculations, raised a whirlwind in Hindustan. Be it said to the credit of Akbar, that he repulsed his brother both the times and in 1581, actually marched into Kabul. Muhammad Hakim had fled away before him and had retired into the hills, leaving the capital to be occupied by Akbar. Though Akbar punished Muhammad Hakim by bestowing the kingdom on his sister, the wife of Khwaja Hasan, yet he realized quite well, how very dangerous it was to be deprived of the control of the frontier. For, a less capable monarch than Akbar would have collapsed in the crisis of 1581, and its dreadful nature was due to the attack of Muhammad Hakim, when the Muslims of Northern India were seething in discontent. Whatever was the result of the triumphant return of Akbar from Kabul, he became painfully aware of the fact that unless Kabul came under his control, his empire of Hindustan would be threatened from behind the frontier, the moment there was some commotion here.

Akbar's invasions of Kabul synchronised with a very dark period in Badakshan. Owing to the continuous strifes between Suleiman and

Shahrukh "the country was now in the most lamentable confusion, the soldiery was discontented, the rayats without justice, the garrisons dismantled, and the whole country desolate."[1] That was the opportunity of the Uzbegs. The days were long past when they were drifting along the current like atoms of sand. Now they were thoroughly organized under their powerful leader Abdulla Khan. Born in 1533, and the son of a petty chief Iskandar Khan, he had conquered Bokhara at twenty-four, and had proclaimed his father as the Khakan of the Uzbeg tribes at twenty-eight (1561). Then followed a series of victories, when Balkh, Samarkand, Taskand, Turkestan, Farghana and Audijan were conquered, and the glories of Shaibani again returned to the Uzbegs. In 1583 his father died, and he succeeded to Khakanship. He had watched with a keen interest the civil war between the grandfather and grandson in Badakshan, and hardly a year was out (1584) when he invaded the kingdom and "without a blow struck seized the country." Fleeing for life Prince Shahrukh met his grandfather on his way to Kabul, and the foes in prosperity became friends in adversity. They found a refuge first at Kabul, and then at the court Akbar.

The fall of Badakshan completed the loss of the whole line of the outer frontier and it was fraught with consequences for the Mughals. Kabul immediately, and Hindustan remotely, were exposed. For a moment therefore it brought about a harmony of interests between Akbar, and Muhammad Hakim. The latter applied for help to Akbar, in 1584; and Akbar promised "in the first place to despatch an embassy to Badakshan, manifestly hoping to set a bound to Abdullah's conquest by diplomacy, and if this should fail, to follow it by an army to Kabul fully equipped and with a sum of treasure under an able general."[2] Akbar in fact thought, he could for the time being treat Kabul, as a buffer state, and wanted to strengthen it, so that it may be used as an outwork for Hindustan. But before any definite steps could be taken in this direction came the news of Muhammad Hakim's death in July, 1585. This changed the attitude of Akbar, and the relative importance of Kabul. It could no more be treated as a buffer ; it had to be taken under direct control at once. "No question of formal annexation arose, because the territory ruled

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1 Von Noer, *Akbar*, vol. II, p. 124,
2 *Ibid.*, pp. 128-29.

by the Mirza, although in practice long administered as an independent state, had always been regarded in theory as dependency on the crown of India."[1] Akbar, therefore sent Man Singh with some troops so that he might maintain order till his arrival. Man Singh came not a moment too late, for "there was in Kabul a Turanian party amongst the nobles, which sought to subverse the ambitious designs by means of the young princes Kaiqubad and Afrasiab,"[2] at the instigation of Abdulla Khan, and Man Singh's arrival frustrated their move. A general amnesty was proclaimed and it created a favourable atmosphere for the Emperor's rule. Having thus pacified Kabul by politic clemency Akbar started northwards, and early in December, 1585 pitched his tents at Rawalpindi. There or in its neighbourhood he lived for full thirteen years, watching the affairs of the Uzbegs and of the Persians, and conquering the countries that formed the inner frontier of Hindustan. It is a glorious period in Akbar's career of conquest and empire-building. It reveals Akbar's insight into the importance of frontier defence, as also his consummate ability to plan extensive campaigns in one of the most difficult regions of the world, and to control each *minutae* thereof. It is doubtful whether there is any other epoch in his life when he showed in a more brilliant way that he had the head to plan and the hand to execute, that his originality of conception and boldness of design were on a par with his eye for strategy.

Hardly a week had passed, when Akbar's ideas took definite shape. The whole of the frontier line formed by Kashmere, the tribal territory and Baluchistan must be brought under his control—Kashmere because it was of great strategic importance for controlling all the hinterland between the last offshoots of the Himalayas and the Hindukush forming the south-eastern frontier of Badakshan;—the tribal territory because inhabited by the most fierce and fickle Yusufzai tribes, it lay between the Khyber Pass and the Hindukush, between Chitral on the north of Kabul and Kashmere, and on its control depended the security of the pass which was the line of communication between Kabul and Northern India;—and Baluchistan, because it controlled the strategic pass and its conquest was necessary either as a precaution against the Persian at Kandahar, or as a preliminary for the subjugation of Kandahar. At a time when Abdulla Khan Uzbeg held the un-

1 Smith, *Akbar*, pp. 230-31.
2 Von Noer, *Akbar*, vol. II, p. 130.

disputed sway over Central Asia, and threatened Kabul, it was certainly inexpedient to have the Yusufzais in open rebellion inspired by their religious zeal, and Yusuf Khan the Sultan of Kashmere in a sulky mood at the demand of the emperor to submit and pay homage in person. Hence from Rawalpindi Akbar moved to Attock and thence sent two expeditions into the Yusufzai country and Kashmere (1586). His motive in moving from Rawalpindi to Attock was to "occupy a position favourable for control of the operations against Kashmere and also against the Afghans of the Yusufzai and Mandar tribes'"[1] The expedition against the tribesmen was held by Zain Khan Kokaltash, against the Yusufzais of the Bajaur country, while other officers entered the Samah plateau, the home of the Mandar tribes. Zain Khan was reinforced later by Raja Bir Bal and Hakim Abul Fath, but the three commanders fell out, and could not decide upon a common plan of operation. While retreating in despair they were cut off by the tribesmen, and lost about half their army. Raja Bir Bal was killed on this occasion. Then Raja Todar Mall was commissioned to proceed against the tribesmen, and retrieved the lost prestige of the imperial arms. "Here and there he built forts and harried and plundered continually, so that he reduced the Afghans to great straits."[2] Man Singh subsequently won a great victory over their leader Jalal in the Khyber Pass. On the whole, the expeditions had a salutary effect on the disloyalty of the tribesmen, and they proved less troublesome, though they were never conquered. Jalal, their spiritual leader kept up the fight till 1600, when he captured Ghazni, but he was killed soon after.

As regards Kashmere Akbar had better success. Kasim Khan and Raja Bhagwan Das with some other officers, had been entrusted with the task of conquering that state. Their first contact with the Kashmiris ended in a treaty that was not approved by Akbar. Soon after the Sultan and his son surrendered, but being ill-treated the young prince Yakub Khan, the son of Sultan, made his escape from the imperial camp, and made warlike preparations in his state. Again Kasim Khan was sent at the head of an army, and entered Srinagar after overcoming the resistance of Yakub Khan. Kashmere was then definitely annexed, and formed a Sarkar of the Subah of Kabul (1587-88). Thus Akbar became comparatively free from anxiety by the year

1 Smith, *Akbar*, p. 233.

2 Elliot and Dawson, vol. V, p. 451.

1581, and the next year he started to visit Kabul and Kashmere, at this time Akbar must have felt immense satisfaction to think that Kabul and Kashmere could no more afford an opportunity for the ambition of the Uzbegs, and that they now, formed integral parts of the empire.

Thus far only half the frontier line had been secured. There remained Sind and Baluchistan. Akbar left Kabul in November, 1589, in order to take in hand the conquest of Sind, and deputed in 1590, Abdur Rahim, Khanikhana for the purpose. Ever since 1574 the island fortress of Bakhar, had remained under imperial control. Now the Khanikhana was appointed Subedar of Multan, and directed to annex the kingdom of Thattah then under Mirza Jani, the Tarkhan. The latter was defeated at two places, and surrendered in 1591. With his surrender, his kingdom was annexed. Four years later in February, 1595, the fort of Siwi, to the south-east of Quetta fell to the imperialists, led by Mir Masum, the soldier and the historian. The Parni Afghans, who stubbornly defended the fort, were defeated and after their defeat, "all Baluchistan, as far as the frontiers of the Kandahar province, and including Makran, the region near the coast, passed under the imperial sceptre."[1] Akbar had considered the conquest of Sind and Baluchistan as a necessary prelude to the recovery of Kandahar, or to an effectual warding off of any attack from there. Here he was more fortunate than his expectations, and without a blow struck he acquired Kandahar. In April, 1595, its Persian Governor Muzaffar Husian Mirza handed over the fortress to Akbar's officers, and thus one of the vital problems of the frontier defence was solved for Akbar.

The conquest of Kashmere, Sind, Baluchistan, the punishment of the tribesmen, and the surrender of Kandahar were great triumphs, and revealed the mighty strength of Akbar. By 1595 the inner frontier had been perfectly secured, as also the south-western part of outer frontier. These grand achievements highly impressed the contemporaries of Akbar, and specially Abdulla Khan. Now he could never entertain the idea of meddling in the affairs of Akbar's empire. He "must rather have felt relief that Akbar did not make a common cause against him with Shah Abbas."[2] But that was out of the question, so long as Kandahar remained under Akbar. Abdulla khan's apprehensions were rooted in his enmity with Shah Abbas to

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1 Smith, *Akbar*, p. 258.

2 Von Noer, *Akbar*, vol. II, p. 226.

whom he had lost Mashad, Merv, Herat and most of Trans-oxiana before his death.[1] Therefore he showed a good deal of concern to win the friendship of Akbar and actually proposed a matrimonial alliance between his son, and a daughter of Akbar. Akbar treated his overtures with scant attention and wrote a diplomatic letter in 1596 emphasising his great power, enormous resources and vast dominions, perhaps to convey that it was beneath his dignity to accord to his proposal. Two years later the powerful Khakan died, and thus departed the greatest enemy of Akbar. Other affairs awaited his attention, and relieved from all anxiety in the north, he returned to Agra the very same year. He had achieved much, but even with his great talents and vast resources he had not risked an invasion of Balkh and Badakshan. Perhaps even after the death of Abdulla Khan, the Uzbegs were sufficiently strong in those two provinces, and Akbar considered that a campaign would have extremely indifferent results. For a long time to come, they remained a decisive factor in the problem of the frontier defence of the Mughals.

Akbar left a powerful and progressive empire to his son Jahangir (1605) with a strong frontier and organized system of defence. Kandahar had been strengthened, and the tribal territories controlled by fortresses, built at strategic points. The Uzbegs, after the death of their leader, had become disunited, and their chiefs were fighting among themselves for supremacy. Hence Jahangir could afford to neglect them. But far otherwise was the case of the Persians. Their king Shah Abbas (1587-1629) was one of the greatest monarchs of the age. Shrewd and capable he excelled in tortuous diplomacy no less than the art of war. He had utterly humiliated Abdulla Khan, and had taken the easy Mughal acquisition of Kandahar very much to heart. He began to cast about for plans to recover it, shortly after Jahangir's accession, and did not cease until he had achieved it. Early in Jahangir's reign he secretly ordered his officers in the districts of Herat, Farra, Seistan, and Khorasan to make a surprised attack on Kandahar. But because the governor of Kandahar, constantly on the alert, had got timely imformation of his designs and was prepared to stand a siege, the Persians did not succeed (1607). The Shah, whose designs had thus been revealed, feigned indignation at the so-called unauthorized proceedings of his unruly officers, and sent an ambassador to Jahangir to explain and apologise. Jahangir, of

1 Smith, *Akbar,* p. 271.

course, took it with good grace, but adequately reinforced the garrison at Kandahar, so that it might not be taken unawares again.

But the precautionary measures of Jahangir did not escape the eye of Shah Abbas, and he sedulously set to soothe his suspicions about Kandahar. His embassies to Jahangir came pretty frequently, and conveyed professions of friendship mingled with fulsome flattery. Costly and handsome presents were also not wanting. Between 1611 and 1620, there came four embassies, all of which assured the Emperor that the Shah bore sincerest regards and warmest affection for him. Deceived by these empty shows Jahangir slackened his vigilance and reduced the garrison at Kandahar. Nothing could be more welcome to Shah Abbas. He secretly prepared a strong army, besieged Kandahar in March 1622 and took it after a siege of forty days. Prince Shahjahan, who had been ordered to repulse the enemy revolted,and for the rest of Jahangir's reign the Mughal court had neither leisure nor inclination to wrest Kandahar from the Persians. Thus Jahangir lost what Akbar had gained on the outer frontier, and Kabul became exposed again on the south west.

But Kandahar was not lost for ever. In February 1638 it was again betrayed to Shahjahan, by its Persian Governor Ali Mardan Khan. Emboldened by this freak of fortune Shahjahan thought, that he might undertake the recovery of Balkh and Badakshan. Nor were the circumstances unfavourable for such a project. Imam Kuli of the Astrakhanide dynasty died in 1642 after a prosperous rule of thirty-two years, and his vast kingdom comprising Samarkand, Bokhara, Balkh and Badakshan plunged into confusion. His son Nazar Mahammad had succeeded him, but he proved a failure, and owing to his high-handed proceedings, the Uzbeg generals deposed him and set up his eldest son Abdul Aziz in April, 1645. The deposed father was assigned only a portion of the kingdom comprising Balkh and Badakshan. This civil strife resulting in the division of Uzbeg dominions was the opportunity for Shahjahan, and he planned an expedition promptly into Badakshan. In June, 1645 the fort of Kahmard was occupied, but was abondoned soon after. In October another expedition was led by Raja Jagat Singh, and it resulted in the occupation of the Khost district. After these two pioneer expeditions Prince Murad was sent at the head of an immense army, fiifty-thousand strong in June 1646. Qunduz was occupied on the 22nd June, and the city of Balkh entered on the 2nd July. Nazar Mahamad fled away towards Persia leaving his treasures

to the invaders, and it appeared as if the country was conquered.

But troubles started soon enough. Prince Murad hated the hilly country and its rustic inhabitants, and longed for Hindustan. Shahjahan failed to impress upon him the necessity of remaining there, He abandoned his charge without caring for his father's wishes, and came away. Terrible was the fate of the people of the country and their new conquerors after his departure. The Uzbegs made their life miserable and the government of the Mughals fell into disorder. It was only when Aurangzeb came, defeated the Uzbegs and occupied the city of Balkh (May, 1647) that the situation was relieved. But the period of trouble had not come to an end for the Mughals. Hardly had Balkh been occupied when an army of Abdul Aziz appeared within forty miles of it. Aurangzeb repulsed it and advanced up to Timurabad amidst incessant fighting. The following week was a period of the most strenuous struggle, when the Mughal army covered itself with glory and the Mughal prince showed those sterling qualities of dogged resolution, cool courage and consummate generalship, for which he became famous later on. The king of Bokhara impressed by the bravery and skill of Aurangzeb, opened negotiation for peace. He proposed that Balkh should be bestowed upon his own brother, while Shahjahan had already promised it to Nazar Mahammad. In the meanwhile the Mughals sick of the terrible warfare, sterile country and the barbarous ways of the people, clamoured to return home. They constantly thwarted Aurangzeb's schemes for conquest, because they thought if he determined to conquer the whole of Transoxiana, of which he was not incapable, they would not return home for years. Circumstances however favoured their purpose, and by September a settlement was arranged with Nazar Mahammad, who got back the province on his recognizing the suzerainty of Shahjahan. Aurangzeb returned to Kabul by October and was followed by the whole army. The latter suffered untold hardships because of the severe winter, and lost five-thousand men. Besides these losses, the Indian treasury had spent four crores of rupees for no gains whatever. "Not an inch of territory was annexed, no dynasty changed, and no enemy replaced by an ally on the throne of Balkh."[1] The frontier line formed by Balkh and Badakshan was not recovered, and never afterwards did the Mughal emperors indulge in the vain attempt of recovering these provinces.

1 Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, vol. I, p. 113.

Equally unfortunate was Shahjahan with regard to Kandahar. After Ali Mardan Khan betrayed it into the hands of the Mughals, Shahjahan had spared no pains to strengthen it. Nevertheless, Shah Abbas II determined to take it and made a vigorous preparation secretly. The news however leaked out, and Shahjahan began to show some concern. It had been intimated that the Shah wanted to besiege the fortress in the winter. This unnerved the carpet-knights of the Mughal court, for they defeated a campaign in the bitter cold of the frontier regions. They therefore advised that it was not likely that the Shah would choose the cold weather for a siege, and Shahjahan listened to them. He remained content after sending a reinforcement, but the Shah was not deterred from his task by the cold weather. He attacked Kandahar about the middle of December, 1648, and took it on the 11th February, 1649.

The news of the commencement of the siege came to the court on the 16th January, 1649 as an eye-opener, and Shahjahan issued immediate orders, to Aurangzeb and Sadulla Khan to proceed to Kandahar with a relieving force. Before the commanders reached Kabul, Kandahar had capitulated, and there they were detained owing to a heavy snow-fall. Consequently they reached Kandahar on the 14th May. The relieving force was employed as a besieging army. and the lack of siege-guns seriously hampered their operations. After months of futile work, they were ordered to give up the attempt and to retire (5th September, 1649), and thus ended the first Mughal effort to recover Kandahar, in cloud and smoke.

Shajahan could not rest in peace, but neither could he rush to recover Kandahar from a foe whose strength he knew only too well. He took two years to prepare, and ordered Aurangzeb with an army of fifty to sixty thousand men and a fine park of artillery to take it. With great vigour the siege began on the 2nd May, 1652, but by the end of June it was realized that the Mughal guns would never breach the walls. Once again Shahjahan had to eat his humble pie, and order a retreat.

A year later Dara was directed to undertake the task. With a vast army seventy thousand strong, and huge field-pieces, as also with a good deal of conceit, he commenced the siege on the 28th April, and continued it till the 27th September. In spite of his equipments and unflagging zeal he failed to make an impresssion on the Persians, and was therefore ordered to retire. That was the third time that Shahjahan, and the last time that any Mughal Emperor attempted to recover Kandahar from the Persians.

Thus in the heyday of Mughal rule, in the regime of the glorious Shahjahan, the outer frontier of the empire could not be recovered. It betokened ill for the future safety of the Mughal rule both in Kabul and Hindustan. It was specially so when the empire was expanding southwards, and new kingdoms were being brought under the Mughal sway. It was in fact getting unwieldy, and the effects were felt during the reign of Aurangzeb. The unwieldy size undermined the efficiency of frontier defence, and soon after Aurangzeb's succession there arose troubles on the inner frontier.

In 1667 the Yusufzais started trouble. At a time they were rapidly expanding they found a leader in Bhagu, who organized them, and sent them to attack the Mughal terrritory. They crossed the Indus, invaded the plain of Pakhali, and captured several Mughal outposts. The Emperor therefore planned a grand campaign, and ordered three divisions to attack the enemy one from Attock, another from Kabul and the third from the court. The last two divisions took time to arrive on the scene and therefore the Foujdar of Attock led his own division against the Yusufzais. A battle was fought on the south bank of the Indus in which the rebels were defeated, and then they evacuated the imperial territory on this side of the river. Not venturing to enter the enemy's country all alone, the Foujdar awaited reinforcements, and when they came, Shamshir Khan of Kabul took over the supreme command. He won many victories, and made a fair headway into their country. In the meanwhile came Mahammad Amin Khan from the court with nine thousand troops, and joining Shamshir Khan, took over the supreme command from him. Under his able leadership the Mughals entered the Swat Valley, and forced the inhabitants to keep peace for some time. Strong Mughal garrisons were stationed at different points, and they kept the country under control.

" In 1672, however, began a formidable danger. The tactless action of the Foujdar of Jalalabad bred discontent among the Khyber clans. The Afridis rose under their chieftain Acmal Khan·········"[1] To suppress them Mahammad Amin Khan was sent in the spring of 1672, and suffered a severe defeat and heavy losses at Ali Masjid in April. It is said, forty thousand Mughals were cut to pieces, and many, including the commander, had to leave their families as prisoners in the hands of the barbarians. The disaster was aggra-

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1 Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, vol. III, p. 260.

vated at the news that Khush-hal Khan of the Khatak clan had also taken arms against the Emperor. It was a national rising and the whole Pathan land from Kandahar to Attock was seething in rebellion. The Emperor deputed Mahabat Khan but he proved a failure. Then Shujā'at Khan was ordered to punish the Afghans (14th November, 1673), in co-operation with Jaswant Singh. He failed even more ignominously than Mahabat Khan, being severely defeated and killed at the Karapa pass (21st February, 1674).

The repetition of these disasters compelled Aurangzeb to come to the spot and direct the operations himself. In June, 1674 he arrived at Hasan Abdal, and remained there for a year and a half. With his arrival "imperial diplomacy, no less than imperial arms began to have effect. Many clans·········were won over by the grant of presents, pensions, jagirs and posts in the Mughal army to their headmen. As for the irreconcilables, whom neither the concentration of imperial force could overawe, nor the treasures of India could buy, their valleys were penetrated by detachments from Peshwar. Thus in a short time the Gholai, Ghalzai, Shirrani and Yusufzai clans were defeated and ousted from their villages. A Mughal outpost held Bazarak, the Shirrani capital. At this the Daudzai, Tarakzai and Tirahi tribes made their submission. Muhammad Asharf, the son of Khush-hal ········entered the imperial service·········Similarly the son of Bhagu, the Yusufzai ringleader, offered to wait on the Emperor on receiving an assurance of safety. Darya Khan Afridi's followers promised to bring the head of Acmal, the Afridi pretender, if their past misdeeds were forgotton, (end of August)."[1]

In the meanwhile the imperial armies were closing round the Mohmand tribe and their allies. They were defeated with heavy slaughter at Ali Masjid and Gandamak, but not crushed. Early in 1675 they recovered their lost ground by inflicting two defeats on the imperialists. Towards the end of the year 1675, however, the situation had considerably improved, and the Mughal outposts had been pushed forward. The Emperor returned to Delhi (March, 1676) with an easy heart. Throughout the year 1677 peace reigned, because the Mughals and the Afghans suffered from a seven months' drought and famine. In 1678 Amir Khan, a very able man, was appointed Governor of Kabul and retained the office for twenty years till 1698. He excelled in diplomacy no less than in the art of war, and he followed a policy

1 Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, vol. III, pp. 271-72.

of "divide and rule." "Under his astute management they ceased to trouble the Imperial Government, and spent their energies in internecine quarrels."[1] The Yusufzais submitted, though the Afridis remained in arms longer.

On the whole, the frontier became quiet for some time. The war had cost much to the empire. Apart from the financial loss, the political effect was grievous. "It made the employment of the Afghans in the ensuing Rajput war impossible, though the Afghans were just the class of soldiers who could have won victory for the imperialists in that rugged and barren country. Moreover it relieved the pressure on Shivaji by draining the Deccan of the best Mughal troops for service on the N. W. frontier."[2] Thus the frontier trouble adversely reacted upon the stability of the empire. Already the outer frontier had been lost, and now the inner frontier became the source of all sorts of trouble for the Mughals. The cumulative effect began to be felt after the death of Aurangzeb. Hardly thirty years had passed after the frontier defence entirely collapsed, when taking advantage of it came Nadir Shah like a whirlwind, and swept off the last vestiges of the imperial prestige. His invasion resulted in the annexation of the whole country to the west of the Sutlej. The inner and outer lines of frontier were thus lost, and that was the death-knell of the Mughal empire. Loss of the Rajput adherence would have meant nothing had the frontier provinces, the prolific land of soldiers, remained to the Mughals. The loss of the frontiers was a double danger ; it exposed the kingdom of Hindustan to external attack, and it weakened the kingdom in warlike resources. The rapid expansion of the empire southwards, made it unwieldy, and also weakened the frontier defence to a degree unknown before.

H. N. SINHA

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1 Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, vol. III, p. 278.

2 *Ibid.*, vol. III, pp. 281-82.

Pl. I. Fig. 1



Buddha head in the Mathura Museum

Pl. I. Fig. 2



Relief showing two Yaksini busts, in the Mathura Museum

(By the courtesy of the Museum authorities.)

Uṣṇīṣa-śiraskatā (a mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇa) in the early Buddha images of India

The *Mahāpadāna* and the *Lakkhaṇa Suttāntas* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* (vols. II and III) refer to one of the 32 signs[1] of the Buddha's person as *uṇhīsasīsa* ; in later Buddhist Sanskrit works such as the *Lalitavistara*, *Mahāvyutpatti*, it is referred to as *uṣṇīṣa-śiraskatā*. The correct interpretation of this peculiarity of a Buddha, especially in connection with its representation in Buddhist iconoplastic art of different periods, has engaged the attention of many a scholar. Long ago, Burnouf, after a careful examination of this question, wrote, "I propose to translate the term standing for the first of the characteristic signs of a great man, as the Tibetans did and as the Buddha statues testify : 'his head is crowned by a cranial protuberance'."[2] Remusat, however, some time before Burnouf, interpreted this physical peculiarity, partly after the Tibetan manner, supplying in addition a detail relating to the arrangement of the hair : "He has the hair gathered together in a knot upon a fleshy tubercle placed on the summit of his head".[3] The exact significance of this *lakṣaṇa* has since then been discussed by various scholars such as Foucher,[4] Waddell,[5]

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1 Senart pointed out long ago that the Indian conception about these *Mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇas* 'went far beyond the confines of Buddhism having taken root in older Brāhmaṇic myths' ; *Essai sur la legende du Buddha*, Paris, 1882, pp. 28f. The bearer of these marks on his body was destined to be either a *Cakravartī* monarch or a Buddha.

2 *Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, p. 560. 3 *Mel. Asiat.*, I, p. 168.

4 *L'art Graeco-Bouddhique du Gandhāra*, II, p. 295.

5 *Ost Asiatische Zeitschrift*, 1914, *'Buddha's Diadem or Uṣṇīṣa'*. It is very difficult to accept Waddell's conclusions on account of the fact that the premises on which he bases them do not bear scrutiny. His identification of *cakravāka*, the Nāgarāja at Bharhut as Varuṇa, the god of sky and ocean, is not established on solid data. Again, the six-headed figure of Mahāsena (Skanda-kārttikeya) in the Yuan Kwang grottos, who can be correctly described as such from the attributes which are in his hands, viz., a *Śakti* and a cock, and his peacock vehicle, has been wrongly designated by him as Varuṇa.

and Coomaraswami[1] and different explanations have been given by them.

For determining the real sense of this term, one will have to take into careful consideration the original meaning of the word *Uṣṇīṣa*, the interpretation of this *lakṣaṇa* by the celebrated commentator Buddhaghosa (C. 5th century A.D.), its presence or absence in the list of the *Puruṣa-lakṣaṇas* in Brāhmaṇical literature, such as the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* of Varāhamihira and last, but not the least, the important testimony of the Buddha images of different periods, especially the early Gandhāra and Mathurā ones. From its etymological sense, "a protection from the sun, sunshade", the term *Uṣṇīṣa* is interpreted as "a turban", usually "a royal turban", e.g. King Milinda names it among the royal insignia.[2] The head-dress of a *Brahmacārin* is also referred to as *Uṣṇīṣa*.[3] But, this usual sense of a turban can hardly be accepted to explain this physical pecularity of a Buddha, for the Bodhisattvas, when they left the world to attain *Buddhatva*, discarded, according to tradition, their head dress and other ornaments.

Buddhaghosa, in his *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, explains the *lakṣaṇa Uṇhīsasīsa* as referring to the well-developed forehead (*paripuṇṇanalāṭa*) and the well-developed head (*Paripuṇṇasīsa*) of the *Mahāpuruṣa*. He develops the first part of his explanation, thus, *Mahāpurisassa hi dakkhiṇa-kaṇṇacūḷikato paṭṭhāya maṃsapaṭalam uṭṭhahitvā sakala-nalāṭaṃ chādiyamānaṃ pūrayamānaṃ gantvā Vāmakaṇṇa-cūḷikāya patiṭṭhitaṃ rañño bandha uṇhīsapaṭṭo viya virocati.* So, according to him, this refers to the mass of flesh which rises from the root of the right ear, extends over and thus covers the whole of the forehead

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Moreover, there is no justification for assuming that the 7 hoods of the Ādiśeṣa on whose coils Nārāyaṇa Viṣṇu is depicted in a recumbent pose, is the *uṣṇīṣa* of the same god. Other objections can be raised, which make it impossible for one to accept his solution of the *uṣṇīṣa* problem.

1 *J. R. A. S.*, 1928, *Buddha's cūḍā, hair* and *uṣṇīṣa, crown.*

2 *Milinda Pañha*, p. 330 : *pubbakānaṃ Khattiyānam anubhūtāni paribhogabhaṇḍāni seyyath'idam : setacchattam uṇhīsaṃ pāduka vāla-vijani khaggaratanaṃ mahārahāni ca sayanāni.*

3 Agnipurāṇa, ch. 90, v. 10-11:

उष्णीषं योगपट्टञ्च मुकुटं कर्त्तरीं घटीम् ।
अक्षमालां पुस्तकादि शिविकाद्यधिकारकं ॥

and ends near the root of the left ear, resembling the tied turban-folds of kings ; i.e. this fleshy growth is uniformly distributed over the whole of the forehead and shines forth like the front plait of the royal turban. He goes out of his way to remark that kings modelled the folds of their turban (*Uṇhīsapaṭṭa*) on this characteristic of the great men. As regards the second part, the learned commentator refers to various kinds of undeveloped heads resembling those of a monkey, in shape like a fruit, and extremely bony or pitcher-like in appearance, or of the rapidly sloping type ; whereas the great man's head is fully developed and rotund everywhere (*sabbattha parimaṇḍala*) like a water bubble (*mahāpurisassa pana āraggena vaṭṭetvā ṭhapitaṃ viya suparipuṇṇam udakabubbulasadisaṃ sīsaṃ hoti*). Dr. Rhys Davids remarks about the explanation of Buddhaghosa, "In either case, the rounded highly developed appearance is meant, giving to the unadorned head the decorative dignified effect of a crested turban and the smooth symmetry of a water bubble".[1] We should point out here that both these senses of the word were not Buddhaghosa's own invention but were current in his time. But the most important point here is that 'the bony protuberance on the top of the Buddha's skull'—a sense which is established beyond doubt in later tradition, both literary and plastic, is not referred to here.

We may enquire now about the characteristic feature of the heads of great men, as recorded in Brāhmaṇical literature. It must be observed here that the word *uṣṇīṣaśīrṣa* does not occur in the Brāhmaṇical texts among the *Mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇas*, so far known to me. But the inherent sense of the word might be referred to there in a different manner. Thus, the great inhabitants of *Śvetadvīpa*, where Nārada went in quest of the *Bhagavat*, are said to have heads like 'an umbrella,[2] (*chatrākṛtiśīrṣa* ; not *chatrākoṭi*, as Waddell and Coomaraswamy have put it). The great gods Nara and Nārāyaṇa, visited by Nārada in the Vadarikāśrama are characterised with heads like umbrellas, a feature described

1 Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, II, p. 16, fn. 4. Dr. B. M. Barua, informs me that the force of the word *c'eva* in the commentary should be taken into account. Both the senses of *Paripuṇṇanalāṭatañ* and *Paripuṇṇasīso* are comprised in the term *uṇhisasīso.*

2 *Mahābhārata*, xii, 334, 11.

as a *Mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇa*.[1] Varāhamihira describes the heads of kings (*cakravarttins*) as resembling the shape of an umbrella.[2] Utpala comments on this passage that this umbrella-like shape refers to the high broad expanse of the upper part of the head. The *Sāmudrikaśāstra* tells us that he whose head resembles an open umbrella or the breast of a young lady is destined to be a *sārvabhauma* (*cakravartti*) monarch.[3] Thus, the Brāhmaṇical traditions about the *śirolakṣaṇa* of gods, great men and kings are unanimous in laying down that the outline of the head would resemble that of an expanded umbrella ;[4] i. e. here also we find a reference to 'the rounded highly developed appearance' of the head as is alluded to by Buddhaghosa in the term '*udakabubbulasadisa*'. As regards the first part of Buddhaghosa's explanation (viz. *Paripuṇṇanalāṭata*), if we refer to the section on the *Śaṅkhalalāṭalakṣaṇas* of human beings in the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*[5] we can understand what our author means here : thus, those

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1 *Mahābhārata*, xii, 343. 38 :

आतपत्रेण सदृशौ शिरसी देवयोस्तयोः ।
एवं लक्षणसम्पन्नौ महापुरुषसंज्ञितौ ॥

2 *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, ch. 67, v. 76 :

छत्राकारैः शिरोभिरवनीशाः ।

Utpala :

छत्राकारैश्छत्राकृतिभिरूर्ध्वभागविस्तृतैरवनीशा राजानः ।

3 *Sāmudrikaśāstra*, Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay, p. 78 :

विकसच्छत्राकारं यस्य शिरो युवतिकुचनिभं वापि ।
नृपतिः स सार्वभौमो निम्नं वा यस्य स महीशः ॥

4 It may be objected that the umbrellas as represented in early Indian art is flat in shape and so do not show the gently rising carved out line which is necessary for the confirmation of our hypothesis. But it should be remembered that all the umbrellas are not of the flat type which is usually shown over *stūpas* and on *Bodhi* trees ; partially dome-shaped umbrellas are also known (cf. *HIIA*, pi. XIII, fig. 48—a Bharhut rail medallion) and these were usually spread over honoured beings.

5 Ch. 67, v. 30-2 : उन्नतविपुलैः शङ्खैर्धनिनः (Utpala—उन्नतैरुच्चैर्विपुलैर्विस्तीर्णैः शङ्खैर्धनिन ईश्वरा भवन्ति)। धनवन्तोऽर्धेन्दुसदृशेन ललाटेन (Utpala—अर्धेन्दुसदृशेनार्धचन्द्रतुल्येन ललाटेन धनवन्त ईश्वरा भवन्ति)। शुक्तिविशालैराचार्यता (Utpala—शुक्तिविशालैः शुक्तिविस्तीर्णैर्ललाटैराचार्यता आचार्यत्वं भवति। परोपदेशक आचार्यः)।

with high and broad *śaṅkhas* (the bone on the forehead) are (destined to be) rich (great) men ; the rich (great) are characterised by a forehead like a half-moon in appearance ; men with broad *śuktis* (front portion of the skull) are instructors of persons. The *Sāmudrikaśāstra* tells us also the same thing.[1] Thus, it appears, from all this that the parallel evidence of the early as well as the later Brāhmaṇical texts proves that the early Buddhist writers did not mean by the term *Uṇhīsasīsa* 'the bony protuberance of the head' and Buddhaghosa was quite correct in giving us the full technical sense of the term, current in his time. It is universally accepted by scholars that the Buddhists adopted these signs of the *Mahāpuruṣas* from the Brāhmins and applied them to the person of the Buddha ; so it will be natural for us to seek for their proper significance among the Brāhmaṇical literature. Thus we must accept Senart's statement that 'this particular *lakṣaṇa* is not in the list of the signs of a Great Man in Brāhmaṇical writings such as the "*Bṛhat Saṃhitā*" '[2] with some modification.

But then the question may arise when did this term come to mean a 'bony protuberance ?' That this sense had already come into existence when Yuan Chwang visited India in the 7th century A.D. is proved by the fact that he went on pilgrimage to the shrine of Buddha's *Uṣṇīṣa*-bone in Hilo, near Gandhāra. Two centuries earlier, the same temple enshrining the precious relic, viz., "Sākya Julai's skull-top bone" was seen and described by Fa-hien. It is true that this relic 'in shape like a wasp's nest or the back of the arched hand, shown to believing pilgrims in Hilo' was an imposture ; but, it is interesting to note that this peculiarity of Buddha's head was understood in different manners by the two famous Buddhists of the 5th century A.D., viz., the Chinese traveller Fa-hien and the Indian commentator Buddhaghosa. This can be explained, however, by suggesting that Buddhaghosa who wrote his commentaries in Ceylon has offered us the original meaning of the term, which as has been shown by us, is borne out by the evidence of the Brāhmaṇical texts, whereas, these Chinese pilgrims refer to the

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1 *Sāmudrika-Ś.*, p. 74 :—

विपुलमूर्ध्वमधिकमुन्नतमर्द्धेन्दुसन्निभं राज्यम् ।
प्रदिशत्याचार्यपदं शुक्तिविशालं नृणां भालम् ॥

2 Senart, *Essai sur la legende du Buddha*, p. 111.

popular superstition about this supposed 'skull-top bone relic' with which Buddhism was at first little concerned. Watters remarks: "It is interesting to observe that we do not find mention of any Buddhist monks as being concerned in any way with this precious relic."[1] Again, it seems that there was some confusion in the minds of the Chinese regarding the exact nature of the *Uṣṇīṣa*. "Some, like Yuan Chwang, regarded it as a separate formation on, but not a part of, the top of the skull."[2] Yuan Chwang and the other pilgrims use the Chinese word *ting-ku* (bone of the top of the head) for *Uṣṇīṣa*; several other Chinese translations of it are *ting-jou chi*, i.e., "the flesh top-knot on the top of the head" and *juchi-ku* or "the bone of the flesh top-knot." Other Chinese methods of describing this *lakṣaṇa* are: "On the top of the head the *Uṣṇīṣa* like a deva sunshade (a reference no doubt in a round about manner to the *Chatrākṛtiśīrṣa* of the Brāhmaṇical texts); or as having "on the top of his head the *Uṣṇīṣa* golden skull-top bone." Lastly, it is said that "on the top of the Buddha's head is *manifested the uṣṇīṣa*, i.e., manifested *occasionally* as a miraculous phenomenon; and it is not visible to the eyes of ordinary beings."[3]

But whence came this adventitious sense of this term *Uṣṇīṣa*, in the Indian literature? Here, fortunately, the Buddha figures belonging to different ancient and mediæval art-centres of India will come to our aid. The Indian Buddha types of Mathurā belonging to the early Kuṣāṇa period and the early Hellenistic ones from Gandhāra supply us with much useful data regarding the solution of our problem.

But, in order to utilise the evidence of the early Kuṣāṇa Buddha-heads of Mathurā, we must first answer the question whether these are actually depicted bald except for the central snail-shell (*kapardda*) coil of hair on the top; because the hair-question is intimately connected with the *Uṣṇīṣa* one. The head, reproduced in pl. I, fig. I, shows a smooth highly developed cranium which rises up from the

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1 *On Yuan Chwang*, vol. I, p, 197,

2 Watters, *Ibid.*, p. 196: 'this protuberance was supposed to be a sort of abnormal development of the upper surface of the skull into a small truncated cone covered with flesh and skin and hair' a very satisfactory description of the later adventitious sense.

3 Watters, *Ibid.*, p. 197.

hairline (*keśarekhā*) with the central hair-coil on the top.[1] The smoothness of the raised cranium led scholars to think that the heads were shaven. But, there is no question that there were doubts in the minds of some of them with regard to this point. Dr. Vögel, while discussing the iconography of the sculptural specimens in the Mathurā Museum, refers to the Kaṭrā Bodhisattva-Buddha and another standing Buddha (Nos. A1 & A4 in the Museum) and remarks, 'that these are indeed Buddha images of the Kuṣāṇa period *in which the head is shaven.*[2] But while describing the images themselves, in the case of A1, he observes: "the treatment of the hair deserves special notice. It is not carved in curls, but it is only indicated by a line over the forehead, *so as to give the impression that the head is shaven*".[3] In the case of no. A4, his remark is "the hair is treated *so as to simulate the shaven head of a monk*".[4] But, in his recent publication on Mathurā sculptures, he is definite: "La tete rase porte un *uṣṇīṣa* en forme de colimacon (*kaparda*)", i.e. the shaven head bears an *uṣṇīṣa* in the form of a snail-shell.[5] It was Mons. Foucher, however, who first definitely pointed out that the early Mathurā heads were not shaved, in these words "we want to point out this mode of stopping rigorously on the forehead the line of the hair of which the mass is indicated only by a perfectly compact smooth modelling: so well that in keeping altogether the silhouette characteristic of the chignon, the head appears entirely shaven".[6] Dr. Codrington refers to this feature in these words: "the uṣṇīṣa is represented as a coiled protuberance something like a snail-shell, the head itself being smooth, but with the line of the forehead clearly marked."[7] Later, his positive statement about the *uṣṇīsa* as a protuberance and further remark that 'no attempt is made to disguise it, as in Gandhāra' are not based on the correct interpretation

1 *Mathura Museum Catalague*, p. A27; Vogel: "Shaven head". This may be regarded as a good representative of the early Kuṣāṇa Buddha heads of Mathurā; cf. the Kaṭra Buddha: Coomaraswamy says about this head type: "rarely seen after the 2nd cent. A.D. and never after the fifth".

2 *Mathura Museum Catalogue*, p. 35.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 47; italics are ours.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 49.

5 *Ars Asiatica*, vol. XV, p. 36.

6 Foucher, *L'Art Graeco-Bouddhique*, etc., p. 700.

7 Codrington, *Ancient India*, p. 44.

of these features. A little later, in the same publication, he definitely asserts that 'at least in the early part of the Kushan century it is certain the head was left bare.' Dr. Coomaraswamy, on the other hand, was at first of opinion that the early Kuṣāṇa Buddha and Bodhisattva type of Mathurā was characterised by the shaven head'.[1] That he changed his opinion some what later is proved by this observation of his about the early Kuṣāṇa type : 'the head smooth, with a conical, spirally twisted projection on the crown of the head ; *let us not take it for granted that the head is shaved*, or that the projection is an *Uṣṇīṣa*'.[2] Ludwig Bachhofer, however, in criticising Mons. Foucher's conclusion, observes : "There is no valid reason why in one place of the head, the hair should unmistakably be represented as such, while close by it should only be indicated by quite other means."[3] But Mons. Foucher's conclusion can be justified on the following grounds. If these heads were represented as shaved at all, what could have been the explanation of this distinct swell on the skull above the hair-line ? Shaven headed monks are depicted in Indian plastic art ; but these do not show this distinct cranial division into two planes just near the *keśarekhā*. That the Mathurā artists of this period were in the habit of indicating the hair in this manner can be proved, if we carefully

1 *Hist. of Ind. & Indonesian Art*, p. 56-7. In his *Origin of the Buddha Image* (M. F. A. Bulletin, vol. IX, no. 4, p. 23) however, he seems to have already changed his opinion. Referring to the great differences that are to be found in the treatment of the hair on Buddha-heads, in Gandhāra and Mathurā, he remarks : "in Mathurā, however, both Buddha and Jina images are represented at first with a spiral protuberance which is a lock of hair and *not* an *uṣṇīṣa* ; later the whole head and hair are covered with small short curls, and this type after the second century becomes the almost universal rule, the only example of the smooth head dating from the Gupta period being the Mankuwār image, 448-9 A.D."

2 *J.R.A.S.*, 1928, p. 817. He further adds in *Ibid.*, p. 827, "that the remainder of the head is smooth does not mean that it is shaved but simply that all the long hair was drawn up close and tight over the scalp into the single stress. The thickness of this smooth hair is always clearly indicated in the sculptures."

3 *Early Indian Sculpture*, p. 95.

PL. II



A broken Buddha head in relief in the Mathura Museum

(*By the courtesy of the Museum authorities*)

observe the treatment of the same in some Yakṣiṇī heads (cf. pl. I, fig. 2 : the hair is treated here in a smooth compact mass shown tightly drawn upwards, without the least striation on the surface which would indicate that the raised surface consists of hair ; but the raised hair-line is divided here into several sections in order to give a beautifying effect to the heads of these females). Pl. II shows that, in very rare instances, the hair on the cranium is treated in a slightly different manner showing six distinct layers, beginning from the root of the ear and ending below the *Kapardda* hair-coil ; that these are nothing but stratified arrangement of the hair[1] is proved by the distinct striation of these layers. Bachhofer's objection can be further answered by suggesting that 'the unmistakable representation of the hair as such' on the topmost coil only, in the majority of the Buddha heads of this type, probably shows an ingenious attempt on the part of the artist just to suggest that the raised mass above the forehead also was hair ; had there been no striation on the former, then there might have been a greater chance for misinterpreting the whole thing (as it is, the peculiar plastic form of a head with compact smooth hair has been misread ; the beautiful Yakṣiṇīs cited above were not certainly depicted with shaven heads !). In any case, Bachhofer himself has not given us any reasonable explanation of this 'rising' near the hair-line.[2] To the artists of Mathurā as in the case of those of other localities, the Buddha was not shaven headed like his monks.[3]

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1 Did the artist intend to show here in a conventional manner the downward continuation of the matted spiral coil on the top ?

2 It cannot be suggested that this was perhaps the *maṃsapaṭala* of Buddhaghosa, for he describes the latter as *covering* the whole of the forehead and we have already tried to explain the term with the evidence of the Brāhmaṇical texts ; by the way, the 'open umbrella' like outline of these heads should be noted. The treatment of the hair of the Patna Yakṣa (P. 2, in the Indian Museum, Calcutta) should be observed. All the hair is gathered *en masse* upwards—the hair-ends abruptly ending near the nape. The distinct swell above the hair-line and striation (clear in the relief) preserved near the hair-ends, should be especially marked in this connection.

3 The head of the Buddha image of Mankuwār (5th century A.D.) is *sui generis* ; it is an exception to the general rule adopted in the case of both early Kuṣāṇa on the one hand and the late Kuṣāṇa and the Gupta Buddha heads, on the other ; the hair is treated here in an all

Once we accept this solution of the hair-problem of the early Kuṣāṇa Buddha type of Mathurā, the determination of the question whether the *Kapardda* coil is to be regarded as the *Uṣṇīṣa* of these Buddhas is easy.[1] There is no contemporary authority which justifies us in describing this as *Uṣṇīṣa*; so we should be careful in using such expression as 'Spiral *Uṣṇīṣa*'[2] or *Uṣṇīṣa* in the form of a *Kapardda.*[3] If there were any plastic representation of the *lakṣaṇa*, *Uṣṇīṣaśiraskatā* here, and we think it was there, we ought to find it in the well rounded (*sabbathaparimaṇḍala*) umbrella-like (*chatrākṛti*) outline of the cranium and the high broad (*śuktiviśāla*) shape of the forehead. Dr. Coomaraswamy, however, after a minute study of the earliest Indian images of Buddha entertains no doubt about the fact that 'they do not attempt to represent the *Uṣṇīṣa*, either as a turban, or until later, as a bony protuberance.[4]

Nor does the evidence of the earliest of the Gandhāra Buddhas prove that these bear the abnormal cranial protuberance. There exists, still, a great deal of difference of opinion among scholars regarding the dating of the Gandhāra sculptures.[5] But there is some sort of unanimity among them about the relievo-representation of Buddha

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compact smooth mass with neither a single coil in the centre, nor short curls all over the head, but with a slight swell on the centre of the head.

1 We can refer here to the interesting manner in which this spiral hair-coil is shown along with the folds of a turban on the head of a standing Bodhisattva (Codrington, *Ancient India*, pl. 22c.). It seems that the artist means to show that the hair is drawn up together in a mass and turned round in a single coil on the top and wound up with the folds of the turban. Rudra (Śiva) is described as *Kaparddi* in Vedic texts on account of his identification with Agni whose flames waving upward are likened to the snail-shell-like coils gathered upward on an ascetic's head and 'the hair of the true *Kapardin* is long'; the attribute *Uṣṇīṣin* was also applied to him in early and late texts: *Vāj. S.*, XVI, 22; *Mahābhārata*, 13. 17, 44; *Kādambarī*, 220. *Uṣṇīsin* both in the *Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā* and the *Mbh.* passages is explained by the commentators as *śiroveṣṭanavān.*

2 Coomaraswamy, *HIIA*, p. 57; but he does not describe now this *Kapardda* as *Uṣṇīṣa*; cf *JRAS.*, 1928, p. 817; *M.F.A. Bulletin*, vol. IX, no. 4, p. 23.

3 *Ars Asiatica*, vol. XV, p. 36.

4 *JRAS.*, 1928, p. 832.

5 See Sir John Marshall, *A Guide to Taxila*, p. 31.

on the Bimaran reliquary,—this being one of the earliest figures of the Master so far known, if not the earliest one. Bachhofer thus describes the hair on its head: "There are no spiral locks. The thick hair covering the head *is twisted on the crown of the head into a large knot,* which produces the effect of a loose structure (italics are ours).[1] The coiffure of the figure of the flask-carrying Maitreya on the socle of the Buddha statue from Charsada[2] should be studied in this connection; the hair is gathered up and tied round by a string (of hair?) at the bottom of the so-called *Uṣṇīṣa* bump. As a matter of fact, a very close observation of the early Hellenistic Gandhāra Buddhas in the Peshawar and Lahore Museums convinces one that the luxuriant hair of the Master is really tied up, upon the crown of the head. Mr. Hargreaves referring to the exhibit No. 1921 in the Peshawar Museum, remarks that 'the artist untrammelled by tradition, has ventured to bind the base of the *Uṣṇīṣa* by a jewelled band'.[3] But what he fails to observe is that this pearl or usually the string band is present at the base of the so-called *Uṣṇīṣa* bump in a large majority of the early Buddha heads of this art centre.[4] Nor is this feature of the top-knots of hair confined to the heads of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas alone; Mons. Foucher pointed out long ago that a number of reliefs show that even ordinary mortals have such a hair-dress beneath their turbans.[5] Semi-divine *Yakṣas* are also depicted with this peculiar arrangement of the hair; thus most of the children of *Hārītī* and *Pañcika* in a Gandhāra relief are shown with these top-knots.[6] It is no use multiplying cases; a close

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1 *Early Indian Sculpture,* vol. I, p. 94.

2 "Hastnagar Socle" dated in the year 384, Śel. E. or A.D. 72; cf., Ludwig Bachhofer, *ibid.,* vol. II, fig. 143. But the dating is open to doubt; Konow dates it in 300 A.D.

3 *Handbook to the Sculptures in the Peshawar Museum,* p. 52.

4 Exhibit no. 227 in the Peshawar Museum shows the topmost hair-knot tied together by a string of pearls; similar is the case with fragmentary heads Nos. 232 and 293. In Nos. 223, 231 and 233 (all the last 5 are moustached heads) the upper knob consists of wavy curls strung together in their middle by a stringlike thin woven hair. In No. 231, this hair knob is elongated in shape.

5 Foucher, *Art Graeco-Bouddhique du Gandhāra,* tome I, fig. 234.

6 Exhibit no. 241, Peshawar Museum; Hargreaves, *Handbook* etc., plate 7.

study of the reliefs alone will convince us of the truth of this statement. Now, this top-knot does not really cover any abnormal swelling of the central cranium; in its plastic form, it could not but appear as something solid with waving locks upon it. The misunderstanding of this feature was certainly the root-cause in the change of the meaning of the term *Uṣṇīṣa*, and once this wrong interpretation came into existence, the artists of Gandhāra began to make Buddha-heads with this top-knot having the appearance of the central bump. But even then, the procedure was certainly not uniform. With the introduction of the short-curls, turned towards the right covering the head and the bump on it, a conventional stereotyping is no doubt apparent; but cases are not wanting where the old formula was resorted to. Hargreaves remarks, "a less naturalistic but still pleasing treatment of the hair is seen in Nos. 1430 (pl. 9a, pl. III, fig. 1), 1424, 1425 where the *Uṣṇīṣa* is treated schematically in little loose curls".[1] The evidence of the beautiful stucco heads of late Gandhāra period (c. 5th century A.D.) is specially interesting in this connection; in many of these, the so-called *Uṣṇīṣa* is disproportionately small and is shown sometimes in front and at other times in the centre of the cranium. One of these, 'of the conventionalised' type[2] leaves no doubt in our mind about the artist's intention (pl. III, fig. 2).

Our acceptance of this solution of the origin of the so-called *Uṣṇīṣa* on later Buddha heads will be facilitated further, if we bear in mind that the wearing of long hair in different modes was a common custom among the males of the various social orders of the Indo-Aryans, especially of the higher ones. They not only carried these luxurious locks on their own heads in different shapes, but endowed their gods with this same characteristic. Thus, the various gods depicted in the early Indian monuments of the pre-Christian period—very few of which can however be regarded as distinct iconographic types—are shown with luxuriant hair dressed in various ways and the *uṣṇīṣa* i.e., the turban is one of their most prominent

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1 *Handbook* etc., p. 52; but where is the authority for using the word *Uṣṇīṣa* here? It is simply an arrangement of the locks in several tiers narrowing upwards.

2 Marshall, *Guide to Taxila*, p. 48, pl. VI; here the top-knot is not disproportionate.

adornment which also is worn in different manners. But, if we refer to the plastic representation of some we cannot but be struck with the idea that there could have been always the chance of misinterpreting the big knot of hair which was shown like a rounded object on the centre of the top of the cranium. A reference may be made here to the bottom row of the divine figures (whose back-view is only shown) worshipping the Master in the *Trayastriṃśa* heaven in the scene of the Master's descent at Saṅkisa, at Barhut.[1] The big top-knots of these gods could very justifiably have been interpreted as the so-called *Uṣṇīṣa* bump, if we were not sure that this sense of the term was unknown in early literature. Very few reliefs of Brāhmaṇical deities like Śiva, Viṣṇu and others are known, which can be definitely dated back to the pre-Christian era. But, even in the few early specimens, various elaborate modes of dressing the hair are shown; thus Śiva on the Guḍimallam *Liṅgam*[2] has a thick bejewelled plait, half-moon-like in shape sheltering as it were the whole head of the god; the same god (here four-handed) on the Mathurā *Liṅgam*[3] shows all the hair tightly drawn up on the cranium as in the early Kuṣāṇa Buddha-heads of Mathurā, but unlike the latter the single *Jaṭā* ends in two sections, one resting upon the other, the lowermost of which smaller and thinner in shape is immediately on the top of the central part of the cranium, while the uppermost one bigger and thicker in size is depicted like a cup which is caught hold of by the two back hands of the divinity. Some interesting information is also furnished in this connection by some Ujjain, Audumbara and Kuṣāṇa coins where the god Śiva is figured, either as an obverse or a reverse type. A careful study of fig. 2, plate X, (Ujjain), fig. 1, plate IV, (Audumbara) in Cunningham's *Coins of Ancient India* and figs. 33, 36, 65, pl. XVII, (Vima Kadphises and Kaniṣka), figs. 209 and 211 (Vāsudeva) in Whitehead's *Punjab Museum Catalogue*, vol. I, will show how the luxuriant hair was worn by the divinity.[4] We all know that long before the first appearance of the Buddha figure in art, he was being worshipped

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1 Cunningham, *Stūpa of Bharhut*, pl. XVI, Ajātaśatru pillar.

2 T. A. G. Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, vol. II, part I, p. 66, pl. III, fig. 9.

3 Coomaraswamy, *HIIA.*, pl. XVIII, 68; date 2nd century A.D.

4 Note the little hair-knots on the centre of the cranium which can easily be interpreted as the so-called *Uṣṇīṣa* bump.

as the highest god by his pious devotees. And in the anthropomorphic representation of the *Bhagavat*, the depiction of the flowing tresses was quite natural. So, there cannot arise here the question of utilising this hair-motif for the purpose of concealing 'the disfigurement of the bump of intelligence.' There was also the authority of the texts that Buddha was to have his hair of a certain uniform length on his head throughout his life (cf. the *Nidānakathā*, etc.). The early indigenous artists also endowed Buddha with long locks in their own way. The Gandhāra artists did not introduce any new iconographic motif in this case ; what difference there was at first, was the difference in technique alone. Here with the Gandhāra as well as the Mathurā artists, the all important question was whether the Buddha-head was to be shown with hair or not. When they found that the tradition explicitly laid down that Buddha carried locks of hair of uniform length on his head, all throughout his life, it was immaterial to them whether the hair was to be shown 2 or 10 *aṅgulas* in length. Again, they were not representing Śākya Siṃha, the man but the divine Tathāgata Sammāsambuddha the object of their piety and devotion. Lastly, the evidence of a few of the lesser signs referring to Buddha's hair, such as *citakeśa* (hair piled up), *asaṃlulitakeśa* (hair not dishevelled) *aparuṣakeśa* (smooth hair) etc. should be taken into account in this connection. The *Mahāpadāna* and *Lakkhana suttantas* do not give us detailed list of these lesser signs ; but they are found in the early works like the *Lalitavistara* and the *Mahāvastu*, hence it is quite reasonable to assume that the tradition about the hair was a fairly authoritative one.

That the plastic form of this top-knot of hair could be easily misconstrued as covering something abnormal on the top of Buddha's skull and that in this misconstruction lay the origin of the *Uṣṇīṣa* bump of later age was long ago conjectured by Mons. Foucher. My close observation of the early Buddha figures in the Peshawar, Lahore and Mathurā Museums confirms my idea about the origin of this important iconographic peculiarity. Dr. Coomaraswamy also supports the main part of this conclusion in his article on 'Buddha's *Cūḍā*, hair, *Uṣṇīṣa*, crown.'[1] I differ from Foucher when he says that the early

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1 *JRAS.*, 1928, p. 833. He incidentally remarks while noticing my article on 'the Webbed fingers of Buddha' (*I.H.Q.*, December, 1930), that *uṇhīsasīsa* which originally meant "destined to wear a royal turban", and later came to be regarded (*through misinterpretation*

Gandhāra artists avoided the representation of a protuberance for aesthetic reasons. Again, the blame for misinterpreting the Gandhāra chignon as covering a cranial bump should not be laid at the door of the 'Indian imitators'; for, as we have seen some (not all, compare the evidence of some stucco heads) of the Gandhāra artists, themselves misinterpreted the whole thing. When, however, the convention of the short spiral curls, turning from left to right was introduced, the raised centre of the cranium was nothing but the protuberance covered with these; but even then, an unconscious reference to the original character of this abnormality is to be seen in those cases where this bump with these small spiral curls is encircled at its base by a string.[1]

Now, to raise the question of interpretation again. What was the old meaning of the term *Uṇhīsa-sīsa*? Dr. Coomaraswamy suggests that it originally meant "destined to wear a royal turban" as *catvāriṃśatdanta*" would mean "destined to have 40 teeth." But where is the necessity of our having to suggest this explanation, when its original sense has been so explicitly put forward by Buddhaghosa? It is true that he 'writes long after the practical problem of iconographic representation had been settled and had the Buddha figures with a protuberant *Uṣṇīṣa* no less than the old texts before him." But, as we have shown before that he was relying mainly on the old orthodox and technical sense of the term *uṇhīsa-sīsa*—it should be noted that the word is taken as a whole here—and his authority was certainly the older Brāhmaṇical texts (*unhisa-sīsa = chatrākṛtiśirṣa + śuktiviśālabhāla*). In commenting fully on this word, ***he does not find himself in difficulties*** and I differ from Drs. Rhys Davids and Coomaraswamy, when they say that 'Buddhaghosa's interpretation is not at all satisfactory.'

A brief reference ought to be made to 'the figure of Indra in the form of the Brāhman Śānti' carved in high relief on a railing pillar at Bodh Gayā (c. 100 B.C.). Many scholars hold that there is a distinct protuberance on its head which is covered with short curls and they

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originating in the sculptor's device and perhaps also due to misinterpretation of images) as "having a cranial protuberance" (*I.H.Q*, June, 1931,).

1 Cf. the seated Buddha, Indian Museum, Gandhāra room, No. 3936.

are of opinion that it served as the prototype of the later *uṣṇīṣa.*[1] Dr. Coomaraswamy once observed about it, "the figure of Śānti affords the earliest known example of the *Uṣṇīṣa* in sculpture."[2] But, there is no justification for describing this cranial feature of the Bodh Gaya relief in this manner and he is now of opinion that it is not an *uṣṇīṣa.* Bachhofer himself tells us that Indra is not here represented as a *cakravarttin* and so the question of the representation of the *lakṣaṇas* does not arise in this connection.[3]

In fine, it would be interesting to refer to the technical sense in which the term *Uṣṇīṣa* was used in Brāhmaṇical iconometric texts of a comparatively late period. The context, in which this term is used there, justifies us in understanding it as signifying the central part of the cranium. Referring to the measurement of the *Uṣṇīṣa,* the *Vaikhānasāgama* says that it should be 1 *aṅ.* and 3 *yavas.*[4] The text is a *Pāñcarātra* one and mentions this fact while describing the *Uttamadaśatāla* measure of the image of Deveśa (evidently Viṣṇu).[5] Similar other passages in the above text lead us also to the same conclusion.[6]

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1 *Bachhofer, Ein Pfeilerfigur aus Bodh-Gaya,* Jahrbuch as. Kunst, II, 1925 ; Kramrisch, *Grundzuge der indischen Kunst,* p. 83. Reference to this figure was first made by Sir John Marshall in *JRAS.*, 1908, p. 1065, where he described it as an undoubted *uṣṇīṣa.*

2 *HIIA.*, p. 32, fn. 9.

3 But, is it really a protuberance ? The swell, it should be observed is not exactly on the centre of the cranium and it has got a distinct tilt backwards, which might or might not have been due to the position of the head. Compare the head of Vessantara in a fragmentary Gandhāra relief (*HIIA*, pl. XXVI, fig. 93) with it. Dr. Coomaraswamy describes the former as 'the Bodhisattva nimbate with thick curly hair etc.', but does not use the word protuberance. Both these heads, however, give me the impression that they bear on them the wig-like massed arrangement of hair in two sections, the hair ending in curls.

4 त्रियवाधिकमेकाङ्गुलमुष्णीषम् । T.A.G. Rao, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pt. II, *Uttamadaśatālavidhi*, p. 64.

5 अथ देवेशस्योत्तमदशतालवशान्मानं वक्ष्ये । *Ibid.*, p. 64.

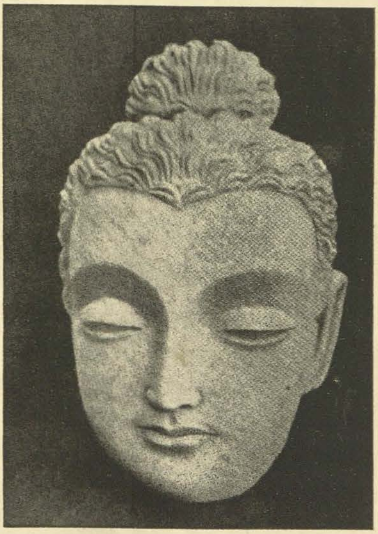
6 अथ प्रमाणं वक्ष्ये । उष्णीषात्पूर्वकेशान्तं नवाङ्गुलं ; or उष्णीषात्पादपर्य्यन्तमङ्गमानं प्रकल्पयेत् ; or त्रियवाधिकचन्द्रांशमुष्णीषोच्चमुदाहृतं । *Ibid.*, p. 33-34.

PL. III. FIG. 1



Bust of Buddha from Peshawar (Hargreaves, *Handbook* etc. Pl. 9a)

PL. III. FIG. 2



Stucco Buddha head from Taxila (Marshall, *A Guide to Taxila*, Pl. vi a).

(*By the courtesy of the Director, Archæological Survey of India*)

Two Tantri Stories

Dr. C. Hooykaas has, in his dissertation[1] on the *Tantri*, given a detailed account of the Javanese version of the Pañcatantra that is known as *Caṇḍapiṅgala, Tantri, Tantri Kāmandaka, Tantravākya* and *Tantri-carita*. Excluding the frame-story (Eśvaryapāla and his marriage with Dyāh Tantri), this version contains thirty-one stories (see App. II, op. cit.), of which twenty-two[2] are found in one or more of the various Indian versions of the Pañcatantra. Of the remaining nine stories, too, it has been pointed out by Hooykaas himself (op. cit., pp. 36 and 114) that one, namely, no. 28 (*Dispute between Jungle and Lion*) is based on a Sanskrit stanza current in India (*Ind. Sprüche*, no. 3766 or 4844). And I propose now to show that two other stories also, namely, nos. 6 (*The Floating Rock and Dancing Apes*) and 19 (*No Milk without Milking*) are likewise derived from Indian sources.

For this purpose, I give here below two stories contained in Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā* and in Vṛttavilāsa's Kannaḍa rendering of that book together with the above-mentioned Tantri stories and the corresponding stories of the Laotian version of the Pañcatantra.[3] (The stories are lacking in the Siamese *Tantrai*).

1 Tantri, de Middel-javaansche Pañcatantra-bewerking. (Leiden. A. Vros, 1929).

2 Hooykaas, in op. cit., App. VI, gives the correspondences in the case of twenty-one Tantri stories only. In addition, however, it must be noted that Tantri no. 24 (*Language of Animals*) corresponds to Nirmala-pāṭhaka IV. 10; see Hertel's *Das Pañcatantra. Seine Geschichte und Verbreitung*, p. 284.

3 In respect of the Tantri stories, I give here a translation of Hooykaas's Dutch résumé (in op. cit.) of the Javanese original, and in respect of the Laotian stories, a translation of Prof. Finot's French résumé (given in the Bulletin de l' Ecole Francaise d' Extreme-Orient, 17, 1917, p. 84 ff.) of the Laotian original. The stories of Vṛttavilāsa's *Dharmaparīkṣā* too are similarly retold here briefly in English. This work is not printed, but the stories in question are found on pp. 463 and 503 of the *Prāk-kāvya-mālikā* or "Canarese Poetical Anthology of Selections from the Standard Poetical Works of Ancient Canarese Literature" published by J. P. Garrett at Bangalore in 1868.

The *Dharmaparīkṣā* published in 1917 by the Jaina Ātmānandasabhā of Bhavanagar, it may be pointed out, is quite a different book. It was written by Jinamaṇḍanagaṇin, who lived much later than Amitagati, and is concerned with the exposition of Jaina dharma whereas Amitagati's book is more concerned with showing the falseness of Brāhmanical beliefs.[1]

1 *Tantri* 6 (p. 88) : King Séwantara goes hunting with a single servant named Séwaṅggara. He feels thirsty and sends the servant to search for water and fruits. The latter does not find them but sees plainly some apes dancing in the sea upon floating rocks. With this story[2], instead of water and fruits, he returns to the king who thereupon becomes impatient. Together they go to the place but fail to see the spectacle ; for it was only an illusive representation made by the Vidyādharas. Because the servant has no witness to bear him out in this improbable story, the king's impatience turns into anger and he kills the servant[3].

Laotian Pañcatantra II. 6 (pp. 99-100) : Mūlakavi and his son, going for the purpose of trade to Majjhimapadesa, see a rock floating in the sea. On their return, the son relates this everywhere. People refuse to believe it : bets are made, and it is resolved that the case should be laid before the king and that the loser should forfeit all his wealth to the exchequer.

The king invites the young man to prove the truth of what he relates and the latter calls on his father to bear witness. But Mūlakavi, fearing that he would be accused of complicity with his son, denies it, and the son is sentenced to forfeit all his property.

While he is in despair, Mūlakavi engages himself in endeavouring that justice be done to him. He goes to the forest, sees a troop of monkeys and teaches them to dance and perform various feats at a

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1 The passages from Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā* are taken from the edition of that work by Pannālāla Bākalīvāla Digambarī Jaina with his own *ṭīkā* in Hindī published by the Jainahitaiṣī Pustakālaya at Bombay in 1901.

2 The Tantri versions written in verse make the servant say to the king, "you may put me to death if this is not true."

3 The story is, in the Tantri, followed by the (corrupt) verse : *asakṣiyañcakagatya pratyakṣātambayan bhavet / wanaraḥ nasti saṣatih śilatale madhya dalém* in which Basuwarga sums up the story and moralises. See op. cit., pp. 88, 124.

sign from him. The king, going hunting, pursues a stag and arrives alone at the place where Mūlakavi dwells. The latter gives the signal and all the apes begin to dance before the king who forgets himself in looking at them. His suite arriving, the apes disappear. The chief officers inquire of the king what he was doing there. On his replying that he was looking at the dancing of the proficient apes, they think him mad. The next day, he goes again to the same place; the scene of the day before is repeated and again the chief officers find the king all alone but strongly affirming that he has seen the dancing of apes. Quite convinced this time of his madness, they put him in chains. The king protests and in support of his words calls for the testimony of Mūlakavi. The latter confirms the story of the king and adds that now he could confirm another surprising story, that which his son had related of the floating rock. The king rewards him and returns to his son all his property.

Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā*, XII, 63 ff. (p. 167 ff.):

हरिनामाऽभवन् मन्त्री चम्पायां गुरुवर्मण: ।
एकाकिना शिला दृष्टा तरन्ती तेन वारिणि ॥ ६३ ॥
आश्चर्य्यं कथिते तत्र राज्ञाऽसौ वन्धितो रुषा ।
पाषाण: प्लवते तोये नेत्यश्रद्दधता सता ॥ ६४ ॥
गृहीतो ब्राह्मण: क्वापि पिशाचेनैव निश्चितम् ।
कथं ब्रूतेऽन्यथेदृक्षमसम्भाव्यं सचेतन: ॥ ६५ ॥
असत्यं गदितं देव मयेदं मुग्धचेतसा ।
इत्येवं भणितस्तेन राज्ञाऽसौ मोचित: पुन: ॥ ६६ ॥
विचित्र-वाद्य-संकीर्णं सङ्गीतं मन्त्रिणा तत: ।
वानरा: शिक्षिता रम्यं वशीकृत्य मनीषितम् ॥ ६७ ॥
ततस्तद् दर्शितं राज्ञस्तेनोद्यान-विवर्त्तिन: ।
एकाकिन: सतो भव्यं चित्तव्यामोह-कारणम् ॥ ६८ ॥
यावद् दर्शयते राजा भट्टानामिदमाहत: (आहूत: ?) ।
संहृत्य वानरा गीतं तावन्नष्टा दिशो दश ॥ ६९ ॥
मन्त्रिणा गदिते तत्र भूतेनाग्राहि पार्थिव: ।
भट्टा निश्चितमित्युक्त्वा बन्धयामास तं नृपम् ॥ ७० ॥
तदेव भाषते भूयो यदा बद्धोऽपि पार्थिव: ।
हसित्वा तुष्ट-चित्तेन मन्त्रिणा मोचितस्तदा ॥ ७१ ॥
यथा वानरसङ्गीतं वनेऽदर्शि त्वया विभो ।
तरन्ती सलिले दृष्टा सा शिलापि मया तथा ॥ ७२ ॥

अश्रद्धेयं न वक्तव्यं प्रत्यक्षमपि वीक्षितम् ।
जानानैः पण्डितम्मन्यं वृत्तान्तं नृपमन्त्रिणोः ॥ ७२ ॥

Vṛttavilāsa's *Dharmaparīkṣā* (*Prāk-kāvya-mālikā*, pp. 463-4): In the town Campaka-pura there ruled the king Guṇavarman. His senior minister once saw a rock that was lodged on a log of light wood floating in water and told it to the king. The king thought, "He must be mad," and had him bound when the minister finding in how difficult a position he was, thought of a ruse, pretended that he was possessed by a *brahma-rākṣasa* (an evil spirit) and cried out, "I am a *brahma-rākṣasa*; I cannot hold out any longer, I shall go." His bonds were thereupon unloosed.

Bearing this indignity in mind, the minister taught some apes in the park to play on musical instruments, sing and dance as soon as they caught sight of human beings. The king happening to go there once, the apes played on musical instruments, sang and danced; and the king, much surprised, told it to the minister. He cried out then, "the king is possessed by an evil spirit" and had him fumigated[1] with the smoke of various things, asking in the meanwhile, "what will make you go and leave the king?"

The king after this experience, once said to the minister, "I did really see with my own eyes the apes play on musical instruments, sing and dance. Why did you then without reason have me ill-treated?" The minister replied, "*aśraddheyaṃ na vaktavyaṃ pratyakṣam api yad bhavet| yathā vānara-saṃgītaṃ tathaiva plavate śilā||*"[2]

2 *Tantri* 19 (p. 102): A hunter sees a Brāhmaṇa eating with so much relish that he asks what it is. The Brāhmaṇa replies that it is milk and butter and gives him some to eat and judge for himself. The hunter, liking their taste, buys the cow from the Brāhmaṇa who then goes away. The hunter then begs of the cow milk and butter. The cow does nothing and the hunter does not milk her udder.

Laotian Pañcatantra I. 16 (p. 94): A cunning Brāhmaṇa, wanting to give a high value to his cow, pretends that she gives milk every

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1 Fumigation with smoke of certain substances is held to be one of the means for casting out evil spirits.

2 "One should not relate what is unbelievable even though one has actually perceived it through one's senses. As there can be the music of the apes, in the same way does the rock float."

day in a different form—as ghee (*sarpis*), curd (*dadhi*), buttermilk (*takra*), butter (*navanīta*) and milk (*kṣīra*) ; and in support of his statement, he showed all these different products of milk. A simple Brāhmaṇa bought this marvellous cow for a thousand gold pieces. But when he milked her, she gave nothing but milk. The Brāhmaṇa persisted, and the cow being exhausted, died.

Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā*, VII, 63ff. (p. 95f.) :

छोहारविषये ख्याते सागराचार-वेदकः ।
वणिक् सागरदत्तोऽभूज्जलयात्रा-परायणः ॥ ६३ ॥
उत्तीर्य्य सागरं नक्रमकरग्राह-सङ्कुलम् ।
एकदा पोतमारुह्य चौलद्वीपमसौ गतः ॥ ६४ ॥
वाणी जिनेश्वरस्येव सुखदान-पटीयसी ।
गच्छता सुरभिर्नीता तेनैका क्षीरदायिनी ॥ ६५ ॥
गत्वा द्वीप-पतिर्दृष्टो वणिजा तेन तोमरः ।
प्राभृतं पुरतः कृत्वा व्यवहार-पटीयसा ॥ ६६ ॥
अन्येद्युः पायसीं नीत्वा शुभास्वादां सुधामिव ।
तोमरो वीक्षितस्तेन कायकान्तिवितारिणीम् ॥ ६७ ॥
संस्कृत्य सुन्दरं दध्ना शाल्योदनमनुत्तमम् ।
दत्वा तेनेक्षितोऽन्येद्युः पीयूषमिव दुर्लभम् ॥ ६८ ॥
अलब्धपूर्व्वकं भुक्त्वा मिष्टमाहारमुज्ज्वलम् ।
प्रहृष्टचेतसाऽवाचि तोमरेण स वाणिजः ॥ ६९ ॥
वणिक्पते त्वया दिव्यं क्वेदृशं लभ्यतेऽशनम् ।
तेनावाचि ममेदृक्षं कुलदेव्या प्रदीयते ॥ ७० ॥
भणितो म्लेच्छनाथेन तेनासौ वाणिजस्ततः ।
स्वकीया दीयतां भद्र ममेयं कुलदेवता ॥ ७१ ॥
वणिजोक्तं तदात्मीयां ददामि कुलदेवताम् ।
ददासि काङ्क्षितं द्रव्यं यदि द्वीपपते मम ॥ ७१ ॥
द्वीपेशेन ततोऽवाचि मा कार्षीर्भद्र संशयम् ।
गृहाण वाञ्छितं द्रव्यं देहि मे कुलदेवताम् ॥ ७२ ॥
मनीषितं ततो द्रव्यं गृहीत्वा वाणिजो गतः ।
समर्प्य नैचिकीं तस्य पोतेनोत्तीर्य्य सागरम् ॥ ७४ ॥
तोमरेणोदितान्येद्युः पुरः पात्रं निधाय गौः ।
देहि त्वं दिव्यमाहारं वाणिजस्य ददासि यत् ॥ ७५ ॥
तेनेति भाषिता धेनुर्मूकीभूय व्यवस्थिता ।
कामुकेनाविदग्धेन विदग्धेव विलासिनी ॥ ७६ ॥

अवदन्ती पुनः प्रोक्ता यच्छ मे कुलदेवते।
प्रसादेनाशनं दिव्यं भक्तस्य कुरु भाषितं ॥ ७७ ॥
मूकीं दृष्ट्वाऽमुनाऽवादि प्रातर्दद्यान्ममाशनम्।
स्मरन्ती श्रेष्टिनो देवि त्वं तिष्ठाद्य निराकुला ॥ ७८ ॥
द्वितीयेऽवसरेऽवाचि निधायाग्रे विशालिकम्।
स्वस्थीभूता ममेदानीं देहि भोज्यं मनीषितम् ॥ ७९ ॥
दृष्ट्वा वाचंयमीभूतां क्रुद्धचित्तस्तदापि ताम्।
द्वीपतोद्घाटयामास प्रेष्य कर्म्मकरानसौ ॥ ८० ॥
वीचधूमस्य मूढ़त्वं यो नेदमपि बुध्यते।
याचिता न पयो दत्ते गौः कस्यापि कदाचन ॥ ८१ ॥
... ... इयं कथं दास्यति मे पयो गौरिदं न यः पृच्छति मूढ़बुद्धिः।
दत्त्वा धनं धेनुमुपाददानो म्लेच्छेन तेनास्ति समो न मूर्खः ॥ ८२ ॥

Vṛttavilāsa's *Dharmaparīkṣā* (*Prāk-kāvya-mālikā* p. 504): A merchant named Sāgaradatta once took some milch-cows to the Nālikera island.[1] A person named Tomara asked him what they were. He replied, "These, when asked, give *rasāyanas*."[2] Tomara then said, "Let us see what they are like,'' whereupon the merchant put before him fragrant fresh-drawn milk, curd, fresh clarified ghee and buttermilk all which Tomara ate till he was satiated. He then asked Sāgaradatta "Who gave you these"? Sāgaradatta replied "My family-goddess (*kuladevatā*)". Tomara then requested the merchant to give the cows and gave him much money and took them home. When the time came for him to take food, he brought a pot, placed it before a cow, and said, "O cow, please give *rasāyana*". The cow stood still. He did thus for two or three days, and getting no *rasāyana* from the cows, drove them off.

Of the above-mentioned four books, Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā* was written in Saṃvat 1070 or A.D. 1013 (or 1012) as stated by the author in the verse: *saṃvatsarāṇāṃ vigate sahasre sa-saptatau Vikrama-pārthivasya | idaṃ niṣidhyānya-mataṃ samāptaṃ Jinendradharmā-mitayukti-śāstram ||* that occurs at the end of the *praśasti* with which the work concludes. Vṛttavilāsa wrote his work in about 1345 A.D.

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1 Or 'to the island resplendent with cocoanut trees'; the text has *nāḷikēra-vilasad-dvīpaṃ* which can be interpreted in both ways.

2 *rasāyana* = elixir of life; that which destroys old age and keeps one ever young.

as I have shown elsewhere[1]; and the Javanese Tantri was written in about 1200 A.D. (Hooykaas, op. cit., p. 132). Nothing is known about the date of the Laotian Pañcatantra.

Now it is plain from the above résumés that Vṛttavilāsa's versions of the two stories differ considerably in detail from those of Amitagati. In fact, his whole work, though professing to be a Kannaḍa rendering of Amitagati's original, differs widely from it: the arrangement of the matter is different, new stories are introduced and some ones found in Amitagati's book are omitted; and even in the stories that are common, there is much difference in details. All this indicates that Vṛttavilāsa, though following Amitagati's Dharmaparīkṣā, based his book not so much on that work as on the sources of that work. And this is the reason, I conceive, why we find fresh-drawn milk, curd, butter-milk and fresh clarified ghee, mentioned (in the story of 'No milk without milking') in Vṛttavilāsa's work while there is no mention of them in Amitagati's, and why in the former we find the *kathāsaṃgraha* verse: *aśraddheyaṃ na vaktavyam*...that is not found in the latter. This *kathāsaṃgraha* verse, it will be noted, occurs in the Tantri also (see n. 5 above) though in a very corrupt form.

Secondly, it is also evident from the foregoing that the four versions of the story of 'The floating rock and dancing apes' and of the story of 'No milk without milking' are all derived from the same source. In other words, it is plain that the Tantri stories 6 and 19 and the stories II. 6 and I. 16 of the Laotian

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1 In the Kannaḍa journal *Prabuddha-karṇāṭaka*, no. 37 A (1928), p. 212 ff. Vṛttavilāsa mentions in the beginning of his work that he was the disciple of the Jaina guru Amarakīrti and, gives the following lineage of his guru: Keśavendu of the Balātkāra-gaṇa, Cārukīrti, Abhayakīrti, Vasantakīrti, Viśālakīrti, Śubhakīrti, Dharmabhuṣaṇa, Amarakīrti. Of these, the gurus Vasantakīrti, Subhakīrti, Dharmabhūṣaṇa and Amarakīrti are mentioned in an inscription at Srāvaṇa-Beḷgoḷā (*Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. II, 2nd ed., no. 274, p. 137) which says that Vardhamāna, disciple of Dharmabhūṣaṇa, who was the disciple of the above-mentioned Amarakīrti, set up a tablet to the memory of his guru Dharmabhūṣaṇa [II] on 5th May 1373 A.D. Vṛttavilāsa was thus a contemporary of the second Dharmabhūṣaṇa who died shortly before May 1373.

Pañcatantra are derived from an Indian source. Amitagati's work cannot be this source; for though this was written in 1013 A.D. (or 1012), it does not contain the verse *aśraddheyaṃ na vaktavyam*... which occurs in the Tantri. Nor can Vṛttavilāsa's work be the source; for though this work does contain the above verse, it was written, as said above, in about 1345 A.D. and is thus later than the Tantri. It follows hence that, like the stories in Vṛttavilāsa's work, the Tantri stories 6 and 19 and the corresponding stories of the Laotian Pañcatantra are derived from the same source from which Amitagati's work is derived. That this source was a written book is shown by the fact that it was available to Vṛttavilāsa who wrote more than three hundred years after Amitagati.

For the rest, in respect of the story of 'No milk without milking' though all the four versions given above preserve the essence of it, the versions of the Tantri and Amitagati do not seem to me to be so faithful to the original as those of the Laotian Pañcatantra and Vṛttavilāsa. These two versions are closely allied and make explicit mention of *sarpis*, *dadhi*, *takra* and *kṣīra*, a feature which seems to me therefore to be common to them and to the original; but of these two, too, I am inclined to believe that Vṛttavilāsa's version is the more faithful.

In respect of the other story, the Tantri version has not preserved the essence of it though it contains the kathāsaṃgraha verse; and of the other three versions, it seems to me, again, that Vṛttavilāsa's version is more faithful to the original than the other two.

A. VENKATASUBBIAH

The Sāmrājya of Yudhisthira

I have deliberately refrained from using an English equivalent for the term 'Sāmrājya'. Like the English word "Empire" it stands for a variety of concepts. The basic feature of all these is the combination, whether optional or forced, of a number of states under the suzerainty of a sovereign kingdom. To-day the term "Empire" has an implication of a use, actual or possible, of force. Imperialism is a doctrine which contains a strong disagreeable odour of love of conquest, of a desire to hold nations and countries in subjection. Simultaneously with the idea that the constituent kingdoms voluntarily enter into a confederation and that they have a right, if they choose, to secede, the word "commonwealth" has of late begun to come into vogue. The idea underlying this word is not that of submission to force, but of deliberate choice on the part of the constituent states to remain in a Union.

Sāmrājya based both on force and free will

In the Sāmrājya of Yudhiṣṭhira the two elements, namely, submission to superior force and free choice, were combined. The larger kingdoms of Prāgjyotiṣa (Assam),[1] Cedi (Bundelkhand),[2] Vidarbha (extending over what at present are Berar, Khandesa, Tinnevelly, and Madura),[3] Kunti (Malwa),[4] Harivarṣa (Tibet),[5] Sākala situated between the Ravi and the Chenab,[6] Māhiṣmatī (Mahabaleswar),[7] and the federation of Ānarta with its capital at Dvārāvatī[8] joined it voluntarily, while other states, most of which were of smaller size and presumably commanded less influence, had to be brought within the Sāmrājya forcibly. I shall enumerate all these, when indicating the boundaries of the Sāmrājya of Yudhiṣṭhira.

Forms of Sāmrājya

In answer to Yudhiṣṭhira's proposal to hold Rājasūya, by which he should become Samrāṭ, Śrī Kṛṣṇa enumerated to him the various

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1 *Sabhā Parva*, 26, 16. 2 *Ibid.*, 29, 14.
3 *Ibid.*, 31, 63. 4 *Ibid.*, 31, 6. 5 *Ibid.*, 28, 15.
6 *Ibid.*, 32, 13, 14. 7 *Ibid.*, 32, 14. 8 *Ibid.*, 31, 59.

forms of Sāmrājya, known to have been established till that time, of each of which he gave an example. Yauvanāśvi,[1] he said, became Samrāṭ by remitting taxes, Bhagīratha by giving protection (to subject states), Kārtavīrya by dint of austere life, Bharata by sheer force, and Marutta by advancing the prosperity (of the states which acknowledged him as their overlord). This distinction of varieties will give the reader an insight into the motives which led to the establishment of a Sāmrājya in those days. A common policy of frugality in the government that will lighten the burden of the tax-payer, security against foreign invasion, exemplary character of the overlord of which self-restraint is the basic feature, the necessity of submission to superior force, and economic prosperity of the combining states—these are the five objects which bind kingdoms together under a Samrāṭ. Yudhiṣṭhira's aim was to establish a Sāmrājya that should at once achieve all these five purposes.[2]

The Sāmrājya of Jarāsandha

Jarāsandha, the monarch of Magadha, who was, continued Śrī Kṛṣṇa, Samrāṭ at that time, based his suzerainty on sheer force. None of the hundred and one rājās of the Aila and Aikśvākava dynasties who had acknowledged him as their overlord found pleasure in submitting to him.[3] His policy was to accept the homage of powerful monarchs, whose sway extended over large territories, and to root out smaller states. For forms of government other than monarchies there appears to have been no place in his imperialistic policy. Among vassal kings whose states formed part of the empire of Jarāsandha, are mentioned Śiśupāla of Cedi, Vakra of Karūṣa, Bhagadatta of Prāgjyotiṣa, Kuntibhoja of Mālava,

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1 जित्वा जय्यान् यौवनाश्विः पालनाच्च भगीरथः ।
कार्त्तवीर्यस्तपोवीर्याद्द बलात्तु भरतो विभुः ॥
ऋद्ध्या मरुत्तस्तान् पञ्च सम्राजस्त्वनुशुश्रुम ।—सभापर्व, १५, १५-१६

2 साम्राज्यमिच्छतस्ते तु सर्वाकारं युधिष्ठिर ।—सभा, १५, १८

3 ऐलवंश्याश्च ये राजन् तथैवैक्ष्वाकवो नृपाः ।
तानि चैकशतं विद्धि कुलानि भरतर्षभ ॥—सभा, १४, ५
न चैतमनुरुध्यन्ते कुलान्येकशतं नृपाः ।
तस्मादिह बलादेव साम्राज्य' कुरुते हि सः ॥ सभा, १५, २०

Vāsudeva of Puṇḍra and Bhīṣmaka of Vidarbha.[1] These states, it will be seen, are, with the single exception of Karūṣa under Vakra, who did not voluntarily recognise the overlordship of Yudhiṣṭhira, but whose place we find filled by the powerful federation of the Vṛṣṇis and the Andhakas of Ānarta and other states of the same order which joined the new Sāmrājya of their own free will, the states which abstained from offering opposition to the Pāṇḍavas in the course of their campaign of *Digvijaya.* They, it appears, were glad to organise themselves into a new union, as soon as the empire of Jarāsandha was brought to an end by his death at the hands of Bhīma. Eighteen tribes of the Bhojas who lived originally in the north were expatriated by Jarāsandha. They had to fly from their original homes and seek shelter in the West.[2] The Śūrasenas, Bhadrakāras, Bodhas, Śālvas, Paṭaccaras, Susthalas, Mukuṭṭas, Kulindas, Kuntis, Śāllvāyanas, Southern Pañcālas, Eastern Kośalas and Matsyas were expelled from their former territories.[3]

Whether these were included among the eighteen Bhoja *Kulas*, above referred to, or were additional to them and whether the seventeen *Kulas* of Muttra who voluntarily went into exile were distinct from either of these groups has been left to be guessed by the reader.

At Muttra, instead of the Saṃgha (oligarchic federation) of the Vṛṣṇis and Andhakas, he established a monarchy under Kaṃsa, whom he gave two of his daughters in marriage. Śrī Kṛṣṇa who had just finished his education and had returned home a *Snātaka*, restored unity among Bhojas and Vṛṣṇis by arranging the marriage of Akrūra, who was leading one faction, with the daughter of Āhuka, the chief of the other party. He then killed Kaṃsa and re-established the Saṃgha. Then ensued the invasions of Jarāsandha whom Vṛṣṇis and Andhakas repulsed seventeen times but finding their existence at Muttra unsafe had to shift their capital to Dvārakā.[4]

The Sāmrājya of Yudhiṣṭhira

After Jarāsandha's death the Pāṇḍavas set out on their career of *Digvijaya* or all-round conquest. Among the states either won

1 सभापर्व, १४, १०-२२

2 उदीच्याश्च तथा भोजाः कुलान्यष्टादश प्रभो।
जरासन्धभयादेव प्रतीचीं दिशमाश्रिताः ॥—सभा०, १४, २५

3 सभापर्व—१४, २६

4 सभा—१४, ३१-६८

over or brought under control are named the following[1] :—Kulinda (Saharanpur and Garhwal); Ānarta; Kālakūṭa; Śākala (Sialkot); Prativindhya; Prāgjyotiṣa (Assam); Ulūka; Five republics (*Gaṇas*) in the mountainous tract of the North; Utsavasaṅketa republics; Dārbhas; Kokanada; Abhisārī (Rajauri); Uraga (Hazara); Siṃhapura (Pindadankhan); Bālhīka (Jhang); Darada (Dardistan); Kimpuruṣa (Nepal); Hāṭaka (near Mānasa Sarovara); Uttara Harivarṣa (Tibet); Pañcāla (Rohilkhand); Videha (Tirhut); Daśārṇa (Chattisgarh); Pulindanagara (Bundelkhand and Sagar); Śreṇīmān; Malla (Malva); Bhallāṭa on the Śuktimān Mt.; Malada (Shahābād Dist. and Berar.); Vatsabhūmi (Kauśāmbī); Niṣāda (Marwar); Śarmaka; Varmaka; Barbaras; Seven Kings of the Kirātas; Magadha (Behar); Puṇḍra; Kauśikaccha (Purnea); Tāmralipta (Tamluk); Suhma (Rāḍha) and Lauhitya (on the Brahmaputra). These states, as it will be seen, cover the whole of the present India, to which they add Afganistan, Tibet and presumably a part of China.

Its Collapse and Revival

After the *digvijaya* the *Rājasūya* was performed. A part of the ceremony was the offering of *Argha* (worship) of which Śrī Kṛṣṇa was considered among the chiefs present the most worthy. This roused indignation among a number of Rājās who saw their deep humiliation in the adoration of a non-rājā—one who had killed a monarch himself, and for the murder of another made himself directly responsible, and who further presumably on account of his revolutionary propaganda against, and by his disrespectful attitude towards, the persons and crowns of ruling potentates had made himself and his Saṃgha, federation, a body of Vrātyas, outcastes in their eyes.[2] The murder of Śiśupāla who gave vocal expression to his feeling of resentment simply confirmed that discontent. They swallowed their rage at the time, but as Duryodhana after his return to Hastināpura remarked to his father that tragical conclusion of the *Rājasūya* had simply made manifest the common danger to which the persons of *Rājās*, till that time considered

1 महाभारत सभा, श्रा, १६, २२

2 व्रात्या: संश्लिष्टकर्म्माण: प्रहृत्यै व विगर्हिता: ।
वृष्णान्धका: कथं पार्थ प्रमाणं भवता कृता: ॥ द्रोण पर्व, ११, ४३-१५

sacred, were in that new regime subject.[1] Śakuni during his return journey had enumerated the names of Rājās who would help an attempt to upset the suzerainty of Yudhiṣṭhira. The gambling match which took place in the *Sabhā* (assembly hall) of Duryodhana, was simply an outward ruse. The causes of the collapse of Yudhiṣṭhira's Sāmrājya were political. The offering of *Argha* to Kṛṣṇa, followed by the murder of Śiśupāla,[2] was, politically considered, a blunder. A number of states that were already discontented found an opportunity of forming themselves into a coalition against the Pāṇḍavas. The exile of thirteen years which the latter underwent, followed by the Kurukṣetra War, was a consequence of that deep laid conspiracy.[3] After the war which ended in the victory of the Pāṇḍavas a new *digvijya* took place. Strong insistence was laid this time on avoiding bloodshed.[4] For royal blood special regard was shown.[5] All ruling princes were assured that their persons and privileges would henceforward be respected. In the Aśvamedha, which was a successful replica of the unsuccessful Rājasuya, *argha*-offering was omitted at the instance of Śrī Kṛṣṇa himself.[6] Then was the Sāmrājya re-established.

The Character of Yudhiṣṭhira's Sāmrājya

As was remarked by Śiśupāla[7] during his speech of protest preceding his murder, they had agreed to pay tributes to Yudhiṣṭhira not because they feared him or longed for his protection or bounty,

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1 अतीत वाक्पथे काले प्रेक्षमाणा जनार्दनम् ।
हस्तैर्हस्ताग्रमपरे प्रत्यपिंषन्नमर्षिताः ॥
अपरे दशनैरोष्ठानदशन् क्रोधमूर्च्छिताः ॥—सभा, ४५, ३१-३२

2 शिशुपाल इवास्माकं गतिः स्यान्नात्र संशयः ॥—सभा, ५०, २७

3 तस्यापराधाद् दुर्बुद्धेरभिमानान्महीक्षिताम् ।
विमर्दः सुमहानासीदनयात् स्वकृतादथ ॥—आश्रमवासिक पर्व, ९, ५

4 हतबान्धवा न ते पार्थ हन्तव्याः पार्थिवा इति ॥—अश्वमेध, ७४, ७

5 राजानस्ते न हन्तव्या धनंजय कथंचन ॥—अश्व, ७३, ११

6 यथा चात्ययिकं न स्याद्‌यदर्घहरणेऽभवत् ॥

7 वयन्तु न भयादस्य कौन्तेयस्य महात्मनः ।
प्रयच्छामः करान् सर्वे न लोभान्नच सान्त्वनात् ॥
अस्य धर्मप्रवृत्तस्य पार्थिवत्वं चिकीर्षतः ।
करानस्मै प्रयच्छामः सोऽयमस्मान्न मन्यते ॥—सभा, १३७, १९-२०

but because his mission was to foster *Dharma*, principles calculated to conduce to the advance of humanity. Instances of Sāmrājya, established before the time of Yudhiṣṭhira are quoted by Śrī Kṛṣṇa, but the Sāmrājya of which Yudhiṣṭhira was the overlord is the first of which something beyond its mere name and character has found record. It was *sarvākāra*, i.e., combined in itself the peculiarities of all the five forms of Sāmrājya to which Śrī Kṛṣṇa had referred. It was designed to fulfil at once the fivefold object of establishing a Sāmrājya. It covered the confines of the whole of India and included besides Afganistan, Tibet, Assam and a part perhaps of China. It included states of various types, viz., monarchies, republics, aristoracies[1] and a federation—Saṃgha. Self-determination was thus its basic principle. Its aim was furtherance of *Dharma.*

The office of Smrāṭ not hereditary but confined to monarchical states

From the rapidity with which suzerainty changed hands not in one dynasty, but among members of different ruling families, it is clear that the office of Samrāṭ was not, like that of a king, hereditary. The doctrine of the divinity of kings was then an accepted principle of monarchical government, as is clear from a study of the accounts, given in the Mahābhārata, of the origin of the institution of state. Śrī Kṛṣṇa attached little value to it. When Bhīṣma took his stand on this doctrine for the vindication of his adherence to Duryodhana who was clearly pursuing the path of *Adharma*, Śrī Kṛṣṇa referred to his own conduct in killing Kaṃsa,

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1 Among the Rājās who, as a result of the *digvijaya* of the Pāṇdavas joined Yudhiṣṭhira's Sāmrāyya, a few are characterised as *Śreṇimān*, the obvious meaning of which is "head of an aristocracy." Two passages containing this designation follow :—

ततः कुमारविषये श्रेणिमन्तमथाजयत् ।
कोशलाधिपतिञ्चैव बृहद्बलमरिन्दमः ॥ सभा, ३०-१
निषादभूमिं गोशृङ्गं पर्वतं प्रवरं तथा ।
तरसैवाजयद्धीमान् श्रेणिमन्तं च पार्थिवम् ॥ सभा, ३१-५
एतस्येक्ष्वाकुवंशस्य प्रकृतिं परिचक्षते ।
राजानः श्रेणिमन्ताश्च तथान्ये क्षत्रिया भुवि ॥ सभा, १४-४

and said that way lay the path of patriotic duty.[1] This attitude of Śrī Kṛṣṇa had, however, as we have seen, been responsible for deep disaffection among kings, whose mortification on the occasion of the Rājasūya brought about instant collapse of the Sāmrājya. The traditional doctrine was found to be deep-rooted in the nature of the monarchs. They could not brook the suzerainty of a non-monarch over a Union of which they were members.

The status of Non-monarchical States

Composed, therefore, as the Sāmrājya was of various kinds of states, monarchical, federal, aristocratic and republican, at its head it was necessary to place a monarch. The states other than monarchical could only be the members of the Sāmrājya. This may explain in part why Śrī Kṛṣṇa whose consummate statesmanship lay virtually at the root of the whole imperial edifice, served as a minister to Yudhiṣṭhira. His own Saṃgha could not enjoy the privileges of suzerainty. Non-monarchical states, as they are described in the Mahābhārata, were otherwise, too, on account of the dissipation of a great part of their strength in the maintenance of their internal unity, unfit to hold the reins of a Sāmrājya. Non-hereditary though it was, the office of the Samrāṭ had, therefore, to remain confined to monarchs.

For thirty-six years after the Kurukṣetra war Śrī Kṛṣṇa was alive.[2] The death of Yudhiṣṭhira took place even later. Till that event he remained the suzerain of India. As to how he worked for the betterment of the subjects of his own state we have ample hints in the Mahābhārata. As to what measures he took for the uplift of the people of the whole of India we find no explicit account beyond a brief note in an earlier chapter which gives but a clue

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1 त्वं मूलमस्य भुवि चमस्य दुर्योधनं चाथ ससुद्धरिष्यसि ।
दुर्वृत्तदेवी नृपतिर्निवार्यः सुमन्त्रिणा धर्मपथि स्थितेन ॥
त्याज्योऽथवा कालपरीतबुद्धिर्धर्मातिगो यः कुलपांसनः स्यात् ।
भीष्मस्तदाकर्ण्य यदुप्रवीरं राजा परं दैवतमित्युवाच ॥
त्यक्तास्तु कंसो यदुभिर्हितार्थे संबोध्यमानो न बुबोध राजा ॥ भीष्म, ५९, ९९-१०१

2 त्वमप्युपस्थिते वर्षे षट्त्रिंशे मधुसूदन ।
हतज्ञातिर्हतामात्यो हतपुत्रो वनेचरः ॥
कुत्सितेनाप्युपायेन निधनं समवाप्स्यसि ॥—स्त्री पर्व, २५-४४

to the capability of Yudhiṣṭhira, viz., that he kept the various chiefs that were under him in peace. This was no doubt one of the objects of Sāmrājya. The real story of the Mahābhārata has ended abruptly after the Aśvamedha, in other words, with the re-establishment of the overlordship. How the fundamental mission of the establishment of a Sāmrājya was fulfilled in practice does not appear to have concerned the ancient chronicler. The description of the administration of Yudhiṣṭhira's own state, too, belongs to the period when he was simply a king, not yet the king of kings.

CHAMUPATI

Gopāla Deva I of Bengal*

Gopāla was the first king of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal. But we have, up to now, no inscription of his, no contemporary record whatsoever, from which we can ascertain the duration of his reign or the year of his accession to the throne. Evidences are not, however, wanting altogether which may enable us to find them out with some amount of probability. But it seems that these have not as yet been utilised.

Tāranātha (1608 A.C.) is a doubtful witness. Unless he is corroborated from other sources, he is not reliable. Now let us see what he tells us about Gopāla. Before narrating the legendary history of Gopāla he mentions that Vimala Candra reigned over Bengal, Kāmarūpa and Tīrabhukti. He married the sister of king Bhartṛhari and had a son named Govicandra. After his death Govicandra succeeded him. Govicandra was the last king of the dynasty. After him there was no king to rule over the country. Now Gopāla was born at Puṇḍravardhana of a beautiful Kṣatriya young woman who was in *liaison* with a Tree god. When grown up he worshipped the goddess Cundā. He then came to the Vihāra of Ārya Khasarpaṇa and prayed for a kingdom. He received the order to go to the East. Now for many years there had not been a king in Bengal and all the inhabitants were unhappy. Then the leaders came

* Read at the 6th Oriental Conference at Patna.

together, deliberated and chose a king. The elected king, however, was eaten up that very night by a female Nāga who had assumed the form of the queen of the former king (either Govicandra or his brother Lalitacandra, according to different versions). In this way she killed all the elected kings. Gopāla was at last elected; but instead of being eaten up, he killed the female Nāga. He was chosen as a king seven times in seven days. Then he was made the permanent king and was given the name of Gopāla. He began to rule in Bengal; then he conquered Magadha. He built the Vihāra of Nalandara, not far from Odantapura. He reigned 45 years. At this time Śrī Harṣa Deva ruled over Kashmir.[1]

Now let us see what we can glean from other sources. It is known from the inscription of Dharmapāladeva,[2] the son and successor of Gopāla, that Gopāla was elected king to remove *mātsyanyāya*, i.e., anarchical state in which the strong oppresses the weak. This is a partial corroboration of the statement of Tāranātha about the election of Gopāla. About the contemporaneity of Gopāla with Harṣa Deva of Kashmir, Tāranātha makes a confusion, as Harṣa reigned from 1089 to 1101 A.C.[3] But he is not altogether wrong. There was another Harṣa of Kāmarūpa who has been described as *Gauḍ-Oḍrādi-Kaliṅga-Kośalapati*" (the lord of Gauḍa, Oḍra etc. and Kaliṅga and Kośala) in the inscription of Jayadeva of Nepal dated 153 of an Era which might be Harṣa Era = 759 A.C. or another Era = 748 A.C.[4] Now in the inscription of king Nārāyaṇapāla Deva[5] the following verse occurs in praise of Gopāla Deva:

jitvā yaḥ kāmakāri-prabhavam abhibhavaṃ śāśvatīṃ prāpa śāntiṃ
sa Śrīmān Lokanātho jayati Daśabalo'nyaś ca Gopāladevaḥ|

Here *kāmakāri* has a double meaning. In the case of Buddha, *Kāmaka* means Māra, who is an enemy; in the case of Gopāladeva, *Kāmaka* means king of Kāmarūpa who is also an enemy. Now Kāmaka (with the pleonastic suffix *ka*) is allowed in Sanskrit by the maxim *nāmaikadeśagrahaṇaṃ nāmamātragrahaṇam*,[6] i.e., the

1 Schiefner, *Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien*, pp. 195 ff.
2 *Ep. Ind.*, iv, 243.
3 Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th ed., p. 389.
4 *Ind. Ant.*, ix, p. 178; Sylvain Lévi, *Le Nepal*, II, p. 170.
5 *Ind. Ant.*, xv, p. 584; *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 56.
6 *Kirātārjunīya*, i, 24, Mallinātha's Commentary.

mention of a part of a name is (same as) the mention of the name itself. This maxim has been given elsewhere thus : *ekadeśena samudāyaḥ*,[1] i.e., by the part the whole (is to be understood). The use of a word in a double sense was a favourite rhetorical pastime with many of the court poets of the Pāla kings. Now the use of the name of the country to denote the king of that country is common in Sanskrit. So the above verse will mean in the case of Gopāla Deva as follows :

"Victory to Lord Buddha as well as to His Majesty Gopāla Deva, the lord of the world, who obtained perpetual peace by repelling the attack made by the king of Kāmarūpa, who was an enemy".

Thus Gopāla was a contemporary of Harṣa Deva of Kāmarūpa. Perhaps Kāśmīra is a misreading for Kāmarūpa. We should remember that Tāranātha's mention of the contemporaneity of Dharmapāla with Cakrāyudha has been corroborated by inscriptions.

It follows from the account of Tāranātha that Gopāla was a successor to the throne of Govicandra, after some interval when his queen was believed to have been living. Now the time of Govicandra can be ascertained from various sources. The renunciation of Govicandra is the theme of popular ballads all over Northern India. In the Hindustani version, Gopīcānd (=Gopīcandra) is the sister's son of Bharthari (=Bhartṛhari),[2] just as in the narration of Tāranātha. Govicandra's father Vimalacandra has been stated by Tāranātha to have been a contemporary of Dharmakīrti.[3] I-tsing (673 A.C.) mentions Dharmakīrti among the great masters of Buddhism in his time[4] and according to him Bhartṛhari died in 651 A.C.[5] According to Tāranātha, Bhartṛhari and Govicandra were both converted by Siddha Jālandharī.[6] Hindi ballads state the same thing. The Bengali ballads mention Jālandharī as the *guru* of Gopīcāṁd.[7] Tāranātha explicitly says that Govicandra began his reign about the time of the death of Dharmakīrti or a little later.[8] According to Vassilief, Dharmakīrti was a contemporary

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1 *Rāmacarita*, i, 4, Commentary.

2 Lakṣmaṇa Dāsa, *Gopīcānd Bharthari*.

3 *Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien*, p. 172.

4 Takakusu, *A Record of Buddhist Religion*, p. xxxi.

5 *Ibid.*, p. lvii. 6 Grünwedel—*Edelsteinmine*, pp. 61, 62.

7 Durlabha Mallik—*Govinda Candra Gītā* ; Shukur Muhammad, *Gopīcāṁder Sannyāsa*.

8 Schiefner, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

of king Sroṅ-bcan-sgam-po of Tibet[1] (died 650).[2] From all these evidences, the time of Govicandra may be roughly put down at 700 A.C.[3] Then Gopāla was elected to the vacant throne of Vaṅga some years after the abdication of Govicandra.

From the inscription of Dharmapāla we know that the queen of Gopāla was Dedda Devī, whose son was Dharmapāla.[4] Haribhadra, a contemporary of Dharmapāla, mentions Dharmapāla as *Rājabhaṭādi-vaṃśa-patita*,[5] which I would take to mean *descended by the female line beginning with Rājabhaṭa*, and I think Dedda Devī was a descendant of Rājabhaṭa. The justification of our supposition lies in the fact that no other king of the Pāla dynasty has been called a descendant of Rājabhaṭa. From the account of the Chinese traveller Seng-chi we know that Rājabhaṭa was ruling in Samataṭa (Vaṅga) between 650 and 655 A.C.[6] So Dedda Devī may be a grand-daughter of Rājabhaṭa. From Bengali ballads we know that Gopicāmd had his capital at Mehārkul[7] or Pāṭikārā.[8] Now both are adjoining fiscal divisions in the district of Tippera in Eastern Bengal. This is Paṭṭikerā of the inscription of Raṇavaṅkamalla.[9] Tāranātha makes Chittagong the capital of Govicandra.[10] It would be natural that Gopāla should enter into matrimonial alliance with a neighbouring king. Afterwards he seems to have conquered Samataṭa and other places bordering on the

1 *M. G. A. La Comme, Bouddhisme*, p. 54.

2 The dates of Tibetan kings vary with different authorities. See Lévi, *Le Nepal*, II, 148.

3 Shahidullah, *Les Chants Mystiques de Kāṇhā et de Saraha*, p. 28.

4 *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 243,

5 R. D. Banerji, *Bāngalār Itihāsa*, pt. I, p. 164.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 165.

7 Shukur Muhammad, *op. cit.*

8 Pāṭikānagara in Durlabha Mallik, *op. cit.*

9 Colebrooke, *Misc. Essays*, II, p. 241. Colebrooke read *paṭṭikeva*. The reading *paṭṭikera* is of Mr. N. K. Bhaṭṭaśāli. Shukur Muhammad, *op. cit.*, p. 70. Goddess Cundā was a popular deity of the locality. (Bhaṭṭaśāli, *Iconography etc.*, p. 13). Is it for Gopāla that her worship became popular there ?

10 Sarat Candra Das, *J. A. S. B.*, 1898, p. 22; Grünwedel, *op. cit.*

Bay of Bengal. This can be gathered from the inscription of Devapāla.[1]

Gopāla's encounter with Śrī Harṣa Deva comes after this chronologically. Perhaps Śrī Harṣa Deva occupied Gauḍa some time after the king of Gauḍa had been defeated and killed by Yaśovarman[2] (circa 730 A.C.). But Yaśovarman being engaged in warfare with king Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa of Kashmir, by whom he was ultimately defeated and dethroned[3] (about 740 A.C.), could not turn his attention to his newly conquered state. Gopāla after having consolidated his power in his own kingdom by conquering his neighbouring principalities bordering on the sea would naturally turn his attention to Gauḍa. This event must have taken place some time after 740 A.C. If we believe the treacherous murder of the king of Gauḍa by Lalitāditya,[4] Śrī Harṣa Deva's conquest of Gauḍa may date after that event and Gopāla's encounter with him will be a little later. That Śrī Harṣa Deva was styled lord of Gauḍa, etc. in 759 A.C. by his son-in-law does not necessarily prove that he was then still in possession of Gauḍa. But even if Harṣa was defeated in battle, Gauḍa was not then permanently included in the Pāla kingdom. It remained, or soon became, separate from Vaṅga. When Vatsarāja, the Gurjara king, attacked the country (circa 770 A.C.) he took away two royal umbrellas, the insignias of Gauḍa and Vaṅga.[5] It was left to Gopāla's son and successor Dharmapāla Deva to annex

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1 *Vijitya yenā jaladher vasundharām vimohitāmoghaparigrahā iti|*
sabāṣpam udbāṣpavilocanān punar vaneṣu bandhūn dadṛśur
mataṅgajāḥ||
Gauḍalekhāmālā, p. 35 ; *Ind. Ant.*, xxi, 254 ; *Ep.*, *Ind.*, XVIII, p. 304.

2 *Gauḍavaho*, verses 414-417.

3 Smith, *Ibid.*, p. 386. There is nothing to prove that he was killed in the battle with Lalitāditya. Kahlaṇa says explicitly that Yaśovarman "became by his defeat a panegyrist of his (Lalitāditya's) virtues" (Stein, *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, IV, p. 144). On the authority of the Jaina tradition I believe that he reigned at least up to 751 A.C. (*vide infra*).

4 R. D. Banerji, *Ibid.*, p. 130 ; R. C. Majumdar, *Outline of Ancient Indian History and Civilization*, p. 357.

5 *Ind. Ant.*, XI, p. 157, XII, p. 160 ; *Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 240 ; R. D. Banerji, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

Gauḍa permanently. Tāranātha's statement that Gopāla began to rule in Vaṅga and then he conquered Magadha is partially true. In fact, Tāranātha states that Dharmapāla conquered Gauḍa.[1]

The end of Gopāla's reign will be some time before 762 A.C. According to Tāranātha the sage Śāntarakṣita died during the reign of Dharmapāla. His death is said to have happened in 762 A.C.[2] We may put down the death of Gopāla in 760 A.C. as a good working date. Now if we accept Tāranātha's statement of 45 years' reign for Gopāla, it would commence in 715 A.C.

This is quite in keeping with the facts we have mentioned before. It will no doubt make Gopāla, the king of Vaṅga, suffer defeat at the hands of Yaśovarman.[3] According to the tradition of the Jainas[4] after the death of Yaśovarman, Āmarāja ascended the throne of Kanauj (between 751 and 755 A.C.). Vākpati was the court-poet of Dharmapāla, king of Gauḍa ; afterwards he came over to the court of Āmarāja. There was an old feud between the two kings ; afterwards they were reconciled. This narration makes Dharmapāla the contemporary of Āmarāja. Their fathers Gopāla and Yaśovarman may also be contemporaneous.

We know from the Ragholi inscription of Jayavardhana II that the elder brother of his great grandfather killed the king of Pauṇḍra.[5] This will be in the beginning of the 8th century. From the narration of Tāranātha we have seen that Gopāla was born of a Kṣatriya mother at Puṇḍravardhana. It may be that Bapyaṭa, the father of Gopāla,[6] was the unnamed king of Pauṇḍra. In the Ragholi inscription the king of Pauṇḍra has been styled *ūrjitavairi-dāraṇapaṭu* which is equivalent to *khaṇḍitārati*, the attribute of Bapyaṭa in the Khalimpur inscription of Dharmapāla (verse 3). This

1 *Ind. Ant.*, IV, p. 366. Dharmapāla has been called *Vaṅga-pati* in the ins. of Bhoja.—*Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 108.

2 S. C. Vidyabhushana, *History of the Mediæval School of Indian Logic*, p. 148.

3 *Gauḍavaho*, vs. 819-21.

4 This tradition is found in the Jain works *Bappabhaṭṭi Sūri-carita*, *Prabandhakośa* and *Prabhavakacarita*. Vide *Gauḍavaho*, Introduction pp. cxxxv ff.

5 *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 44. Dr. R.C. Majumdar rightly thinks that it was followed by the invasions of Yaśovarman and Lalitāditya (*Ibid.*, 365).

6 Bāṇagaḍa Ins. of Mahīpāla I, verse 12 ; *J. A. S. B.*, LXI, 77.

will explain why Gopāla left his country seeking adventure abroad and why Varendra was called *Janakabhū* (fatherland)[1] by the Pāla kings. One thing however is definite that Bapyaṭa flourished at the time mentioned in the inscription.

We can thus reconstruct the history of Bengal from 700 to 760 A.C. In the beginning of the eighth century or some time before 700 A.C., Bapyaṭa was reigning in Puṇḍravardhana and Govicandra in Vaṅga. Bapyaṭa was killed by a king belonging to the Śaila Dynasty. About this time Govicandra, king of Vaṅga, abdicated and renounced the world. Gopāla, the son of Bapyaṭa (perhaps posthumous) had come to Vaṅga as an adventurer when he was quite young, and was elected king there (about 715 A.C.). In order to strengthen his position he married a princess belonging to the family of Rājabhaṭa, king of Samataṭa. Afterwards he conquered the whole of the sea-board of Bengal. Before he could regain his paternal kingdom, king Yaśovarman of Kanauj invaded Bengal (circa 730 A.C.). He killed the Śaila king of Gauḍa and Magadha and vanquished Gopāla. Yaśovarman set up another king on the throne of Gauḍa. Gopāla, ambitious as he was, dared not offend Yaśovarman by attacking his vassal. Now Yaśovarman was attacked by Lalitāditya, king of Kashmir and was defeated. The king of Gauḍa submitted to the king of Kashmir and was afterwatds treacherously murdered. It was probably at this juncture that Harṣa Deva of Kāmarūpa conquered Gauḍa. Gopāla attacked Harṣa Deva, who was threatening the peace of his kingdom and defeated him. But he could not conquer Gauḍa.[2] He died in about 760 A.C. and was succeeded by Dharmapāla.

MUHAMMAD SHAHIDULLAH

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1 Kamauli Inscription of Vaidyadeva, verse 4, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 348.

2 According to the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (IV, 421ff), a king named Jayanta was ruling in Puṇḍravardhana about 775 A.C. He might have been a successor of Harṣa Deva. It is also stated that he died childless. Most probably Dharmapāla occupied Gauḍa on the death of Jayanta and thus united the two royal umbrellas of Gauḍa and Vaṅga.

The Problem of the Mahānāṭaka*

The so-called *Mahānāṭaka*, otherwise known as the *Hanūmannāṭaka*, occupies a unique position in Sanskrit dramatic literature. Though technically designated a *nāṭaka*, it evinces peculiarities which justify Wilson's characterisation of the work as a nondescript composition and which have naturally given rise to much speculation with regard to its character and origin. It is a very extensive work which plagiarises unblushingly from most of the known (and probably some unknown) Rāma-dramas and is written almost entirely in verse, with little of prose. The verse is generally of the narrative or epic, rather than dramatic, character. There is little of true dialogue ; there is no *Vidūṣaka* nor any Prakrit ; the usual stage-directions are missing ; the number of characters appearing is fairly large ; there is a benediction, and in one recension a curious *prarocanā*-verse, but there is no true prologue, and all the elements of the plot prescribed by theory are wanting ; the number of Acts, at least in one recension, is beyond the usual limit ; in short, this work, though nominally exhibiting a dramatic form, gives one the impression of being a narrative composition as opposed to the dramatic, and could have as well been written in the narrative or epic form. It is devoid of all dramatic action, being rather a collection of poems, descriptive and narrative, with interspersed metrical dialogues of a crude nature and *quasi* stage-directions.

On the strength of these peculiarities Max Müller was of opinion[1] that the work was rather an epic than a true drama, and that it carries us back to the earliest stage of development of the Indian drama. This opinion has been repeated more than once by later scholars but in a somewhat modified form. Pischel pointed out[2] the resemblances of this work to Subhaṭa's *Dūtāṅgada*, which latter play was held by him to be an example of the so-called *chāyā-nāṭaka*,

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* Read before the XVIIth International Congress of Orientalists at Oxford, 1928.

1 *Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik*, 1846, i, p. 472.

2 In his *Das altindische Schattenspiel* in *SBAW*, 1906, pp. 482-502.

which term he considered to be equivalent to a 'schattenspiel,' often rendered into English as 'shadow-play.' This thesis was further developed by Lüders[1] who would take the *Dūtāṅgada* as the type of the shadow-play and then deduce that the *Mahānāṭaka* also belongs to the same category, of which it is supposed to be one of the earliest specimens. With this view Sten Konow,[2] Winternitz[3] and some other scholars appear to agree. But Keith in his recent work on the Sanskrit Drama reopens the question[4] and throws doubt on the whole theory of the shadow-play and its alleged part in the early evolution of the Sanskrit Drama. He refuses to agree with Lüders in adding the *Mahānāṭaka* to "the almost non-existing list of shadow-dramas" and suggests that the irregularities of this work can be explained by the assumption that it was a play never intended to be acted, and that it was a literary *tour de force* redacted "in preparation for some form of performance in which the dialogue was plentifully eked out by the director and the other actors."

The *Mahānāṭaka* has come down to us in different recensions. The West Indian recension redacted by Dāmodara Miśra has 548 verses in 14 Acts and is styled the *Hanūmannāṭaka,* while the East Indian or rather the Bengal recension arranged by Madhusūdana Miśra[5] has 720 verses in 9 Acts[6] and is named the *Mahānāṭaka.* Both the recensions agree in taking the mythical Hanūmat as the original author. In a sense, however, the work may be taken to be anonymous, for both the titles are clearly descriptive. Hanūmat, as the ally and servant of Rāma, is a legendary figure to whom it was probably

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1 In his *Die Śaubhikas : ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des indischen Dramas* in *SBAW*, 1916, pp. 698f.

2 *Das indische Drama* (Grundriss), 1920, pp. 89-90.

3 *Geschichte der indischen Litteratur* (1920), iii, p. 243 ; in *ZDMG.*, lxxiv, pp. 118f, he supports Lüders, but recognises the difficulties of the hypothesis.

4 *The Sanskrit Drama,* 1924, pp. 33f., 53f., 269f.

5 Lüders has shown that MSS. of this recension are also found in Western India ; but this fact makes no difference, and there is no doubt that it prevails in Bengal.

6 The number of verses vary greatly in MSS. and editions, as discussed below. The number adopted here is Aufrecht's (*Bodleian Catalogue*, p, 142b).

found convenient to ascribe a traditional work of unknown or forgotten authorship; while the title *Mahānāṭaka* is apparently not a designation but a description, it being the later dramaturgic technical term which, like the term *prakaraṇa*, indicates a type of a play containing all the episodes and possessing a large number (usually the number is ten) of Acts. It is significant that the term is unknown to Bharata and Dhanika, the two earlier authorities on Dramaturgy. They simply lay down[1] that in a *nāṭaka* the number of Acts should not be less than five and more than ten; but the author of the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, who flourished probably in the first half of the 14th century, defines and explains[2] the term *Mahānāṭaka* as noted above.

The association with Hanūmat is supported by a legendary account of the origin of the work. The concluding verse in Dāmodara's version states that the work was composed by the Son of the Wind (Hanūmat), but was cast into the sea by Vālmīki who deemed it to be ambrosia (*amṛta-buddhyā*) and that it was later on recovered by the good king Bhoja and redacted by Miśra Dāmodara.[3] In his comment on this verse Mohanadāsa explains that Hanūmat wrote this work and engraved it with his nails on the rocks, but to please Vālmīki, who recognised its excellence and anticipated eclipse of his own *Rāmāyaṇa*, the generous Ape threw it into the sea whence it was, after ages, recovered by his *avatāra* Bhoja with the aid of fishermen.[4] The *Bhoja-prabandha* also records[5] the anecdote

1 *Nāṭya-śāstra*, xviii, 28; *Daśarūpaka* (ed. Nir. Sag. Press, 1917), iii. 38. The *Rasārṇava-sudhākara*, ed. Trivandrum, p. 285, agrees. It is noteworthy that the majority of Dacca University MSS. of Madhusūdana's recension give ten Acts, instead of nine.

2 VI, 223-224, ed. Durgāprasād, 1915, p. 335.

3 *racitam anilaputreṇātha vālmīkinābdhau*
nihitam amṛta-buddhyā prāṅ mahānāṭakaṃ yat |
sumati-nṛpati-bhojenoddhṛtaṃ tat krameṇa
grathitam avatu viśvaṃ miśra-dāmodareṇa ||

4 *atreyaṃ kathā—pūrvam etena nakhara-ṭaṅkair giri-śilāsu vilikhitaṃ tat tu vālmīkinā dṛṣṭam|tad etasyāti-madhuratvam ākarṇya rāmāyaṇa-pracārābhāva-śaṅkayā hanūmān prārthitas tvam etat samudre nidhehīti | tatheti tenābdhau prāpitaṃ tadavatāreṇa bhojena sumatinā jālikair* (the printed text reads *jala-jñānair*) *uddhṛtam iti.*

5 Ed. Nir. Sag. Press, Bombay 1921, pp. 70f. Wilson gives a somewhat different version (*Select Specimens*, 2 vols. in one, Appendix

that certain fishermen once found an engraved stone in the Narmadā and brought it to Bhoja who, recognising it to be the work of Hanūmat, made a copy of it and had it put together by his court-poets. The two lines which were brought to Bhoja occur as the first two lines of the verse *iha khalu viṣamaḥ* in the *Mahānāṭaka* (xiv, 49) in Dāmodara's recension, but the verse is missing in Madhusūdana's redaction. It is noteworthy, however, that the verse is an ordinary gnomic stanza which is utilised for the purpose of moralising on the death of Rāvaṇa. In Madhusūdana's recension, on the other hand, there is after the benediction a *prarocanā*-verse in which Hanūmat is said to have narrated the story at the direction of Vālmīki, and the concluding verse of each Act states that the work of Hanūmat was rescued (*pratyuddhṛta*) by Vikrama (*vikramaiḥ*). The phrase has been explained simply as 'recovered by means of valour'; but the commentator Candraśekhara[1] explains that Hanūmat having engraved the work on the rocks threw it into the sea through fear of Vālmīki, but later on he appeared in a dream to king Vikramāditya who, at Hanūmat's bidding, had it fished out of the sea and redacted by his court-poet Madhusūdana. The commentator also refers to another version of the story, according to which the work is said to have been stolen by *rākṣasas* but recovered later on by the valour (*vikrama*) of that king.

It is not difficult to see that there is a good deal of mere fable in these accounts; but the tradition, which more or less agrees in the three versions of the story, certainly suggests the redaction of an old anonymous work, or at least the writing of a new work with the embodiment of old matter. Although a considerable number of verses is common to both the recensions, the one recension cannot be said to have been derived from the other. On the contrary, it is probable that each of them was redacted independently from some lost original, of which the tradition preserves a legendary account. Of the compilers Dāmodara and Madhusūdana we have no authentic

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p. 62). The *Bhojaprabandha*, according to him, records the anecdote that a merchant in Bhoja's reign discovered some verses engraved on the rocks by the seashore and brought a copy of the first two lines of one verse. Bhoja travelled to the spot to obtain the other two lines, and the verse when completed is the one which occurs in Dāmodara's version as xiv, 49 (*iha khalu viṣamaḥ*).

1 On i, 48, ed. Candrakumāra Bhaṭṭācārya, Calcutta, śaka 1796.

information. In the *Bhoja-prabandha* the poets, who are called upon to fill up the deficient verse discovered by Bhoja, are Bhavabhūti and Kālidāsa; but one Dāmodara is mentioned elsewhere in the same work as a court-poet to king Bhoja of Dhārā, who (if he were the historical Bhoja) reigned in the second quarter of the 11th century A.D. There is nothing inherently impossible in the report of a drama in stone-inscription, for such dramas have been discovered in recent times; but we have no other historical information about the source from which both the recensions were derived. We have, however, enough indication to presume that an essential portion of the work was probably old and formed the nucleus round which was woven a large number of verses culled chiefly from various known and unknown Rāma-dramas. This may have been done in the time of Bhoja, whose energy in making cyclopaedic compilations is well known but the process of interpolation, as we shall see presently, continued for a long time, and verses from comparatively recent Rāma-dramas found their way into the compendium. The question as to which of the two recensions is earlier is not yet solved, but it seems probable that Dāmodara's version, in spite of its 14 Acts, is the earlier, as it is also the simpler and less extensive redaction. The Vikramāditya referred to in Madhusūdana's version may have been Lakṣmaṇa-sena of Bengal, who appears to have had also nine gems at his court and to have been known by the title of Vikramāditya. We have a verse attributed to Dhoyī in the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta*, the first half of which agrees partially with the verse 101 of Dhoyī's *Pavanadūta*[1] and which makes it probable that Lakṣmaṇa-sena as a poet and patron of of poets was known by this time-honoured title.

The comparative antiquity of the *Mahānāṭaka* is sought to be established by the fact that Ānandavardhana, who flourished in the middle of the 9th century at Kashmir, and Dhanika who belonged to the end of the 10th century, quote verses which occur in the work. The three quotations by Ānandavardhana in his *Dhvanyāloka* are, however, anonymous and therefore not conclusive, the more so because

1 *khyāto yaś ca śrutidharatayā vikramāditya-goṣṭhī-*
vidyā-bhartuḥ khalu vararucer āsasāda pratiṣṭhām.

(Ed. Cintaharan Chakravarti, Calcutta 1926, p. 34, also Introd. p. 7). See also *JASB*, 1906, p. 15. In the verse the poet, who lived at the court of Lakṣmaṇa-sena, is speaking of himself and his patron, and there is an obvious pun in the phrase *vikramāditya* etc.

the *Mahānāṭaka* is notorious for its shameless plagiarism. The first verse *snigdha-śyāmala-kānti°* (*Dhv°* p. 61=*Mahā°* M v, 7) is really taken from the *Rāmābhyudaya* of Yaśovarman[1]; the second verse *raktas tvaṃ nava-pallavaiḥ* (*Dhv°* p. 90=*Mahā°* M iv, 35=D v, 24) is ascribed to Yaśovarman in the *Subhāṣitāvalī* (no. 1364) and is probably borrowed from the same drama°; while the source of the third verse *nyakkāro hy ayam eva* (*Dhv°* p. 153=*Mahā°* M ix, 55), which is cited by a series of rhetoricians, is unknown. Dhanika quotes five verses which occur in the *Mahānāṭaka*, but all of them except one, are given without any indication of their source. The one exception refers to the verses *bāhvor balaṃ na viditam* (=*Mahā°* M ii, 14=D i, 38) is quoted in the *Vṛtti* on ii, 2 with *yathā hanūman-nāṭake*; but the verse is actually derived from the *Bāla-rāmāyaṇa* (iv, 60). The fact that one of the remaining verses *kapole jānakyāḥ*(=*Mahā°* M iii, 54=D i, 19) is also quoted anonymously by Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* (p. 97) proves nothing. A large number of quotations, mostly anonymous, from the *Mahānāṭaka* is also found in the Sanskrit Anthologies. Of these the *Śārṅgadhara-paddhati* gives ten quotations as *hanūmataḥ*, of which nos. 83, 123-125, 128, 133, 3418 and 4066 cannot be traced in any of the recensions of the *Mahāāntaka*. Only no. 90 (*vighneśo vaḥ sa pāyād vikṛtiṣu*) occurs as the second *maṅgala-śloka* of Madhusūdana's recension, and no. 1248 (*kūrmaḥ pādo'tra*) is found as vi, 67 in Madhusūdana and xiv, 77 in Dāmodara. This anthology was compiled about 1363 A.D., and its quotations only prove, at best, that both the recensions probably existed in the first half of the 14th century. Even if no great antiquity can be claimed for the work itself, the presumption is permissible that a fragmentary nucleus of it existed in the time of Bhoja, or even a little earlier in the time of Dhanika, from which the later elaborate versions, which cull verses from the *Mahāvīra-carita*, *Bāla-rāmāyaṇa*, *Anargha-rāghava*, *Prasanna-rāghava* and other known and unknown Rāma-plays, arose in later times and were probably in existence in the 14th century.

In order to explain the origin of the drama which the Indian tradition envelops in the mystery of legends, it has been suggested that the *Mahānāṭaka* belongs to the category of the so-called shadow-play, a view which envelops it equally in the mist of sheer specula-

1 *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, I, pt. 3, p. 270, fn. 1.

tion. Although it has been held by Pischel and others to connote a shadow-play, the meaning of the term *chāyā-nāṭaka,* which is nowhere connected with the *Mahānāṭaka* but which is used in some other plays alleged to be of the irregular type, is uncertain. It is not recognised in any Sanskrit work on Dramaturgy as designating a dramatic *genre,* but several dramatic compositions like the *Dharmābhyudaya* of Meghaprabhācārya, the *Dūtāṅgada* of Subhaṭa, the *Rāmābhyudaya, Subhadrā-pariṇaya* and *Pāṇḍavābhyudaya* of Rāmadeva-Vyāsa, have been designated as *chāyā-nāṭaka* in their respective *prastavanās* or colophons. Wilson[1] held that the term *chāyā-nāṭaka* might mean 'the shade or outline of a drama' and expressed the opinion that the *Dūtāṅgada* "was perhaps intended to introduce a spectacle of the drama and procession, as it is otherwise difficult to conceive what object its extreme conciseness could have effected". Lévi[2] appears to leave the question open, but remarks : "Leur nom est obscur ; on serait tenté de l'expliquer par "ombre de drame" si les règles de la grammaire ne s'opposaient à cette analyse du composé chāyā-nāṭaka. Elles admettent du moins une explication voisine et presque identique : "drame à l'état d'ombre". Rājendralāla Mitra[3] describes Viṭṭhala's so-called *chāyā-nāṭaka* as "an outline of a drama" and suggests that the *Dūtāṅgada* "was evidently intended to serve as an *entr'act* to a theatrical exhibition." Other suggested but rejected explanations are "a play that is but a shadow, a play in shadow, i.e. a miniature play."[4] Having reference to the derivative nature of such plays as the *Dūtāṅgada,* which incorporates verses from other plays, it is not impossible to hold that the term *chāyā-nāṭaka* may also mean "an epitomised adaptation of previous plays on the subject," the term *chāyā* being authoritatively used in the sense of adaptation.[5] Pischel was originally of opinion[6] that the term might be explained as "the shadow of a drama" (Schatten von einem Spiel) or "a half-

1 *Op. cit.*, pp. 81-82.

2 *Le Théâtre indien*, p. 241.

3 *Bikaner Catalogue*, p. 251.

4 See Gray in *JAOS*, xxxii, p. 60.

5 This word *chāyā* is used commonly, in connexion with the question of borrowing or plagiarism, to denote likeness or resemblance between the works of two poets, and *chāyopajīvin* is one who composes poems which are reflections of other poet's works. See Kṣemendra, *Kavi-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*, ii, 1.

6 *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1891, pp. 358f.

play" (halbes Drama), but in his well-known monograph on the Indian shadow-play[1] he attempted to shew that the *chāyā-nāṭaka* was simply and solely what is known as the shadow-play, in which the shadow-pictures were produced by projection from puppets on the reverse side of a thin white curtain.

In order to establish the early existence of the shadow-play in India it is alleged that this form of the drama is expressly mentioned by Nīlakaṇṭha in his interpretation of the term *rūpopajīvana* occuring in the *Mahābhārata* xii, 294, 5: *rūpopajīvanaṃ jalamaṇḍapiketi dākṣiṇātyeṣu prasiddham, yatra sūkṣma-vastraṃ vyavadhāya carmamayair ākārai rājāmātyādīnāṃ caryā pradarśyate*, "*rūpopajīvana* is well-known among the southerners as the *Jalamaṇḍapikā*, in which, having interposed a thin cloth, the action of kings, ministers etc. is shown by means of leathern figures." Lüders would maintain with Pischel that *rūpopajīvana* refers here to the production of shadow-figures. The term *rūpopajīvin* is used by Varāhamihira in his *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, v, 74, while in the *Therīgāthā*, v, 394 and in the *Milinda-pañha*, p. 344 occur the terms *rupparūpaka* and *rūpadakkha* respectively, of which the last expression is supposed to be identical with the word *lūpadakkha* found in the Jogimara Cave Inscription,[2] A suggestion has also been made by Sten Konow[3] that the word *rūpa* used in the Fourth Rock Edict of Aśoka, where exhibitions of the spectacles of the dwellings of gods, of elephants and of bon-fires are mentioned, refers to a shadow-play; and that the expression *rūpaka* as the generic name of the drama is derived from such early shadow-projections. Indications of such a shadow-device are said to have been discovered in the Sitabenga Cave which has signs of grooves in front, meant (it is alleged) for the curtain necessary for a shadow-play. This theory is further elaborated by Lüders,[4] who claims a high antiquity for the shadow-play on the assumption that it is referred to by Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* (on Pāṇini iii, 1, 26)[5] in his mention of the displays of the Śaubhikas or Śobhanikas, and who on this

1 Already cited.

2 *Annual Report, ASI*, 1903-4, pp. 128f: Lüders, *Bruchstücke* Vāmana, *Kavyālaṅkāra-sūtra*, iii, 2, 8; Rājaśekhara, *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, ch. xii; *Buddhistischer Dramen*, p. 41.

3 *Op. cit.*, pp. 45-46.

4 In the article already cited.

5 Ed. Kielhorn, ii, p. 36.

basis would take it, with Pischel, as an essential element in the evolution of the Sanskrit drama. The existence of the shadow-play in early India is also supported by the analogy of the Javanese *wayang purwa*, a shadow-play usually dealing with the Rāma-cycle and produced by puppets of buffalo-leather.

The early evidence adduced for the existence of the shadow-play in India cannot in any way be taken as conclusive. We are not directly concerned here with Lüders' hypothesis regarding the Śaubhikas ; but the name Śaubhika or Śobhanika is, at best, an obscure term which has not been shewn to have any relation to the shadow-play and which has never been explained in this sense by any authority. Hillebrandt[1] and Keith[2] have very effectively criticised Lüders' interpretation and suggested more reasonable explanations ; but whether we accept their view, or agree with Weber[3] that the reference here is to the pantomime, or even take the explanation of Kaiyyaṭa (a fairly late commentator) that the Śaubhikas were those who taught actors (*naṭānāṃ vyākhyānopādhyāyāḥ*), it is clear enough that there is no real foundation for the view that the Śaubhikas discharged the function of showing shadow-figures and explaining them to the audience. The passage of Nīlakaṇṭha, again, cannot be taken as proving conclusively the existence of the shadow-play, for he might as well be referring to the puppet-shows or marionette theatre, of whose existence we have definite record ; and even if Nīlkaṇṭha's testimony is not contested, it only proves the existence of such plays in Southern India (*dākṣiṇātyeṣu*) at the end of the 17th century. It is not yet proved that the Javanese borrowed it from Southern India, and the fact that some kind of shadow-drama, dealing with the Rāma-legend obtained in Java has in itself nothing whatever to do with the hypothesis that its analogue prevailed in India, until it is shewn beyond doubt that the idea was really borrowed from India. Even as a parallel it is not, as Keith points out, adequate, "unless and until it can be proved that the shadow-play sprang up in Java without any previous knowledge of the real drama." Turning to the passage of the *Mahābhārata* itself on which Nīlakaṇṭha comments :

1 *ZDMG*, lxxii, pp. 227f ; also see his *Über die Anfänge des indischen Dramas*, München 1914, pp. 6 f, 18 f.

2 *BSOS*, i. pt. 4, pp. 27f ; *Sanskrit Drama*, pp. 33f.

3 *Indische Studien*, xiii, pp. 488f.

raṅgāvataraṇaṃ caiva tathā rūpopajīvanam|
madya-māṃsopajīvyaṃ ca vikrayaṃ loha-carmaṇoḥ||

we notice that the term is used in the same context with appearance on the stage, drinking, eating flesh and other objectionable practices which degrade the status of a *dvija.* It is quite possible to argue, as it has been argued, that the term *rūpopajīvana* alludes to the deplorable immorality of the actors, who have been stigmatised more than once as *jāyā-jīva*, "living by the dishonour of their wives."[1] The same explanation applies to Varāhamihira's use of the term *rūpopajīvin* for the actor, in close proximity in the text to painters, writers and singers; while the term *rūpadakkha* or *lūpadakkha* is capable of other explanations[2] than the highly conjectural solution of an actor in the shadow-drama. Mrs. Rhys Davids renders the word *rupparūpaka* of the *Therī-gāthā*, v, 394 by "puppet-show," and this is probable in view of the fact that in verses 390, 391 of the text there is a mention of a puppet. Keith has already shewn[3] that the word *rūpa* in Aśoka's inscription, as well as the term *rūpaka* as the generic name of the drama, can have no reference to the shadow-play, and the alleged evidence of a shadow device in the Sitabenga Cave is nothing more than a mere conjecture.

As no definite reference to the shadow-play can, so far, be proved anywhere in Sanskrit literature, and as the dramatic *genre* is unrecognised in theory, no other evidence is left but that derived from the term *chāyā-nāṭaka* itself, which is used as a descriptive epithet in the prologue or colophon of certain existing plays. Of these works the most interesting, if not the earliest, is the *Dharmābhyudaya* of Meghaprabhācārya, which is edited in the Jaina-Ātmānanda-Granthamālā Series (Bhavnagar 1918) and of which a brief résumé is given by Hultzch.[4] In the colophon it is styled *dharmābhyudayo nāma chāyā-nāṭya-prabandhaḥ*; but in the prologue, the Sūtradhāra speaks of actors (*śailuṣāḥ*) and acting (*abhinaya*). There is, however, a definite stage-direction in it which is said to support its claim to be recognis-

1 The term *śilpopajīvana* is used in the preceding verse in the sense of livelihood by means of some arts.

2 Pischel interprets the word as "copyist," Boyer as "sculptor," Bloch as "one skilled in painting," while Dr. S. K. Chatterjee suggests "skilled in figures or accounts."

3 *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 54.

4 *ZDMG*, lxxv, p. 69.

ed as a shadow-play. As the king takes the vow to become an ascetic, the stage-direction reads *yamanikāntarād yati-veṣa-dhārī putrakas tatra sthāpanīyaḥ* (p. 15) "from the inner side of the curtain is to be placed a puppet wearing the dress of an ascetic." A reference is found here in the word *sthāpanīya* to the *sthāpaka* of the regular drama who is supposed to have been originally "the arranger of puppets." We have no information about the date of the play, but that it is a late and obscure Jaina drama admits of little doubt, and its evidence as such is of doubtful value. One need not, however, see in the stage-direction any definite reference to the shadow-play ; on the contrary, it is a puppet (*putraka*) which is directed to be placed, apparently on the stage, from the inner side of the curtain, i.e., from the *nepathya*. It is difficult also to accept the rather fanciful interpretation of the word *sthāpanīya*, which is really not necessary, as the simple meaning of the word is that which is obviously intended. Although the drama styles itself a *chāyā-nāṭya-prabandha* in the colophon, it is in all other respects an ordinary, if unpretentious, play of the usual type, dealing with the Jaina legend of king Daśārṇabhadra. It is a short play, which consists of one Act but three or four scenes, with a regular *nāndī, prarocanā* and *prastāvanā* ; and we have, with the one exception, referred to above, the usual stage-directions, enough prose and verse dialogues and some Prakrit prose and verse. There is also the usual *bharatavākya* at the end spoken by one of the characters.

It is curious that no such stage-directions are to be found in the other so-called *chāyā-nāṭakas*, not even in the *Dūtāṅgada* which is probably the earliest of the group and which is upheld by Pischel and Lüders as the typical specimen. Of these later plays, the three dramas of Rāmadeva-Vyāsa, who was patronised by the Haiheya princes of the Kalacuri branch of Rāyapura and who thus belonged to the first half of the 13th century,[1] are not admitted even by Lüders to be *chāyā-nāṭakas* at all. The first drama, *Subhadrā-pariṇaya*[2] consisting of one Act but three scenes, has a theme which is sufficiently explained by its title ; the second, *Rāmābhyudaya*,[3]

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1 See Bendall in *JRAS.*, 1898, p. 231.

2 MS of this work noticed in Bendall's *Catalogue of MSS in the British Museum*, no. 271, pp. 106 f ; for an analysis of the play, see Lévi, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

3 MSS noticed in Bendall, *op. cit.*, no. 272, pp. 107-8 ; in Peter-

also a short play in two Acts, deals with the time-worn topic of the conquest of Laṅkā, the fire ordeal of Sītā and Rāma's return to Ayodhyā; while the third play, *Pāṇḍavābhyudaya*,[1] also in two Acts, describes the birth and *svayaṃvara* of Draupadī. If we leave aside the self-adopted title *chāyā-nāṭaka*, these plays do not differ in any respect from the ordinary drama, and there is nothing in them which would enable us to arrive at a decision with regard to their alleged character of a *chāyā-nāṭaka*. The anonymous *Haridūta*,[2] which deals in three scenes with the theme of Kṛṣṇa's mission to Duryodhana on behalf of Yudhiṣṭhira, is regarded as an imitation of *Dūtāṅgada* and assigned by Lüders to the class of *chāyā-nāṭakas*; but its story corresponds to the *Dūta-vākya* of Bhāsa, and it resembles in all respects an ordinary play. Even Pischel doubts whether this work can be rightly considered a *chāyā-nāṭaka*. These short pieces may have been meant for some festive entertainments and therefore makes some concession to popular taste by not conforming strictly to the orthodox types; but the *Haridūta* in particular does not describe itself as a *chāyā-nāṭaka* and there is no reason why we should regard it as such. The *Ānanda-latikā*,[3] again, which is regarded by Sten Konow as a shadow-play, is really a dramatic poem in five sections, called *kusumas*, on the love of Sama and Revā composed by Kṛṣṇanātha Sārvabhauma-bhaṭṭācārya, son of Durgādāsa Cakravartin. Eggeling describes it in the following words: "Though exhibiting some of the forms of a *nāṭaka* (and marked as such outside), the work is devoid of all real dramatic action, being rather a collection of poetry, descriptive and narrative, with interspersed dialogues and *quasi* stage-directions". The same remarks apply to the modern *Citra-yajña* described by Wilson, who is undoubtedly right in pointing out its similarities to the popular *yātrā*.[4] Rājendralāla Mitra[5] also mentions a *chāyā-nāṭaka* by Viṭṭhala, which

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son's *Ulwar Catalogue*, extracts, p. 72; *Descriptive Cat. of Skt. MSS in the Govt. Oriental MSS Library, Madras*, no. 12636. Analysed by Lévi, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

1 Eggeling, *India Office Manuscripts*, vii, p. 1602, no. 4187 (2353b).

2 Bendall, *op. cit.*, no. 270, p. 106. Analysed by Lévi, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

3 Eggeling, *op. cit.*, vii, p. 1624, no. 4203 (243).

4 Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 104-7.

5 *Bikaner Catalogue*, p. 251.

he describes as "an outline of a drama founded on the history of the Adil Shahi dynasty" ; but of this nothing further is known.

This leaves us with the *Dūtāṅgada* of Subhaṭa, which also describes itself as a *chāyā-nāṭaka* and which has been definitely cited as a typical example by the exponents of the shadow-play hypothesis. The play was produced, according to its prologue, at the court of Tribhuvanapāla, who appears to be the Calukyan prince of that name, who reigned at Aṇahillapaṭṭaka or Aṇhilvāḍ in Gujrat at about 1242-43 A.D. It was presented at a spring festival in commemoration of the dead prince Kumārapāladeva of the same dynasty. The event particularly commemorated appears to be Kumārapāla's restoration of the Śaiva temple of Devapattana or Somnāth in Kathiawad, and the occasion, as given in one MS (*yātrāyāṃ dola-parvaṇi*), was the *dol* or *holi* festival held in the month of Phālguṇa (March-April).[1] It is a short dramatic composition in four scenes, the theme being the same as that of Act vii (Madhusūdana's version) of the *Mahānāṭaka*, which deals with the sending of Aṅgada[2] by Rāma to demand restoration of Sītā from Rāvaṇa. The work exists in various forms ; but a longer and a shorter recension have been distinguished. The shorter recension has already been edited in Kāvyamālā no. 28, 1891 (new edition, 1922). The longer recension is given by a MS in the India Office and is thus described by Eggeling[3] : "Not only is the dialogue itself considerably extended in this version by the insertion of many additional stanzas, but narrative verses are also thrown in, calculated to make the work a curious hybrid between a dramatic piece (with stage-directions) and a narrative poem. This latter character of the composition is made still more pronounced by an introduction of 39 (12+27) stanzas in mixed metres (partly, however, placed in the mouths of Rāma and Hanūmat) referring to incidents which lead to the discovery of Sītā's hiding-place." This recension must be of later

1 See Bendall in *JRAS*, 1898, pp. 229-230, also his *Catalogue of Skt. MSS in the British Museum*, no. 269, pp. 105-6, and Gray in *JAOS*, xxxii, pp. 58-9. Analysis of the play given by Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-2 and Aufrecht, *Bodleian Catalogue*, p. 139 (shorter recension) ; English trs. (shorter recension) in Gray, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-77. MSS in the catalogues mentioned here and below, footnote 3.

2 The word *dūtāṅgada* is already used in Dāmodara's version, ed. Bombay 1909, Act xi, p. 149.

3 *Op. cit.*, vii, no. 4189.

origin, for most of the supplementary verses are derived from comparatively late Rāma-dramas. For instance, verses 4 (*ā dvīpāt parato' pyamī*) and 6 (*bho brahman bhavatā*) are taken from *Prasanna-rāghava*, while verse 5 (*yad babhañja janakātmajā-kṛte*), as well as the verse *jayati raghu-vaṃśa-tilakaḥ*, occurs in the *Mahānāṭaka*. The shorter recension is also in the nature of a compilation; and in closing verse, which is omitted in the longer version, the author says[1] that he has not hesitated in drawing upon his predecessors for material, his chief sources being Bhavabhūti, Murāri, Rājaśekhara and the *Mahānāṭaka*. Even such gnomic verses as *udyoginaṃ puruṣa-siṃham upaiti lakṣmīḥ*, well-known from the *Hitopadeśa*, is found in the work.

Pischel was undoubtedly right in calling attention to the resemblance in this and other points between the *Dūtāṅgada* and the *Mahānāṭaka*, as distinguished from the other so-called *chāyā-nāṭakas*; but there is no evidence to establish that either of them is a shadow-play. The prevalence of verse, more narrative than dramatic, over the scanty prose, the absence of real prose dialogues and the omission of the Vidūṣaka are features which are shared by the *Dūtāṅgada* with the other so-called *chāyā-nāṭakas* already discussed, but which are in themselves not inexplicable. The work, however, is not anonymous as the *Mahānāṭaka*; there is a regular prologue, as also some stage-directions; the theme is limited; and the number of persons appearing is not large, nor is Prakrit altogether omitted.[2] To all appearances it is an ordinary, if not insignificant, play of the usual type, composed frankly for some festive occasion, which fact may explain its alleged laxity or want of strict conformity to the orthodox drama. The usual prologue consists of the preliminary benediction and conversation between the Sūtradhāra and the Naṭī, leading up to the drama. The drama consists of four scenes; in the first, Aṅgada is sent as a messenger to demand Sītā; in the second, Bibhīṣaṇa and Mandodarī attempt to dissuade Rāvaṇa from his fatal folly; in the third, Aṅgada executes his mission, but on Rāvaṇa's endeavour to persuade him, with

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1 *sva-nirmitaṃ kiñcana gadya-padya-bandhaṃ kiyat prāktana-sat-kavīndraiḥ|*
proktaṃ gṛhītvā praviracyate sma rasāḍhyam etat subhaṭena nāṭyam||

2 Keith (*op. cit.* p. p. 56) is not correct when he speaks of the *absence* of Prakrit in the *Dūtāṅgada*.

the illusion of *māyā-sītā*, that Sītā is in love with the lord of Laṅkā, Aṅgada refuses to be deceived and leaves Rāvaṇa with threats ; and in the fourth, two Gandharvas inform us that Rāvaṇa is slain, on which Rāma enters in triumph. There is no indication anywhere that it was meant for shadow-picture ; and apart from the term *chāyā-nāṭaka,* examples of such brief spectacular plays on the well-known themes of the two epics are neither surprising nor rare.

We have already pointed out that the *chāyā-nāṭaka* is not a category of dramatic composition and is unknown as such to writers on Dramaturgy, early or late. These plays, on the other hand, are to all intents and purposes dramas proper, and may be classified as any other *rūpaka* or *uparūpaka.* If they lack enough dramatic action, it is a fault which they share with many other so-called dramas in Sanskrit, which are in reality dramatic poems ; and there is hardly anything in them, except their self-description as *chāyā-nāṭaka*, which would stamp them out as irregular species. It would seem, therefore, that the term *chāyā-nāṭaka*, as also its equivalent 'schattenspiel', refers rather to the product than the process. Rājendralāla's conjecture that it served as an *entr'act* to a theatrical exhibition may be easily dismissed, as there is no evidence for the existence of such entertainments as would correspond roughly to the English *interlude* or the Italian *intermezzi.* In view of certain irregularities which may be discovered in such plays, the explanation that it was 'a drama in the state of a shadow' or 'the outline of a drama' has been suggested ; but it is possible also to suggest that it was a *chāyā* or adaptation of existing works on the subject for a particular purpose. What the purpose was is not very clear, but there is nothing to shew that the compositions were meant for shadow-pictures. It is probable, on the contrary, that these works, produced for particular festivals, were composed as recitable poems which could be sung, or even (as in the case of the *Dūtāṅgada*) as a compilation from previous works ; while the peculiarities of form and spirit, partly due to the nature and occasion of the composition, may suggest that the popular festive entertainments like the *yātrā* probably reacted on the literary drama. In any case, we are dealing here with late developments of the Sanskrit drama, and irregularities, such as they are, would not be out of place. Whatever interpretation may be urged of the term *chāyā-nāṭaka*, it is at least clear that the hypothesis of the shadow-play is uncalled for and without any foundation, and it would certainly not be safe to derive from these admittedly late productions any evidence for the growth of the early drama, or draw any inference

from them as to the part alleged to have been played by the shadow-play in its evolution.

Whatever may be the case with the *Dūtāṅgada* and the other plays, the *Mahānāṭaka* is never described as a *chāyā-nāṭaka*, and the shadow-play solution is still more inapplicable to its markedly peculiar features. That it is a drama of the irregular type, more than any of the plays mentioned above, is admitted on all hands. One may go further and say that it is hardly a drama at all. It may at this point be contended that the *chāyā-nāṭaka* has also no claim to be considered as a drama proper, and in this sense there is no reason why the *Mahānāṭaka* should not be called a *chāyā-nāṭaka*. It may be replied that the point still remains that this work, unlike the other plays mentioned above, has never been so called, and that there is no authority or tradition for such a description. It is possible to imagine a small spectacular play being utilised for the purpose of shadow-pictures, but it is impossible to believe that an extensive work of a rambling kind, consisting of 9 or 14 Acts and ambitiously compiling and chronicling the entire Rāma-carita, could have been meant for such an object. There is nothing in the work itself nor in the trend of its plot and treatment which lends the slightest plausibility to such a view.

To suggest with Keith that here we have a literary drama, a play never intended to be acted but meant as a literary *tour de force*, is not to offer a solution but to avoid the question. In no sense can the *Mahānāṭaka* he regarded as a *tour de force*, and its artistic merits, apart from the descriptive verses which are mostly borrowed, are almost negligible. It cannot be argued that its apparently immature dramatic form and treatment betoken an early age when the drama had not properly emerged from the epic condition, for, the quasi-dramatic presentation is not spontaneous but intentional. The work is undoubtedly late and highly stylised, and we are here far removed from anything primitive. That some old matter was worked up into an extensive compilation is obvious, and it is also admitted that it is not a normal drama ; but to explain the purpose of the play and its irregularities by suggesting that it looks like a literary exercise is to confess one's inability to explain it satisfactorily ; for there are indications, as Keith himself admits, that the work was meant and probably utilised for some kind of performance.

It is clear that the *Mahānāṭaka*, as well as most of the plays discussed above, belongs to comparatively recent times, so that any data

furnished by them should be cautiously used for any theory about the origin and development of the Sanskrit drama. Nor should the character of such types of plays as the *Mahānāṭaka* be determined without any reference to the literary conditions obtaining at the period in which they could be presumed to have been put in their present form. Whether we accept the time of Bhoja as the period when one of the versions of the *Mahānāṭaka* was redacted, it is clear enough that we cannot assign any of the versions to a very early age, nor could it be shewn that it was put together at a time when the Sanskrit drama could be assumed to have been in its most flourishing period of development. On the contrary, the assumption would not be unreasonable that the *Mahānāṭaka* was redacted at a time when the classical Sanskrit drama was in its decline, and when at the break up of the old and more or less stereotyped dramatic literature, such irregular types as we are considering could easily have come into existence. We must not also forget that the Apabhraṃśa and the vernacular literature were by this time slowly but surely coming into prominence, and that along with them popular entertainments like the religious *yātrās*, with their mythological theme, quasi-dramatic presentment and preference for recitation or singing, were establishing themselves. Having regard to this fact, as well as to the peculiar trend and treatment of such works as the *Mahānāṭaka*, we find no special reason to doubt that vernacular semidramatic entertainments of popular origin must have reacted on the literary Sanskrit drama and influenced its form and manner to such an extent as to produce irregular and apparently nondescript types. It is true that the *yātrā* had little pretension to a literary character, while the types of plays we are discussing have a highly stylised form, but it is conceivable that these so-called plays might have been adapted and composed in Sanskrit for a more cultivated and sophisticated audience on the parallel furnished by the popular *yātrā*. In other words, they were something like Sanskrit *yātrās*, which exhibited outwardly some of the forms of the regular drama and had a mature literary style, but which approximated more distinctly towards the popular *yātrā* in spirit and mode of operation. As such, these apparently irregular types were not mere literary exercises but represented a living form of quasi-dramatic performance. This conjecture is perhaps more in keeping with the nature of these compositions and the period in which they were probably redacted than the unwarranted and unconvincing solution of a shadow-play theory.

Turning to the work itself, we find that the *Mahānāṭaka* gives

us a form of entertainment not represented by any Sanskrit drama so far published, in spite of the assertion that the *Dūtāṅgada* is the nearest parallel to it. It begins with a benediction in the orthodox style; in Dāmodara's recension it is set forth within the reasonable limit of five verses, but in Madhusūdana it is prolonged and elaborated into thirteen verses, a number which is unique in Sanskrit drama. There is no *prastāvanā* or prologue, but in Madhusūdana there is the usual stage-direction *nāndyante sūtradhāraḥ*, followed by one verse of *prarocanā* which says that Hanūmat himself, at the direction of Vālmīki, is the *vaktṛ* of the piece, which deals with the exploits of Rāma, that the actors are all well versed in their art, and that the audience consist of men of culture,—"rejoice, therefore, O sedate audience, I shall narrate the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*".[1] The actual drama does not yet begin, but we have some narrative verses, four in Dāmodara and six in Madhusūdana, which speak of king Daśaratha, his three queens, his four sons, Rāma's visit to Viśvāmitra's hermitage and his early exploits, thus carrying the story rapidly down to the arrival of Rāma at Mithilā. There is no agreement between the two recensions with regard to these preliminary narrative verses, which fact probably indicates their improvised character. Mohanadāsa, commenting on them in Dāmodara's recension, pointedly

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1 *vālmīker upadeśataḥ svayam aho vaktā hanūmān kapiḥ*
śrī-rāmasya raghūdvahasya caritaṃ saumyā vayaṃ nartakāḥ |
goṣṭhī tāvad iyaṃ samasta-sumanaḥ-saṅghena saṃveṣṭitā
tad dhīrāḥ kuruta pramodam adhunā vaktāsmi rāmāyaṇam ||.

In Kālikṛṣṇa Deva's edition the reading is *saubhyāḥ* (and not *śaubhyāḥ*) for *saumyāḥ*, but this is clearly a quaint misprint due the similarity of the Devanagari letters म and भ. Lüders, however, accepts this reading and finds in it a reference to the Śaubhikas. This is really an instance of misplaced ingenuity. The other three printed editions of M's version as well as the eight MSS we have consulted read *saumyāḥ*. We agree with Winternitz (*ZDMG*, lxxiv, p. 142, fn. 3) and Keith (*op. cit.*, p. 272, fn. 1) that *saumyāḥ* is the correct reading, which is also accepted by the commentator Candraśekhara. Rāmatāraṇa Śiromaṇi in his edition of the work explains it as *abhinaya-paṇḍitāḥ*, Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara as *śobhanāḥ kuśalā iti yāvat.*—In giving an analysis of Madhusūdana's version here, we are following Jīvānanda's text which is the longest version of this recension.

states : *idānīṃ kathā-yojanāya vyākhyā-kṛd ātmanaḥ śloka-catuṣṭayam avatārayati.* To say that the *vyākhyākṛt* refers to the commentator or the redactor would be meaningless ; it probably means the person who explains, as the *adhikārin* or *yātrāwālā* does in a *yātrā*, the narrative parts to the audience and thus carries on the thread of the story.

In Madhusūdana we have, after this, five verses uttered by Vaitālikas as Rāma enters Mithilā, which panygerise the hero and his early exploits, but some of which are borrowed from plays like the *Prasanna-rāghava.* In these *vaitālika-vākyas,*[1] which are fairly frequent, one is naturally reminded of the chorus-like songs (still a feature of Bengali *yātrās*) of the popular *yātrās,* which often mark an important incident or the end and commencement of an episode. In Dāmodara's recension verses of this kind are not mentioned as *vaitālika-vākyas,* but the narration is anonymous, or at best imagined (as Wilson puts it) to be spoken by an indifferent person or the poet ; it is highly probable that they were uttered by the director of the performance or his assistant chorus. Then follows the episode of the breaking of Śiva's bow, in which some agreement is noticeable in the verses of the two recensions, and the action is carried on by metrical dialogues between Janaka, Rāma, Sītā (monologues), Lakṣmaṇa and others. After some more narrative verses, which applaud this feat of Rāma but most of which are borrowed from *Mahāvīra-carita, Prasanna-rāghava* and other plays, the first Act ends in Madhusūdana, and the second begins with Rāma's encounter with the terrible Paraśurāma, in which the interlocutors include, beside the hero and his rival, Lakṣmaṇa and Daśaratha.

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1 Sometimes these verses are put into the mouths of groups of persons like the Pauras (*paura-vākyam*) or even generally *anyeṣām api* (*vākyam*), as we find them, e.g., at Rāma's breaking of Śiva's bow, at the commencement of Rāma's exile etc. Such chorus-like songs are still a feature of Bengali *yātrās* and are known in modern times as *juḍir gān* (জুড়ির গান). Long descriptive verses, put throughout under headings like *atha rāvaṇa-ceṣṭā, atha sītānveṣaṇe rāma-caritam, atha mṛga-caritam, atha yuddhopakramaḥ* etc, were probably utilised in this way. In Kālikṛṣṇa's edition of Madhusūdana's version, the editor puts these descriptive and narrative passages (where they are not explicitly assigned to *vaitālikas* or *pauras*) to the Sūtradhāra but this is not warranted by MSS.

All this, however, is comprised in Act I in Dāmodara. The appearance of Paraśurāma is described in several narrative verses put into the mouth of Lakṣmaṇa, and here for the first time we meet with two prose passages in the heroic strain uttered by Paraśurāma. With some more narrative verses (which are *vaitālika-vākyas* in Madhusūdana) leading to Sītā's marriage, ends (in Dāmodara) Act I, which is entitled *Sītā-svayaṃvara.* In the course of this we have in Dāmodara (in place of Madhusūdana's *vaitālika-vākya*) descriptive headings over the narrative verses which are uttered by no one in particular ; such as *rāma-nāṭya-varṇanam* (describing how Rāma took Paraśurāma's bow and threw an arrow stopping the latter's passage to heaven), *sītā-nāṭyam* (describing how on Rāma's drawing Paraśurāma's bow, Sītā was apprehensive that Rāma might be breaking another bow and winning another bride) and finally, *rāma-vivāha-varṇanam,* the corresponding verses of which are in part *vaitālikaiḥ paṭhitam* in Madhusūdana.

The second Act in Dāmodara is entirely undramatic, being a highly flavoured erotic description, with occasional *narma-vacana,* of the love-sports of Rāma and Sītā in a strain which may be an offence against decency and the drama, but which is approved in poetry and is in strict conformity with the requirements of a Kāvya. In Madhusūdana this is taken up as a part of Act II, the first half of which describes the episode of Paraśurāma. The third Act, even less dramatic than the first, is mainly descriptive, dealing with the agitation of Kaikeyī, the exile of Rāma, the sorrow of the people and the relatives, Bharata's rebuke of his mother, the residence at Pañcavaṭī and the departure of the two brothers in chase of the false deer. Here in Dāmodara the Act III ends, and the fourth Act begins with the description of the chase, in which we have the gestures of the deer delineated by the well-known verse *grīvā-bhaṅgābhirāmam* from *Śakuntalā.* This is followed in the same Act (Act III in Madhusūdana and Act IV in Dāmodara) by the appearance of Rāvaṇa, abduction of Sītā, Jaṭāyu's fruitless attempt at rescue, and the story is carried down to Rāma's return after the chase to the deserted hut. In Madhusūdana, as already noted, all these incidents are comprised in the third Act.

It is not necessary to follow up the whole story to the end of this extensive work in the two recensions, for what is given above will be enough to indicate its general character. Before we comment on some of its peculiar features in relation to its resemblance to the mode of the *yātrā,* we should like to deal with one very interesting

point to which Lüders refers but which he presses into the service of his inevitable shadow-play theory. There are throughout the play (especially in Dāmodara's version) elaborate descriptive stage-directions, very unlike the brief and pointed directions usual in Sanskrit plays; and these consist of several lines of florid prose and present a complete picture in themselves. Thus after the death of Rāvaṇa we read: *mandodarī sakala-sundara-sundarībhiḥ parivṛtā galad-avirala-netra-jala-pravāhaiḥ sītā-pater virahānalena saha laṅkā-pateḥ pratāpānalaṃ nirvāpayantī hāhākāraṃ ghora-phūtkāraiḥ kurvantī jhaṭiti trikūṭācalād utpatya samara-bhūmau mahā-nidrāṃ gatasya nija-prāṇa-nāthasya laṅkā-pateś caraṇa-kamalayor nipatya.* During the fight between Rāma and Rāvaṇa, we have: *tatrāśoka-vanikā-sthita-vimānam āruhya jānakīṃ rāma-rāvaṇayor yuddhaṃ darśayati trijaṭā saramā ca| mandodary api sundarī-parivṛtā laṅkācala-śikharam āruhya paśyati| rudro 'pi samudra-madhye ekena caraṇenopasthito yuddhaṃ paśyati| devāḥ sarve vimānādhirūḍhā nabho-maṇḍala-gatā yuddhaṃ paśyanti.* Very often they are not stage-directions but descriptions which carry forward the narrative. Thus in the account of Rāma's return to Ayodhyā with his newly married bride, the following lines describe Rāma's love-sick condition as a prelude to their love-sports which immediately follow: *sarva-lakṣaṇopetān deva-bhūpāla-yogyān medura-mandurāyāṃ turagān avalokya māra-jvarākulita-citta-bhrāntyā vadhū-putrayor maṅgalāvalokanāyāgatasya bhagavatas taraṇeḥ kiraṇa-mālinas turagā ime svabhāva-tejasvinas tat-tāḍanaṃ asoḍhāras tāḍitāḥ punaḥ punar bhagavantaṃ bhāskaraṃ druta-gatyāstācalaṃ nayantv iti buddhvā dāśarathir janaka-putrī ca daṇḍāghātais turagāṃs tāḍayāmāsa| niśāyāṃ prauḍhāyāṃ śīghram āvayoḥ saṅgamo bhavatv ity abhiprāyaḥ.* This clumsy passage is really an expansion of the idea contained in the previous verse (Dāmodara ii, 1). In Madhusūdana,[1] there is a fairly long prose passage which would cover two printed pages and therefore too long for quotation here, in which Rāma's search after Sītā and his sorrow are described in the familiar style of the Sanskrit prose romances. Lüders maintains that these lines of descriptive prose are really portrayals which correspond to the so-called *Janturan* of the Javanese shadow-play, which is sung with the accompaniment of muffled music; and from this he would infer that the scenery in the old Indian drama was delivered in a similar way.

Apart from the fact, which is ignored by Lüders, that some of

1 Ed. Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta 1890, pp. 165-170.

these descriptive passages are not stage-directions, it may be pointed out that, whatever may be the value of the parallel drawn from Java, the same feature is certainly noticeable in the *Citra-yajña* described by Wilson. Thus at the end of the first Act of this play, the stage-direction, according to Wilson,[1] is : "Dakṣa bows down at the feet of the gods, and puts the dust from under them upon his head, after which he propitiates them fully in the spoken dialect, and then proceeds to the place of sacrifice, reading or reciting the usual formulas, and followed by the *Ṛṣis*." Now this *Citra-yajña*, which is described as a drama in five Acts dealing with the legend of Dakṣa, is undoubtedly a modern work belonging to the commencement of the 19th century, but it has many striking points of similarity with the *Mahānāṭaka*. The dialogue is curiously imperfect, being left to be supplied in the course of the performance. Passages of narrative are often interspersed with dialogues and elaborate stage-directions, and the work has little pretension to a dramatic character. Wilson rightly notes that it is a valuable example of the manner of the *yātrās* which follow a somewhat similar plan. But Wilson is hardly correct in his conjecture that the *yātrā*, which has through ages an unbroken tradition independent of the literary drama, and which makes still less pretension to a literary character, follows the plan of such plays as the *Citra-yajña* ; on the contrary, such late Sanskrit plays, written for some popular festival, seem to make concessions to popular taste by adopting some of the peculiar features of the *yātrā* of popular origin. The lengthy stage-directions made up the want of scenic apparatus in a *yātrā*, as in a play of this type ; while the elaborate descriptive and narrative passages were recited with a flourish by the *adhikārin* or director of the performance, who in this wise unfolds and sometimes explains the tenor of the play to the audience. Such highly florid prose passages are also a notable feature of the Kathakatā in Bengal, which is another mode of popular entertainment allied to the *yātrā* and the *pāṁcālī*. Examples of such passages, which became stereotyped as "set passages" in later times, will be found in Dinesh Chandra Sen's *History of Bengali Language and Literature*,[2] and we have some specimens of these in the Dacca University MSS collection. Dr. Sen thus comments on these passages : "There are formulas which every *kathaka* has to get by heart, set passages

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 104.

2 Calcutta 1911, pp. 586-87, fn.

describing not only Śiva, Lakṣmī, Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa and other deities, but also describing a town, a battle-field, morning, noon and night and many other subjects which incidentally occur in the course of the narration of a story. These set passages are composed in Sanskritic Bengali with a remarkable jingle of consonances, the effect of which is quite extraordinary." It is not known whether the *yātrā* adopted the plan from the Kathakas, who may be regarded as the descendants of the old Granthikas, or *vice versa*; but it is probable that it was a peculiar feature of most of these forms of popular entertainments, and we need not go out of our way in assuming that it had a direct connexion with the shadow-play, of which the Indian tradition knows nothing.

Informations about the *yātrās* of old times are rather meagre, but what little we know and what we can surmise about them from the specimens of comparatively later times confirm our conjecture that compositions like the *Mahānāṭaka* should be explained in relation to the *yātrā* to which it bears a distinct kinship.[1] The name *yātrā* suggests that it might have been originally some kind of religious procession, by which term it is often rendered;[2] but we have evidence to shew that in historical times it was some kind of operatic and melodramatic performance, a *Volkspiel*, with some dialogue and semidramatic presentation, in which improvisation played a considerable part. Its traditional existence is known to us from time immemorial, and there is no valid reason to doubt that it probably descended from earlier festive popular entertainments of a religious character.[3] It is not known whether the *yātrā* had any direct connexion

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1 It must be noted that it bears no kinship to the spectacular Rāmalīlā which prevails in the upper provinces.

2 Cf. Lévi, *op. cit.*, p. 394; Caland, *Een onbekend indisch Tooneelstuk* (Gopāla-keli-candrikā), p. 8.

3 For an account of the Bengali *yātrā* and its early history, see S. K. De, *Bengali Literature* 1800-1825, Calcutta 1919, pp. 442-54. Dinesh Chandra Sen's account (*op. cit.*, pp. 724f.), as well as that given by Nishikanta Chattopadhyaya (*The Yātrās or the Popular Dramas of Bengal*, London 1882), is based chiefly on the works of Kṛṣṇakamal Gosvāmin who wrote pseudo-literary *yātrās* about 1870-75 A.D., and therefore deals with fairly late specimens, which are not entirely free from the influence of English or anglicised theatre in Bengal.

with the literary drama, but it is probable that it was a continuation of an old type, while it is a fact that it survived the decadence of the regular drama into which it never developed, and that its even tenor of existence was hardly ever modified in form or spirit by any literary pretensions. The principal elements of the old *yātrā* seem to be of indigenous growth, peculiar to itself, and there is no evidence to shew that these elements, which have survived in a rough way through ages, had anything to do with the theory and practice of the literary drama. Its religious and mythological theme, no doubt, raises a presumption of its kinship with the Sanskrit drama, but it really points to a probable connexion with religious festivities of a popular character. It is true that a dramatic element always existed, but the operatic and melodramatic peculiarities prevailed over the dramatic. The religious preoccupation of these festive entertainments expressed itself naturally in song, or in recitative poetry which could be chanted, and this choral peculiarity threw into shade whatever mimetic qualities they possessed. Although the realities of scenery and character were not totally ignored, there was little dialogue, still less action, and hardly any analysis or development of character. Every representation was concerned primarily with the gradual unfolding of an epic or paurāṇic theme, a simple story often perfectly well-known to the audience; but the performance was necessarily slow and elaborate, the session sometimes occupying more than one day, because description, recitation or singing was given preference to mere action and dialogue. There was no scenic apparatus, and even no regular scene-division, which appears to have been introduced much later from the Sanskrit or English drama, and all the details were left to the imagination of the audience, the Yātrāwālā or his chorus or some individual character sketching, explaining and commenting (by means of elaborate descriptive passages in verse and prose) on the outlines of the narrative, which was eked out by the principal characters in metrical or choral dialogues. Some of these dialogues, as well as most of the chorus songs, were composed and learnt by heart beforehand; but they must also have been developed considerably by improvisation. Wilson compares the *yātrā* to the Improvvista Commedia of the Italians, the business alone being sketched by the author, the dialogues supplied by the actors and the narrative details explained by the Yātrāwālā or his chorus. The Yātrāwālā, unlike the Sūtradhāra who sets the play in motion and then retires, was an important figure in the old, if not in the modern, *yātrā*; for

he not only controlled and directed the performance but was always in appearance, supplying the links of the story by means of the descriptive and narrative passages, explaining and expanding it with the help of his chorus, the actors making their appearance just to impart enough verisimilitude by their presence and their metrical dialogues. It was his show and he was the show-master. It is also important to add that there was in the old *yātrā* an exclusive preponderance of songs or recitative poetry, in which even the dialogues were carried on and the whole action worked out. In comparatively modern *yātrās*, no doubt, secular themes are admitted ; the details of the story are more minutely and faithfully followed ; there are less music and poetry and more dialogue and dramatic interest ; and even lively interludes of a farcical nature are introduced to relieve their seriousness and monotony.[1] But even these improvements made of late years could not altogether lift the *yātrā* out of its religious envelopment and its essentially poetic or musical structure.

If we bear these characteristics in mind, it will not be difficult to see that a work like the *Mahānāṭaka* approximates very closely to this type. The religious or mythological theme of this work, its epic or narrative character, the imperfection of its dialogues, its descriptive passages interspersed with elaborate and vivid stage-directions, its chorus-like *vaitālika-vākyas*, its length and extended working out of the story,—all these peculiarities find a natural explanation when we consider that these are also the prominent features of the *yātrā*. As the imperfect dialogues and narrative passages were frequently supplemented, it is not surprising that a work meant for such performances increased in bulk, incorporating into itself fine poetic passages from various sources, and different versions came into existence.

Pischel has already made a very significant remark with reference to the *Dūtāṅgada* that "there are almost as many *Dūtāṅgadas* as there are manuscripts". This remark applies with greater force to the *Mahānāṭaka*. The two recensions of Dāmodara and Madhusūdana have already been distinguished ; but there is a great deal of discrepancy in the different MSS and printed editions with regard to the number of verses and Act-division in each of the recensions.

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1 At the present day, the Bengali *Yātrā* is being entirely moulded by the anglicised Bengali drama and theatre, and is therefore departing completely from the older type.

Unfortunately most of the existing catalogues of MSS give us little information on this point, for they seldom are so painstaking as to collate the different MSS or compare them with the printed editions and register the differences. But in some cases these have been noted and interesting facts have been brought to light. In one MS of Dāmodara's recension, which contains the commentary of Balabhadra, the colophon to the commentary at the end speaks of the fifteenth prakāśa,[1] which makes it probable that this version contained fifteen, instead of the usual fourteen Acts.[2] Similarly in a MS, preserved at the India Office[3], of Madhusūdana's recension, the last Act (IX), which is one of the longest, is divided into two, thus giving us ten Acts, probably in conformity with the Sāhitya-darpaṇakāra's prescription that a *mahānāṭaka* should contain ten Acts. With regard to the number of verses, the MSS vary considerably. According to Lüders[4], the Bombay edition of Dāmodara's recension, published in *śaka* 1786, gives 582 verses; but the Bombay edition (Veṅkaṭeśvara Press) of *śaka* 1831, which we use, gives a total 578 verses. Eggeling's three MSS at the India office[5] give 588, 570 and 611 verses respectively. Keith[6] gives the number in an Oxford MS as 557. The Bodleian MS noticed by Aufrecht[7] contains 548 verses, and on comparison of this MS with the Bombay edition of *Śaka* 1831, it is found that the discrepancies occur in Acts I, III, V, VI, VIII, IX-XIV. The same kind of discrepancy is also noticeable

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1 *iti.........śrī-balabhadreṇa viracitāyāṃ śrī-hanūmannaṭaka-dīpikāyāṃ pañcadaśaḥ prakāśaḥ* (Bhandarkar, *Report* 1883-84, p. 358). Kielhorn (*Catalogue of MSS in the Central Provinces*, Nagpur 1874, p. 76) gives the number of ślokas in this version of Balabhadra as 2654! In another version by Nārāyaṇa the number is given as 1760 !

2 One of the concluding verses of Dāmodara's recension (xiv, 15) tells us that the number 14 was adopted on the analogy of the fourteen worlds. It was thus apparently an artificial division.

3 Tawney and Thomas, *Catalogue of Two Collections of Skt. MSS at the India Office*, p. 36. With this arrangement, the majority of Dacca University MSS of Madhusūdana's recension agree.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 705, footnote 5.

5 *Op cit.*, vii, pp. 1583f.

6 Keith, *Catalogue of MSS in the Indian Institute at Oxford*, p. 80.

7 *Bodleian Catalogue*, p. 142a.

in the two fragments noticed by Weber.[1] The following table will make the differences clear :

Act	Bombay ed. of 1831 śaka	Aufrecht	Weber (fragment)	Weber (fragment)
I	58	52	51	51
II	30	30	34	32
III	27	26	30	26
IV	16	16	16	17
V	64	59	—	60
VI	46	45		48
VII	20	20		18
VIII	58	55		—
IX	41	40		
X	24	24		
XI	41	42		
XII	19	17		
XIII	38	35		
XIV	96	87		

What is said here of the recension of Dāmodara applies with equal force to that of Madhusūdana. Aufrecht's Bodleian MS gives 720 verses ; but we have eight MSS of this recension in the Dacca University collection which do not agree with this MS, nor with each other, with regard to the distribution and total number of verses. The published editions of this recension will also bear out this point. The early edition of Mahārājā Kālīkṛṣṇa Deva Bāhādur (Calcutta, 1840) need not be taken as authoritative, for the editor confesses in his prefatory verses that he has inserted the stage-directions, the titles of scenery etc., and it is not clear if he has followed any particular MS or groups of MSS for his edition. This edition[2] gives, according to the editor's own numbering, a total of 613 verses. The edition of Rāma-

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1 *Berlin Catalogue*, I, p. 163 (no. 552) ; II, i, p. 157 (no. 1568).

2 It is remarkable that this edition omits the end-verse to each Act which speaks of Madhusūdana as the redactor ; but in the prefatory remarks the editor speaks of Madhusūdana as such, and this leaves no doubt that he followed this recension. For the number and order of the verses in the Dacca University MSS of this recension, see Appendix, *infra*, pp. 571ff.

tāraṇa Śiromaṇi, published with his own commentary (Calcutta 1870), is based (as the editor states) on two printed texts and 9 or 10 MSS, but it notes few variants and the text is frankly eclectic. It follows generally, however, the commentator Candraśekhara's text and gives a total of 730 verses. In the edition published by Candrakumāra Bhaṭṭācārya, which contains the ṭīkā of Candraśekhara (Calcutta 1874), we have in all 734 verses. Finally, the edition of Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara with his own commentary (Calcutta 1890), which does not appear to have utilised any MS but only uncritically copies the printed editions (chiefly that of Rāmatāraṇa Śiromaṇi), as well as draws verses from Dāmodara's version, contains the largest total of 788 verses. The distribution of verses in the different Acts may be shown in a table thus :

Act	Kālīkṛṣṇa	Rāmatāraṇa	Candrakumāra	Jīvānanda
I	43	47	48	59
II	46	52	52	63
III	85	88	89	94
IV	73	72	72	80
V	79	103	100	111
VI	111	111	116	114
VII	58	72	72	80
VIII	20	37	37	38
IX	98	148	148	149
Total	613	730	734	788

Although Dāmodara and Madhusūdana appear to have made a final redaction of the work, it is clear that even each of their recensions was in a state of flux. The respective Act-division is more or less kept intact in each recension (with just two exceptions already noted) ; but there was considerable addition or omission of the constituent verses in each Act. This fate the *Mahānāṭaka* doubtless shares with many other Sanskrit plays, of which different recensions exist ; yet with the exception perhaps of the erotic elaboration of Act III of *Śakuntalā* and the irregular Act IV of the *Vikramorvaśīya*, the extent of interpolation or omission in the text is never so great as we find it in the *Mahānāṭaka* ; for here we have of each recension practically as many versions as there are manuscripts. This fact makes it probable that the work was utilised for some form of perfor-

mance in which the descriptive passages could be eked out at will, so that within the fixed outline of the accepted redactions, verses were added or omitted to suit the performance, the performers, or the audience, just in the same way as the regular plays were adapted to the requirements of stage-acting, e.g., by the Cakkyars of Malabar.

Further interesting light is thrown on the question by eight Bengal MSS of the work, which give us a version not associated with the name of Madhusūdana and which appear to confirm our conjecture regarding the origin and character of the *Mahānāṭaka.* These MSS do not entirely agree with each other in their texts, some being very short and others comparatively long; but taken together there is a substantial agreement, which gives us a version which may be called the *textus simplicior*, as distinguished from the *textus ornatior* of Madhusūdana. The finally redacted recension of Madhusūdana, which came to prevail in Bengal and which was doubtless based on some such simpler version, regularised the work into the semblance of a drama, but these MSS tell us a different story.

We have in the following pages given a part of the text edited from these MSS, in parallel columns with the corresponding portion of the text of Madhusūdana (Acts I and II) as we find it in its longest version in Jīvānanda's edition. A detailed comparison between the two would be interesting. In Madhusūdana, we have at the commencement, 13 benedictory verses (which number appears as 10 in the texts of Rāmatāraṇa and Candraśekhara[1] respectively); but in the majority of our MSS this pseudo-*nāndī* is kept within the reasonable limits of 4 or 5 verses. The *prarocanā*-verse, which names Hanūmat as the author, as well as the direction *nāndyante sūtradhāraḥ*, is omitted in our MSS and this is obviously an after-thought of Madhusūdana's as we do not find it also in Dāmodara's version. Curiously enough, our MSS give here an indication of the gradual process of accretion and expansion. The two MSS marked A and D incorporate a large number of verses of a narrative or descriptive character from different sources, the latter specially interpolating more than once a large number of verses stringed together from the *Anargha-rāghava* and the *Prasanna-rāghava.* The verse

1 Candraśekhara comments on this: *nāṭake śloka-trayeṇa śloka-dvayeva vā nādī kriyate......mahānāṭake tu nāyaṃ niyama iti bahubhiḥ ślokair nāndīṃ karoti.*

next following the benediction affords an example of this process of amplification which must have already been in existence when Madhusūdana took up the work. This verse (no. 6) is not uttered by any actor but narrates the beginning of the story by telling us all about Daśaratha, his three queens and four sons and corresponds to verses 15-16 of Madhusūdana. But this verse is amplified in four of our MSS by the addition of another verse which is clearly an imitation of the first, while one MS adds some more verses thereafter with the heading *Rāma-caritam*. After this, all the MSS (with the exception of three) plunge directly into the plot by going straight to the episode of the Sītā-svayaṃvara, omitting Rāma's early exploits narrated by Madhusūdana, but alluding to these exploits in the opening verse uttered by the Maithila Vaitālikas, who welcome Rāma on his arrival at Mithilā. The episode is briefly sketched in rough outline, and is not such an elaborate affair as it is in Madhusūdana. Śatānanda speaks in one verse (borrowed from *Bālarāmāyaṇa* iii, 27) of Janaka's vow, Sītā is apprehensive in the next, and Lakṣmaṇa follows up in two more verses as Rāma takes up Śiva's bow. The episode is then rounded off by a *vaitālika-vākya* again, which applauds in six or seven verses the feat of breaking the bow, which is further praised by the Pauras and by Lakṣmaṇa in single verses respectively. After this come four more verses uttered again by the Vaitālikas, which describe Rāma's marriage and return to Ayodhyā. It is not necessary to follow up the analysis of the text further, for this rapid account of what corresponds to the first Act in Madhusūdana's recension and what contains no prose, little action but much more Vaitālika-vākya, and takes up only 24 verses as against Madhusūdana's 59, will give a rough idea of the general character of this simpler version.

In this connexion attention may be drawn to several points. In the first place, these MSS give us a shorter and much simpler text, in which the story is sketched in bare outline without any amplification of matters of details. Secondly, the *prarocanā*-verse, as well as the verse which occurs at the end of each Act and names Hanūmat as the author and Madhusūdana as the redactor, is to be found in none of our eight MSS, and there is nowhere any mention of Madhusūdana or the fact of his having redacted the work. Nor is there in these MSS any verse or any indication which associates the work with Hanūmat. Thirdly, the stage-directions are

generally very simple and take the form of brief indications like *atha lakṣmaṇa-vākyam*, *atha sītā-manasi paribhāvanam*, *atha vartmani paraśurāma-darśanam* etc. There is also throughout no Act-division, and the work is presented as a continuous whole without any break of Acts or scenes. This is an important fact, which obviously shews that the work was meant for some kind of continuous performance like the *yātrā*, which knew of no Act or scene division. We are told at the end of each Act in Madhusūdana's recension that it was Madhusūdana, who arranged the work in the form of a *sandarbha* (*miśra-śrī-madhusūdanena kavinā sandarbhya sajjīkṛte* etc.). With our new material it would not be unreasonable to surmise that originally the work existed, as we find it in our MSS, in the form of a continuous narrative piece furnished with metrical dialogues, which, however, were hardly dramatic and curiously imperfect, being left to be supplied in the course of the performance; and that later on Madhusūdana redacted some such earlier version and gave it a semi-dramatic form by regular Act-division, stage-directions and some prose, and filled out the dialogues and the narrative and descriptive passages more elaborately. It must also be noted that these MSS mark quite distinctly the Vaitālika-vākyas or Paura-vacanas, in which long recitative poems (which were doubtless meant for singing) were put in the mouths of groups of persons, commenting on an incident or enlarging upon a theme; and there can hardly be any doubt that these were employed in the same way as the chorus-songs in a *yātrā*, which punctuated the performance in a similar manner. It is further important to note that in our MSS the prose passages, whether narrative, descriptive or conversational, are entirely omitted, a fact which is in keeping with the almost entirely choral or recitative character of the old *yātrā*.[1] It cannot be said that these prose passages are frequent or numerous in the two accepted recensions of Dāmodara and Madhusūdana, but whatever prose there is, it must have been added (in deference partly to the actual practice of the Kathaka and the Yātrāwālā) in later times when the recensions were finally redacted, so as to impart the semblance of a dramatic composition to the work.[2]

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1 The erotic elaboration of Act II is entirely omitted in our MSS (with the exception of one MS only, marked F, which places these verses in another context in Act III).

2 That our MSS are not mere abridgements or summaries of

The features noted above are really remarkable and highly significant; and from what has been said in the foregoing pages there is no special reason to doubt that, at least in Bengal, a simpler version of the work existed, of which the tradition is recorded in these eight MSS, and which, to all appearance, bears a strong kinship, in general character and structural similarity, to such works as may have been utilised for popular festive performances of a *quasi*-dramatic nature, in which song and recitation prevailed over real acting and the drama.

That the vernacular *yātrā* reacted on the literary drama at this period admits of little doubt. We have referred to the *Citrayajña* described by Wilson, although it is a fairly modern work from which deductions for an earlier period would not be safe. Keith really touches upon this solution of the problem when he suggests that works like the *Mahānāṭaka* were composed "in preparation for some form of performance at which the dialogue was plentifully eked out by narrative by the director and the other actors" ; and he rightly compares such irregular types with the *Gīta-govinda* of Jaydeva and the *Gopāla-keli-candrikā* of Rāmakṛṣṇa, both of which can be (and in the case of *Gīta-govinda* it actually is) enjoyed as lyrical poems or songs, but which are at the same time capable of *quasi*-dramatic presentation. Had more informations about the *yātrā* been available, Keith would probably have seen its close resemblance to these types instead of explaining them with the rather facile conjecture that they were merely literary exercises. In both the *Gīta-govinda* and the *Gopāla-keli-candrikā*, however, we find a sublimated outcome of the simple

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the *Mahānāṭaka* is clear from fact that we have some other MSS in the collection at the University of Dacca which expressly call themselves *saṃkṣepa-mahānāṭakam*. It may also be noted in this connection that two of our MSS of the simpler version (marked A and B) bear the same date of copying, viz., Śaka 1714 (= A.D. 1792) and appear to have been prepared by the same scribe, Puruṣottamadeva Śarman. A was procured from Baghia in the district of Faridpur, B from Borai in the district of Bogra. But these two MSS do not appear to have been copied from the same archetype, as A is more elaborate and has a large number of added verses, and C agrees with it more closely than B. The scribe was thus apparently copying at the same time two versions for two of his patrons.

Kṛṣṇa-yātrā, but in the Mahānāṭaka-type we have the adaptation of traditional matter for the purpose of such melo-dramatic and operatic performances. The date of Rāmakṛṣṇa's work is unknown, but it is apparently a late work written in Gujrāt. Caland who has edited it (Amsterdam, 1917) touches upon (p. 8f) its similarity to the *yātrā* ; and its parellel to the Swāng of North-west India, which, unlike the regular drama, is metrical throughout and in which the actors recite the narrative portions as well as take part in the dialogues, is rightly suggested. But this play in five Acts, with definite stage-directions and elaborate prose and metrical dialogues, is, like the *Gīta-govinda*, a highly fictitious composition which cannot be classified properly with the type we are considering, although its connexion with the *Mahānāṭaka* is indirectly mentioned in the prologue.[1] Lévi[2] mentions a Tāmil version of the *Śakuntalā* which may be a near enough parallel to our type ; and the influence of the popular theatre on the fourth Act of the *Vikramorvaśīya* is also probable. To this category may also belong the *Ānanda-latikā* already mentioned, as well as the *Nandi-ghoṣa vijaya* noticed by Eggeling.[3] This last-named work, also called *Kamalā-vilāsa*, is a semi-dramatic entertainment in five Acts on incidents connected with the *ratha-yātrā* festival (at Puri) and was composed by Śivanārāyaṇa Dāsa in honour of his patron Gajapati Narasiṃha Deva (of Orissa). But all these works, inspite of the undoubted influence of entertainments like the *yātrā* on them, can be similarly differentiated. It is indeed difficult to find a work of precisely the same pattern as the *Mahānāṭaka*, which thus stands unique in the whole range of Sanskrit dramatic literature ; but its uniqueness makes it an extremely important production which throws, as no other work can, an interesting light on certain phases of development of later Sanskrit drama.

We are now in a position to conclude that the origin of a work like the *Mahānāṭaka* is not to be sought in the far-fetched shadow-play, the existence of which in ancient India is not yet beyond doubt, nor should any inference be made from an obviously late work with regard to the early evolution of the Sanskrit drama. With its highly stylish form the work has nothing primitive about it, nor can it be assigned to a very early period. It had its origin probably at a time when the Sanskrit drama was already on the decline. Such

1 p. 44, line 29. 2 *op. cit.*, p. 244.

3 *op. cit.*, vii, p. 1606, no. 4190 (607a).

irregular types could at this period come into existence, partly through the influence of such choral and melodramatic performances as the popular *yātrā*, which were now being brought into prominence by the gradual rise of vernacular literature. It is not contended, in the absence of any tradition, that such a pseudo-play was actually enacted as a *yātrā*. It may or may not have been ; but it is possible to maintain that such works were not mere literary exercises but were intended for some kind of performance of the type mentioned above. They were, to all intents and purposes, a kind of Sanskrit *yātrā* or were meant as such, composed for a more cultivated audience, who, with the decline and fading popularity of the classical Sanskrit drama, wanted something which would be an analogue to the looser yet highly melodramatic and operatic popular entertainments. The anonymity of the work and the existence of different but substantially agreeing versions are points in favour of our view. We can also understand why the work is in the nature of a compilation with just enough nucleus round which borrowed verses could be easily woven.

In conclusion we should like to point out that the *Mahānāṭaka* has not yet been critically edited, nor has all the MSS-material for such edition been yet properly utilised ; and that such an edition furnishing a critical text or texts, concordance and other relevant data is a desideratum. We hope we have been able in this essay to bring into prominence the importance of the work, and the ample material which still exists in MSS for a study of the problems connected with the question of its character and origin. We regret we have had no MSS of Dāmodara's recension to utilise for this essay, but we suspect from our study of the Bengal versions that the examination of the MSS of the other recension may bring to the light fresh data.

APPENDIX

In order to enable the reader to judge for himself of the value of the simpler recension of the *Mahānāṭaka* given by our MSS, we edit below a part of the text from eight MSS in the Dacca University Manuscript collection. For convenience of comparison this text is printed in parallel columns with the text of Madhusūdana's recension as given in Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara's edition. Although not perfectly authentic, Jīvānanda's text is selected because it gives perhaps the longest text of this recension. We have, however, compared Jīvānanda's text with the text of the same recension given respectively in three earlier printed editions and eight MSS of the Dacca University collection, and noted the readings given by them. It appears that Jīvānanda had hardly any MS as his authority but simply copied the text from Rāmatāraṇa Śiromaṇi's edition (even noting its alternative readings) and uncritically incorporated verses from Dāmodara's recension into Madhusūdana's version.

The specimen-text is edited up to the end of the second and beginning of the third Act of Madhusūdana's recension. References are noted where verses are found also in Dāmodara's recension, as well as to such Rāma-dramas as *Mahāvīra-carita*, *Anargha-rāghava*, *Bāla-rāmāyaṇa*, *Prasanna-rāghava* etc. It is noteworthy that the majority of MSS of Madhusūdana's recension give it in ten Acts.

Manuscripts

The text of the simpler version (called here "Our Text") is based on the following eight MSS belonging to the Dacca University Manuscripts Library :

A = MS no. 1640, dated in śaka 1714 (=1792 A.D.). Palm leaf ; fol. 123 ; total no. of verses 592 ; 3 lines as a rule on each folio. The scribe writes at the end : श्रीपुरुषोत्तमदेवशर्मणः स्वाक्षरमेतत्। इति शकाब्दाः १७१४ ॥ Purchased from Indranarayan Chakravarti, Vill. Baghia, Dt. Faridpur.

B = MS no. 1581, dated in śaka 1714 (=1792 A.D.). Palm leaf ; fol. 114 ; verses are not numbered ; 2 lines as a rule to a folio. The scribe who appears to be the same as that of MS A, writes at the end : गते संवत्सरे शाके वेदेन्दुसप्तचन्द्रके। लिखिता पुस्तिका चेयं पुरु-

षोत्तमशर्मणा ॥ Presented by Bhavadeva Bhattacharyya, Borai, Dt. Bogra.

C = MS no. 2093. No date, but is not older than the two MSS noticed above. Palm leaf ; fol. 61 ; total no. of verses 341, but the MS is incomplete ; the lines on each folio vary from 2 to 3. This MS agrees very closely with A, and is probably derived from the same archetype. Both the MSS belong to Faridpur. Purchased from Govinda Charan Bhaduri, Vill. Silangal, Dt. Faridpur.

D = MS No. 406b. no date, but not older. Paper MS ; fol. 17 only, and number of verses 159 ; 8 lines to a folio ; MS incomplete ; Purchased from Vajrayogini, Vikrampur, Dt. Dacca.

E = MS no. 1806b. No date, but not older. Palm leaf ; fol. 73 ; 3 lines to a folio. No. of verses 281 ; MS incomplete. Presented by Babu Yasodakanta Chakravarti, Kashabhog, Palong, Dt. Faridpur.

F = MS no. 271c. Dated in 8 Caitra, 1139 san (= 1732 A.D.). Paper MS ; fol. 48 (first fol. torn in places) ; no. of verses 556 (but irregularly numbered at the end). The scribe's name does not occur but he writes at the end : सन ११३९ साल ८ चैत्र समाप्त ॥ मोकाम भरतपुर, परगणे फत्तेसिंह ॥ Purchased from Nalhati, Dt. Burdwan.

G = MS no. 1275. No date, but probably belongs to the same date as A. Palm leaf ; fol. 56 ; 3 lines to a folio ; no. of verses 354 ; incomplete beginning and end missing. Presented by Tarini Charan Bhattacharyya of Bijura, Sylhet.

H = MS no. 1364a. No date, but appearance and character old ; it belongs probably to the 18th century. Paper MS ; fol. 17 ; 8 lines to a folio. Incomplete, at the end. The verses are not numbered. Presented by Peary Mohan Goswami of Lugaon, Sylhet.

The variant readings of Madhusūdana's text are noted from the following MSS of Madhusūdana's recension, existing in the Dacca University collection :

A = MS no. 500b. Paper MS. No date, but probably not older than the 18th century. Fol. 49 ; 7 lines to a folio ; total no. of verses 439, but incomplete at the end ; Purchased from Rohini Chandra Bhattacharrya, Malatinagar, Bogra.

B = MS no. 619a. Dated in Aṣāḍha, śaka 1755 (= 1833 A.D.). Paper

MS ; fol. 98 ; complete in 10 Acts ; verses numbered separately in each Act (except in Act vi, vii where the numbering is irregular), as follows : I—47 ; II—47 ; III—96 ; IV—67 ; V—124 ; VI—125 ; VII—83 ; VIII—30 ; IX—90 ; X—67. Marginal glosses in Acts I and II. The scribe writes at the end : शकाब्दाः १७५५ आषाढ। नत्वा तारापदद्वन्दं श्रीगौरीश्वरशर्मणा। लिखित्वा पुस्तकं दत्तं श्रीहरदत्तशर्मणे ॥ In the collection of Yādaveśvara Tarkaratna of Rangpur, purchased by the University.

C = MS. no. 623. Paper MS ; fol. 82 ; 4 lines to a folio : incomplete, breaking off at verse 39, Act VI. The verses in each Act are separately numbered thus ; I—47 ; II—47 ; III—95 ; IV—69 ; V—118 ; VI—39 (incomplete). No date, but the MS seems to belong to the first part of the 19th century. Occasional marginal gloss in Acts I and II. In the same collection as noted for MS, B.

D = MS. no. 662. Dated in śaka 1715 (= 1793 A.D.). Paper MS ; fol. 89 ; 5 lines to a folio ; verses numbered separately in ten Acts, except Act vii, as follows ; I—47 ; II—47 : III—96 ; IV—67 ; V—119 ; VI—129 ; VII—82 ; VIII—32 ; IX—91 ; X—68. Occasional marginal glosses. The scribe writes at the end : सप्ताब्जशाकेऽत्र सपञ्चचन्द्रे रवेर्दिने सिंहरविर्गतेऽसौ। श्रियाद्य गोविन्द-हराद्यविप्रो लिखेन्महानाटकाव्यदिव्यम् ॥ श्रीहरगोविन्दस्येदम् ॥ In the same collection as for MSS, B and C.

E = MS. no. 1019a. Paper MS ; fol. 22 ; total no. of verses 168 ; incomplete. No date, but probably belongs to the 18th century. 5 lines to a folio. Presented by Tarachand Bhattacharya and Nalini Mohan Bhattacharya, Borai, Dt. Bogra.

F = MS. no. 1049. Palm leaf ; fol. 78 ; 4 lines to a folio ; total number of verses 479 ; incomplete. No date, but not older than the 18th century. In the same collection as for MS, E.

G = MS no. 1620. Paper MS ; fol. 77 ; 9 lines to a folio. Complete in 10 Acts. Total number of verses 718 (excluding the end verse *eṣa śrīla-hanūmatā*), distributed over ten Acts thus : I—45 ; II—53 ; III—89 ; IV—77 ; V—103 ; VI—verses not numbered ; VII—verses irregularly numbered ; IX—90 ; X—60. Marginal glosses. At the end we have : श्लोका निरङ्काः खलु ये वसन्ति संगणय्य तेषां सकलाङ्कपालीम्। सपूय वै विंशतिमाशु तत्र बुध्यस्व तैः सप्तशतीं समग्राम् ॥ Purchased from Sivaratan Mitra of Suri, Birbhum.

H = MS no. 2322. Paper MS; fol. 67; 6 lines to a folio; complete in 9 Acts, The numbering of verses is irregular. No date, but the MS apparently belongs to the 18th century. Purchased from Amulyaratan Mukherjee, Majigram, Dt. Burdwan.

Of these eight MSS of Madhusūdana's recension, close agreements of reading as well as numbering and order of verses are to be found in two groups (i) A,E,F (Bogra MSS) and (ii) B,C,D (Rangapur MSS); while G (Birbhum MS) and H (Burdwan MS) stand apart. This variation according to locality is interesting.

Editions

The following printed editions of Madhusūdana's recension have been used for noting differences of readings:

KK = ed. Mahārājā Kālīkṛṣṇa Deva Bāhādur, Calcutta, śaka 1762 (= 1840 A.D.). There is a Sanskrit metrical introduction in which the editor tells us that he is following Madhusūdana's recension, but that he has inserted proper stage directions of his own.

RS = ed. Rāmatāraṇa Śiromaṇi, with his own commentary, Calcutta 1870.

CS = ed. with the ṭīkā of Candraśekhara by Candra Kumāra Bhaṭṭācārya, Calcutta, śaka 1796 (= 1874 A.D.).

J = ed. Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, with a commentary. Calcutta 1890.

Other Abbreviations used in the footnotes

M = Madhusūdana's recension.

Dām. = Dāmodara's recension, ed. Venktesvara Press, Bombay śaka 1831 (= 1909 A.D.).

PR – Prasanna-rāghava, ed. S.M. Paranjape and N. S. Panse, Poona 1894.

BR – Bāla-rāmāyaṇa, ed. Govindadeva Śāstrī, Benares 1869.

AR – Anargha-rāghava, ed. Kāvyamālā 5, Bombay 1894.

Mahāvīra-carita – ed, Nirnay Sagar Press, Bombay 1910.

महानाटकम्

महानाटकम्

OUR TEXT

विश्वेशो वः स पायात्त्रिगुणसचिवतां योऽवलम्ब्यानुवारं[1]
विश्वद्रीचीनसृष्टिस्थितिविलयमजः स्वेच्छया निर्मिमीते ।
यस्येयत्तामतीत्य प्रभवति महिमा कोऽपि लोकव्यतीत-[2]
स्त्यक्तो यश्चक्षुराद्यैरपि निपुणतया[3] वीक्षणादिक्रियासु ॥१॥

विघ्नेशो वः स पायाद्विहृतिषु जलधिं[4] पुष्कराग्रेण पीत्वा
यस्मिन्नुद्धृत्य हस्तं विसृजति सकलं दृश्यते व्योम्नि देवैः ।
काप्यम्भः क्वापि विष्णुः क्वचन[5] कमलभूः काप्यनन्तः क्व च श्रीः
काप्यौर्वः क्वापि शैलाः[6] क्वचन मणिगणाः[7] क्वापि नक्रादिचक्रम् ॥२॥[8]

1 In F this part is torn, up to the end of विलयमजः। योऽवलद्ध्यानुवारं B.

2 All words from व्यतीत up to ०श्चक्षु० (inclusive) torn in F.

3 निपुणतमो A,D,F.

4 पायाज्जलनिधिमखिलं H.

5 क्व हर A.

6 क्वापि मत्स्याः H.

7 क्वचन मुनिगणाः B, C, E, H ; क्व वरमुनिगणाः A.

8 This verse is omitted in F, which reads in its

MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

विश्वेशो[1] वः स पायात्त्रिगुणसचिवतां योऽवलम्ब्यानुवारं[2]
विश्वद्रीचीनसृष्टिस्थितिविलयमजः स्वेच्छया निर्मिमीते ।
यस्येयत्तामतीत्य प्रभवति महिमा कोऽपि लोकव्यतीत-
स्त्यक्तो यश्चक्षुराद्यैरपि निपुणतमै[3]र्वीक्षणादिक्रियासु[4] ॥१॥

अपिच ।[5]

विघ्नेशो वः स पायाज्जलनिधिमखिलं[6] पुष्कराग्रेण पीत्वा
यस्मिन्नुद्धृत्य तोयं[7] विसृजति सकलं[8] दृश्यते व्योम्नि देवैः ।

1 विघ्नेशो A.

2 योऽवलद्ध्यानुचारं A.

3 J notes the other reading निपुणतमो, which is given also by RS and KK ; निपुणतमैः RS, CS and G ; तिपुणतया A, E, F ; निपुणदृशां B, C, D, H.

4 A, E, F read as the first verse no. 3, which is followed by no 8, after which come nos, 1 and 2. C, D, B, H interpose nos. 1 and 2, reading 2 first, then 1.

5 Omitted in A, E, F, G.

6 विहृतिषु जलधिं E, A.

7 J notes two readings तोयं (KK, RS, CS and G) and हस्तं (B, C, D, E, F, H, RS). A reads विश्वं .

8 कणशः A, E, F.

OUR TEXT

रामं लक्ष्मणपूर्वजं रघुवरं सीतापतिं[1] सुन्दरं
काकुत्स्थं करुणामयं गुणनिधिं विप्रप्रियं धार्मिकम् ।
राजेन्द्रं सत्यसन्धं[2] दशरथतनयं श्यामलं शान्तमूर्तिं
वन्दे लोकाभिरामं रघुकुलतिलकं राघवं रावणारिम् ॥ ३ ॥[3]

MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

काप्यम्भः कापि विष्णुः क्वचन कमलभूः काप्यनन्तः क च श्रीः[1]
काप्यौर्वः कापि शैलाः[2] क्वचन मणिगणाः कापि नक्रादि-
चक्रम् ॥२॥[3]
जयति रघुवंशतिलकः कौशल्यानन्दि[4] वर्धनो रामः ।
दशवदननिधनकारी दाशरथिः पुण्डरीकाक्षः ॥ ३ ॥
नमामि देवं[5] सुरकल्पवृक्षं धनुर्धरं नीरदनीलगात्रम् ।
गुणाभिरामं कमलाननं तं यदास्पदं न क्षणमुज्झति श्रीः ॥ ४ ॥[6]
रामं लक्ष्मणपूर्वजं रघुवरं सीतापतिं सुन्दरं
काकुत्स्थं करुणामयं गुणनिधिं विप्रप्रियं धार्मिकम् ।
राजेन्द्रं सत्यसन्धं दशरथतनयं श्यामलं शान्तमूर्तिं
वन्दे लोकाभिरामं रघुकुलतिलकं राघवं रावणारिम् ॥ ५ ॥[7]

place जयति रघुवंशतिलकः etc. (M. no. 3). D introduces जयति रघुवंशतिलकः after śl. 3 of our text (*variant* आनन्द-वर्धनो).

1 In F all letters from ०तिं सुन्दरं up to the end of गुणनिधि lost, as also from ०भिरामं up to the end of राघवं.

2 सत्यसिन्धुं C,H.

3 D and E read after this verse :

1 क शैलाः B,C,D,H and CS.

2 मत्स्याः B,C,D,H and CS.

3 This verse is quoted in *Śārṅgadhara-paddhati* as *Hanumataḥ* (no. 90).

4 कौशल्यानन्द in all Mss. except G, also in KK.

5 रामं H. 6 This verse is omitted in A,E,F.

7 This verse is omitted in A,E,F.

OUR TEXT

कल्याणानां निधानं कलिमलमथनं जीवनं सज्जनानां
पाथेयं यन्मुमुक्षोः सपदि परपदप्राप्तये प्रस्थितस्य ।
विश्रामस्थानमेकं कविवरवचसां पावनं पावनानां
बीजं धर्मद्रुमाणां प्रभवतु भवतां भूतये रामनाम ॥ ४ ॥[1]

वाल्मीकिस्मृतिमन्दरेण मथितः सीतारमासम्भवः
सुग्रीवामरभूरुहोऽङ्गदगजः सौमित्रिचन्द्रोदयः ।
वातोत्पन्नमणिर्बिभीषणसुधः पौलस्त्यहालाहलः
श्रीरामायणदुग्धसिन्धुरमलो भूयात् स वः श्रेयसे ॥

It is after this verse that D reads जयति रघुवंशतिलकः as noted above.

1 This verse is given by A, C, D, E, but omitted by B, F and H.

MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

मनोऽ[1]भिरामं नयनाभिरामं वचोऽभिरामं श्रवणाभिरामम् ।
सदा[2]भिरामं सतताभिरामं वन्दे सदा दाशरथिं च रामम्[3] ॥६॥[4]

श्रीरामचन्द्र भुवि विश्रुत[5]कीर्तिचन्द्र
स्मेरास्यचन्द्र रजनीचरपद्मचन्द्र
आनन्दचन्द्र रघुवंशसमुद्रचन्द्र
सीतामनःकुमुदचन्द्र नमो नमस्ते ॥ ७ ॥[6]

कल्याणानां निदानं कलिमलमथनं जीवनं सज्जनानां
पाथेयं यन्मुमुक्षोः सपदि परपदप्राप्तये प्रस्थितस्य ।
विश्रामस्थानमेकं कविवरवचसां पावनं पावनानां
बीजं धर्मद्रुमाणां[7] प्रभवतु भवतां भूतये रामनाम ॥८॥[8]

1 रामा B, C, D, H. 2 मनो B, C, D.

3 प्रकामम् B, C, D.

4 This verse is omitted in A, E, F.

5 J notes two readings विश्रुत (H, KK, CS, RS) and विस्तृत (B, C, G and RS).

6 This verse is omitted in A, E, F.

7 All MSS. (except G) and KK, CS read धर्मद्रुमस्य

8 Dām. I, 1.

Our Text	Madhusūdana's Text (Jīvānanda's Ed.)
	पातु श्रीस्तनपत्रभङ्गमकरीमुद्राङ्कितोरःस्थलो देवः सर्वजगत्पतिर्मधुवधूवक्त्राब्जचन्द्रोदयः । क्रीडाक्रोडतनोर्नवेन्दुविशदे दंष्ट्राङ्कुरे यस्य भू- र्भाति स्म प्रलयाब्धिपल्वलतलोत्खातैकमुस्ताकृतिः ॥९॥[1] यं शैवाः समुपासते शिव इति ब्रह्मेति वेदान्तिनो बौद्धा बुद्ध इति प्रमाणपटवः कर्तेति नैयायिकाः । अर्हन्नित्यथ जैनशासनरताः कर्मेति मीमांसकाः सोऽयं वो विदधातु वाञ्छितफलं त्रैलोक्यनाथो हरिः ॥१०॥ तं रामं रावणारिं दशरथतनयं लक्ष्मणाग्र्यं गुणाढ्यं पूज्यं प्राज्यं प्रतापावलयितजलधिं सर्वसौभाग्यसिद्धिम् । विद्यानन्दैककन्दं कलिमलपटलध्वंसिनं सौम्यदेवं सर्वात्मानं नमामि त्रिभुवनशरणं प्रत्यहं निष्कलङ्कम् ॥११॥ एतौ द्वौ दशकण्ठकण्ठकदलीकान्तारकान्तिच्छिदौ वैदेहीकुचकुम्भकुङ्कुमरजःसान्द्रारुणाङ्काङ्कितौ ।

1 This verse and nos. 10 and 11 following are omitted in all Mss and printed texts. They are given in Dām. I, 2, 3 and 4 and are probably copied therefrom by J.

OUR TEXT

बालक्रीडितमिन्दुशेखरधनुर्भङ्गावधि प्रह्वता
ताते काननसेवनावधि कृपा सुग्रीवसख्यावधि ।[1]
आज्ञा वारिधिबन्धनावधि[2] यशो लङ्केशनाशावधि[3]
श्रीरामस्य पुनातु लोकवशता जानक्युपेक्षावधि ॥ ५ ॥

1 ०व सख्यावधि lost in F : सख्या० dropped in H.

2 बन्धनावधि dropped in H.

3 Last two syllables torn in F.

MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

लोकत्राणविधानसाधुसवन[1]प्रारम्भयूपौ भुजौ
देयास्तामुरुविक्रमौ रघुपतेः श्रेयांसि भूयांसि वः ॥१२॥[2]
बालक्रीडितमिन्दुशेखरधनुर्भङ्गावधि प्रह्वता
ताते काननसेवनावधि कृपा सुग्रीवसख्यावधि ।
आज्ञा वारिधिबन्धनावधि यशो लङ्केशनाशावधि
श्रीरामस्य पुनातु लोकवशता जानक्युपेक्षावधि ॥ १३ ॥

नान्द्यन्ते सूत्रधारः ।[3]

वाल्मीकेरुपदेशतः स्वयमहो वक्ता[4] हनूमान् कपिः[5]

1 ०साधुशरण B, C, D, G, H. J follows the printed texts.

2 This verse is omitted in A, E, F.

3 A, E, F, H add after this : अलमतिविस्तरेण । KK and CS, read, after this and before no. 14, the following verse :

वाल्मीकेर्वदनामलेन्दुगलितं हृद्यं परं पावनं
श्रौतं वागमृतं पिबन्त्यनुदिनं ये श्रोत्रपात्रैर्जनाः ।
विष्णोः सच्चरितं चराचरगुरो रामायणं सादरा-
त्तेषां श्रीर्विमला भवत्यनुदिनं नश्यन्ति चारातयः ॥

4 व्यक्तो A, E, F, H. 5 कविः A, E, F.

OUR TEXT

राजासीत् स महारथो दशरथः सुत्राममित्रं वशी
तस्यासन् कमनीयकेलि[1]निलयास्तिस्रो महिष्यः शुभाः ।[2]
वीरांस्ताश्चतुरः सुतान् सुषुविरे रामं तथा लक्ष्मणं
शत्रुघ्नं भरतं च कैटभरिपोरंशावतारा अमी ॥ ६ ॥[3]

1 ०कीर्ति० D, E. 2 Lost in F from स्तिस्रो.

3 A, C, D, E amplify this verse by reading after it no. 15 and 16 of M. The variants are in no. 15: (*l. 1*) दशरथो राजानुरूपो विभुः A, D, E; आसीद्दाशरथो नृपो गुण-गुणैर्युक्तानुरूपो विभुः C: (*l.4*) ज्येष्ठो राम इतः श्रुतोऽथ भरतः ख्यातस्ततो लक्ष्मणः F. In no. 16, the variants are: (*l. 1*) शत्रुनिघ्नैकदक्षः A, C, D, E; (*l. 3*) सर्वकर्मप्रवीणः A, C, D, E; (*l. 4*) श्रीमत्पंक्तिरथात्मजा सुर० A, C, D, E; श्रीमद्दाशरथात्मजा सुर० C, E, F; ०ताराश्च ये C, D, E; ते for ये A, F. F has these two verses but with some modifications. It omits the first two lines of no. 15, reading in its place the first

MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

श्रीरामस्य रघूद्वहस्य[1] चरितं सौम्या[2] वयं नर्तकाः ।
गोष्ठी तावदियं समस्तसुमनःसङ्घेन[3] संवेष्टिता
तद् धीराः कुरुत प्रमोदमधुना वक्तास्मि रामायणम् ॥१४॥
राजासीत् स महारथो दशरथश्चण्डांशुवंशाग्रणी-[4]
स्तस्यासन् रमणीय[5] केलि[6] निलया[7] स्तिस्रो महिष्यः शुभाः ।
वीरांस्ताश्चतुरः सुतान् सुषुविरे क्षत्रानुरूपांस्तथा[8]
ज्येष्ठो राम इतः कनिष्ठभरतस्तस्यानुजो लक्ष्मणः ॥१५॥

1 रघूत्तमस्य H. 2 सौम्याः KK only.
3 ०सभ्येन B, C, D. 4 सुत्राममित्रं वशी B, C, D.
5 कमनीय B, G, KK, RS, CS.
6 रूप RS.
7 कमनीयपद्मनयना A, E, F.
8 All the Mss (except H), KK and CS, read:
वीरांस्ताश्चतुरः सुतान् सुषुविरे रामं तथा लक्ष्मणं
शत्रुघ्नं भरतं च कैटभरिपोरंशावतारा अमी ॥
H reads:
पुत्रास्ताः सुषुवुः स्ववंशधरणान् क्षत्रानुरूपांस्तथा
ज्येष्ठो राम इतः कनिष्ठभरतस्तस्यानुजो लक्ष्मणः ॥

OUR TEXT

two lines of verse 6 of our text, the last two lines of which are omitted.

A and C read after these verses several additional verses as follows :

कौशल्यानन्दनं रामं सौमित्रिलक्ष्मणोऽन्वगात् ।
भरतं केकयीपुत्रं शत्रुघ्नो लक्ष्मणानुजः ॥

रामचरितम् ।

द्विर्ददाति न चार्थिभ्यो द्विः स्थापयति नाश्रितान् ।
द्विः शरान् नैव सन्धत्ते रामो द्विर्नैव भाषते ॥
धनुर्वेदे च वेदे च वेदाङ्गे परिनिष्ठितः ।
विपुलांसो महाबाहुः कम्बुग्रीवो महामनाः ॥

MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

शत्रुघ्नो राजपुत्रस्तदनु समभवच्छत्रुनिघ्नैकवीरः
सोऽयं स्नेहानुवृत्त्या भरतमनुगतः केकयीसूनुमेव ।
सौमित्री राममेवान्वगमदथ सदा धर्मकर्मप्रवीणः[1]
श्रीमद्दाशरथाः स्वयं मुररिपोरंशावतारा अमी ॥ १६ ॥[2]
तेषां रामः कुशिकतनयप्रार्थितो यज्ञसिद्ध्यै
तातस्याज्ञां शिरसि विदधल्लक्ष्मणेनानुयातः ।
पौरस्त्रीभिर्नयनकमलैः सादरं वीक्ष्यमाणः
क्रव्यादाली[3]निधनकुतुकी[4] यज्ञभूमिं प्रतस्थे ॥ १७ ॥

J adopts the reading of CS in the text, but this is the only authority he has in his favour.

1 °प्रवीरः KK.

2 This verse is given in the printed texts, as also by G and H : but it is omitted by all the other six Mss. A, E, F read in its place no. 5(रामं लक्ष्मणपूर्वजं).

3 क्रव्यादानां H, CS, RS, E, F.

2 परिभवकृते E,F. A reads : क्रव्यादालीहननगमनो.

OUR TEXT

MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

ततः[1] श्रीरामचन्द्रे तपोवनं प्रविशति वैतालिकवाक्यम्[2] ।

विद्यां विशिष्टां विजयां जयां च
सम्प्राप्य सम्यङ् ननु[3] गाधिपुत्रात् ।
रक्षांसि हन्तुं क्रतुबन्धुबन्धुः
समागतः सम्प्रति रामभद्रः ॥ १८ ॥

मारीचं निजघान राक्षसचमूनाथं स्वयं राघवः
सर्वेऽन्ये किल लक्ष्मणस्य विशिखैर्याताः कृतान्तालयम् ।
तोषं प्रापुरथो महर्षिसहिताः सर्वे पुनर्ब्राह्मणा-
स्ताभ्यां संयुयुजुः[4] शुभाषितमति[5]स्फीताः समाप्तक्रियाः ॥१९॥

हते रक्षःकुले तत्र रामेण विधिवत् क्रतौ ।
निवृत्ते कौशिके प्रायात् ताभ्यां जनकपत्तनम् ॥ २० ॥

1 Omitted in A, E, F.
2 वैतालिकैः पठितम् E,F,G ; मुनिभिरनुमीय पठितम् B, C, D.
3 मुनि B, C, D, G, H.
4 संप्रददुः A, E, F.
5 'मभि A, E, F.

OUR TEXT

[1]अथ सीतास्वयंवरे[2] मैथिलवैतालिकवाक्यम्।

यो दत्तः कुशिकात्मजाय मुनये तातेन यज्ञोत्सव-
प्रत्यूहप्रशमाय वर्त्मविपिने हत्वा ततस्ताडकाम्।

1 A and C read just before this verse: ततो विश्वामित्रेण प्रार्थितो रामस्तदाश्रमं जगाम, which is followed by no. 17 of M (तेषां रामः कुशिक०). After this comes the following:

अथ वर्त्मनि ताडकानिधनम्।
ततो दाशरथिर्गत्वा सानुजः कौशिकाश्रमम्।
निहत्य ताडकां बाणैर्मखविघ्नमखण्डयत्॥

Then follows no. 18 of M, with its heading (वैतालिकः पठति only for वैतालिकवाक्यम्). Then comes अथ सीतास्वयंवरे जनकप्रतिज्ञा followed by no. 26 of M. After this we have:

ततः स्वयंवरे विश्वामित्रानुगमने नाविको रामं वदति।
क्षालयामि तव पादपङ्कजे नाथ दारुदृषदोस्तु का भिदा।
मानुषीकरणरेणुरस्ति ते पादयोरिति कथा प्रथीयसी॥

Other Mss omit these verses here: only H gives here no. 17 of M (*variant* क्रव्यादानां A,C,H).

2 स्वयंवरवासरे A,B,C,F; स्वयंवरप्रस्तावे D,E.

MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

अथ मिथिलां[1] प्रविशति रामे[2] वैतालिकैः पठितम्।

यो दत्तः कुशिकात्मजाय मुनये तातेन यज्ञोत्सव-
प्रत्यूहप्रशमाय वर्त्मविपिने हत्वाहितां[3] ताडकाम्।
लब्ध्वास्त्राणि मुनेरवेक्ष्य च मखं तस्यानुगः कौतुकात्
सोऽयं सम्प्रति राघवो निमिपतेः प्राप्तः पुरीं सानुजः[4] ॥ २१ ॥
आसीदुद्भटभूपतिप्रतिभटप्रोन्माथिविक्रान्तिको
भूपः पङ्क्तिरथो विभावसुकुलप्रख्यातकेतुर्बली।
उर्वीवर्वरभूरिभारहृतये भूरिश्रवाः पुत्रतां
यस्यार स्वमथो विधाय महितः पूर्णश्चतुर्धा विभुः॥ २२ ॥[5]

1 मिथिलायां A,E,F,G.

2 Omitted in A: रामचन्द्रे E, F.

3 हत्वा च तां A, E, F : हत्वा ततः B,C,D.

4 A. E. F read this line as:
संप्राप्तो मिथिलाधिनाथनगरीं श्रीराघवः सानुजः॥

5 This verse, as well as nos. 23, 24 and 25, seems to be copied by J from Dām. 1, 5, 6, 7 and 8. They are omitted in all our MSS and the printed texts. A, E, F, read, after no. 21, the verse no. 33 (सभायां

OUR TEXT

लब्ध्वास्त्राणि मुनेरवेक्ष्य च मखं तस्यानुगः कौतुकात्
सोऽयं सम्प्रति राघवो निमिपतेः प्राप्तः पुरीं सानुजः ॥ ७ ॥[1]

1 H reads after this verse no. 18 of M (विद्यां विशिष्टां ; *variant* समस्तां for विशिष्टां). E reads after this verse क्षालयामि तव पादपङ्कजे (see footnote 1, p. 584 above) with the heading श्रीरामपारकाले कश्चिन्नाविको वदति (*variant* किमन्तरम् for ०स्तु का भिदा).

D reads after this verse a long metrical conversation chiefly between Viśvāmitra and Janaka, extracted from the *Prasanna-rāghava* and the *Anargha-rāghava*, as follows :

अथ जनकं दृष्ट्वा विश्वामित्रवाक्यम् ।
अङ्गैरङ्गीकृता यत्र (PR, iii, 7).
अथ विश्वामित्रं दृष्ट्वा जनकवाक्यम् ।
यः काञ्चनमिवात्मानं (PR, iii, 8).
अथ रामलक्ष्मणौ दृष्ट्वा विश्वामित्रं प्रति जनकः ।
एतयोरहमुदाररूपयो० (PR, iii, 19).
अथ तं प्रति विश्वामित्रः ।
तस्य पद्मवनबान्धववंशो० (PR, iii, 25).

MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

तेषामीश्वरतागुणैश्च जनुषा ज्यायानभूद्राघवो
रामः सोऽप्यथ कौशिकेन मुनिना रक्षोभयाद्याचितः ।
राजानं स यशोधनो नरपतिः प्रादात् सुतं दुःखित-
स्तस्मै सोऽपि तमन्वगादनुगतः सौमित्रिणोच्चैर्मुदा ॥ २३ ॥
सुन्दस्त्रीदमनप्रमोदमुदितादास्थाय विद्योदयं
रामः सत्यवतीसुतादथ गतस्तस्याश्रमं लीलया ।
कॢप्ते कौशिकनन्दनेन च मखे तत्रागतान् राक्षसान्
हत्वामूमुचदाशु भाविविदसौ मारीचमुग्राकृतिम् ॥ २४ ॥
पूर्णे यज्ञविधौ यियासुरभवद्रामेण सार्धं मुनिः
सीतासंवरणागताखिलनृपव्याभग्नवीर्यश्रियम् ।
श्रुत्वा तद्धनुरुत्सवं च मिथिलामास्थाय तेनाधिकं
सत्कारैरुपलम्भितः पुनरगाच्चापाश्रितं मण्डलम् ॥ २५ ॥

नृपयुक्तायां), after which comes no. 34 (श्रृणुत जनकशुल्कं) with the heading तदेव वचः । B, C, D read हरकोदण्डदर्शनार्थमागतानां साक्षाज्जनकप्रतिज्ञा । and then no. 25. The other two MSS G and H read, immediately after no. 21, no. 26, with the heading जनकवाक्यम् only. The printed texts follow the last arrangement.

OUR TEXT

(Footnotes continued)

अथ रामलक्ष्मणयोर्निर्वणय जनकः ।

तनुश्रिया निन्दितचम्पकोत्पलौ (PR, iii, 21).

अथ विश्वामित्रो जनकं प्रति ।

जज्ञिवान् दशरथः स हि राजा (PR, iii, 29).

अथ रामसीते चन्द्रकुमुदिन्योर्दृष्टान्तेन कथयति विश्वामित्रे जनकस्य मनसि भावनम् ।

यस्य ख्यातो जगति सकले (PR, iii, 35).

अथ विश्वामित्रं प्रति जनकः ।

यद्गोत्रस्य प्रथमपुरुषं (AR, iii, 25).

अपि च

त्वं जानन्नपि जानकीपरिणयप्रत्यूहमैशं धनुः
किं सूर्यान्वयमीदृशं मम पुरीमानीतवानर्भकम् ।
वृद्धस्याप्यसमीक्ष्यकारिण इव क्रूरप्रतिज्ञाभृतः
प्राणान्तावधि मे दुरुद्धरमिदं शल्यं हृदि स्थास्यति ॥

अथ रामं प्रति विश्वामित्रवाक्यम् ।

तदेतदारोपय (AR, iii, 51).

अपि च ।

मारीचमारचतुरं (PR, iii, 32).

MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

अथ जनकवाक्यम् ।

असुरसुरभुजङ्ग[1]वानराणां
अथ नरकिन्नरसिद्धचारणानाम् ।
नमयति यदि कोऽपि चापमेतं[2]
मम दुहितुः स परिग्रहं करोतु ॥२६॥

तच्छ्रुत्वा रावणदूतः शौष्कलः सकोपम् ।[3]

सार्धं हरेण हरवल्लभया गिरीशं
हेरम्बषण्मुखवृषप्रमथावकीर्णम् ।
कैलासमुद्धृतवतो दशकन्धरस्य
केयं च ते धनुषि दुर्मददोःपरीक्षा ॥२७॥[4]

1 ०भुजङ्गम B, C, D, contrary to metre.

2 चापमेशं G, CS.

3 This heading is given by G, H and the printed texts- A,E,F omits it. B, C, D read here : ततः सीतास्वयंवरे समागतो रावणदूतः सौष्कलः। आज्ञा शक्रशिखामणिप्रणयिनी (BR i, 36), the variant in D,C being शक्रशिरोमणि० This is followed by सकोपं सौष्कलः। सार्धं हरेण etc. (no. 27).

4 This verse is from BR i, 44 and occurs as Dām. i, 17. It is omitted by A,E,F.

OUR TEXT

(Footnotes continued)

अथ जनकः ।

मारीचमुखरजनीचर॰ (PR, iii, 34).

तदाकर्ण्य लक्ष्मणवाक्यम् ।

देव श्रीरघुनाथ (no. 10 of our text).

अथ शतानन्दवाक्यम् ।

शृणुत जनकशुल्कं (no. 8 of our text).

अथ रामे धनुर्गृहीतवति लक्ष्मणवाक्यम् ।

पृथ्वि स्थिरा भव (no. 11 of our text).

अथ सीताया मनसि परिभावनम् ।

कमठपृष्ठकठोर॰ (no. 9 of our text)

अथ जनकस्य मनसि परिभावनम् ।

रतिरिव जननेत्रानन्दिनी (PR, iii, 36)

अथ धनुर्भङ्गे वैतालिकवाक्यम् ।

उत्त्रास' सह कौशिकस्य (no. 12 of our text)

After this our text is followed in due order.

MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

तयोरुक्तिप्रत्युक्ती ।[1]

[2]माहेश्वरं धनुः कुर्यादधिज्यं चेद्ददाम्यहम् ।
गुरोः शम्भोर्धनुर्नो चेच्चूर्णतां नयति क्षणात् ॥ २८ ॥[3]

[4]दातव्येयमवश्यमेव दुहिता कस्मैचिदेनामसौ
दोःक्रीडामशकीकृतत्रिभुवनो लङ्कापतिर्याचते ।
तत् किं मूढवदीक्षसे ननु कथागोष्ठीषु नः शासते
तद्वृत्तानि परोरजांसि मुनयः प्राच्या मरीच्यादयः ॥ २९ ॥[5]

1 Omitted in A,E,F,G.

2 B,C,D,H,CS read जनकः । before this line and दूतः before the next line. G omits these but writes on the margin तयोरुक्तिप्रत्युक्ती । तत्र जनकः । दूत आह ।

3 This verse is omitted in A,E,F.

4 All passages from here up to the end of verse no. 32 are omitted in all the Mss and printed editions. They are probably drawn from Dāmodara's version by Jīvānanda. The verses occur as given below.

5 Dām. i, 12 = AR iii, 44.

OUR TEXT	MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)
	पुनश्च रामं प्रति। समन्तादुत्तालैः सुरसहचरीचामरमरु- त्तरङ्गैरुन्मीलद्भुजपरिघसौरभ्यशुचिना। स्वयं पौलस्त्येन त्रिभुवनजिता चेतसि धृता- मरे राम त्वं मा जनकपतिपुत्रीमुपयथाः ॥ ३० ॥[1] शम्भोरावासमचलमुत्क्षेप्तुं भुजकौतुकी। माहेश्वरं धनुः क्रष्टुमर्हते दशकन्धरः ॥ ३१ ॥[2] दूतः सखेदम्। माहेश्वरो दशग्रीवः क्षुद्राश्चान्ये महीभुजः। पिनाकारोपणं शुल्कं हा सीते किं भविष्यति ॥ ३२ ॥[3] इत्युक्त्वा दूते गते।[4] सभायां नृप[5]युक्तायां जनकस्य पुरोहितः।

1 Dām. i, 13 = AR iii, 61.

2 Dām. i, 15 = AR, iii, 50.

3 Dām. i, 16 = AR, iii, 49.

4 This heading is given only by G, H, and the printed editions.

5 राम B, C, D.

OUR TEXT

तत्रैव शतानन्दवाक्यम् ।[1]

श्रृणुत जनकशुल्कं क्षत्रियाः सर्व एते
दशवदनभुजानां कुण्ठिता यत्र शक्तिः ।
नमयति धनुरैशं यः शरारोपणेन[2]
त्रिभुवनजयलक्ष्मीर्मैथिली तस्य दाराः ॥ ८ ॥[3]

1 A and C amplify the heading as ततो जनकवचनाद् गौतमात्मजः शतानन्दनामा पुरोहितो नृपान् श्रावयति । E reads अथ स्वयंवरप्रकरणम् । तत्रैव शतानन्दवाक्यम् . B reads instead तत्रैव वैतालिकवाक्यम् ।

2 गुणारोपणेन A, C.

3 A and C read after this verse :

ततः शतानन्दं प्रति रावणानुचरः—अरे किमात्थ किमात्थ, 'दशवदनभुजानाम्' इत्यादि पठति, तस्य भुजविक्रममजानन्नेवं कथां कथयति भवान् । साधं हरेण हरवल्लभया (M. no. 27).

MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

शतानन्दो वचः प्राह शृण्वतां सर्वभूभुजाम् ॥ ३३ ॥[1]

[2]श्रृणुत जनकशुल्कं क्षत्रियाः सर्व एते
दशवदनभुजानां कुण्ठिता यत्र शक्तिः ।
नमयति धनुरैशं यः सहारोपणेन[3]
त्रिभुवनजयलक्ष्मीर्मैथिली तस्य दाराः ॥ ३४ ॥[4]

1 This verse is omitted in A, E, F.

2 G and CS add a heading before this verse: तदेव वचः ।

3 शरारोपणेन B, C, D, E, F, KK.

4 Dām. i, 18=BR iii, 27. After this verse and before no. 35, B, C, D, read as follows :

परमे माहेश्वरे धनुषि पौलस्त्यो न योग्यः ।

क्रोधाच्छतानन्दः ।

शम्भोरावासमचलमुत्क्षेप्तुं etc. (no. 31)

सोपालम्भं शौष्कलः ।

अङ्गिराश्च पुलस्त्यश्च etc. (AR iii, 48).

OUR TEXT

MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

नृपतिभिरगृहीते धनुषि जनकवाक्यम् ।[1]

आ द्वीपान्तरतो[2]ऽप्यमी नृपतयः सर्वे समभ्यागताः
कन्येयं कलधौतकोमलरुचिः कीर्तिस्तु नातः परा ।
नाकृष्टं च न टङ्कितं न नमितं नोत्थापितं स्थानतः
केनापीदमहो महद्धनुरतो निर्वीरमुर्वीतलम् ॥ ३५ ॥[3]

सखीजनवाक्यम् ।[4]

रामो दूर्वादलश्यामो जानकी कानकी लता ।
अनयोर्योग्य उद्वाहो धनुरैशं पणो महान् ॥ ३६ ॥

1 This heading is omitted in A, E, F. H reads जनता० for जनक०

2 आ द्वीपात्परतो B,C,D,H, and the printed editions : आद्वीपाद्बलिनो G.

3 Dām. i, 10=PR, i, 32.

4 This heading and the verse no. 36 which follows are omitted in all Mss, but given by the printed editions. CS reads अनन्तरं सखीजन०

Our Text

अथ सीतामनसि परिभावनम् ।[1]

कमठपृष्ठकठोरमिदं धनु-
र्मधुरमूर्तिरसौ रघुनन्दनः ।
कथमधिज्यमनेन विधीयता-
महह तात पणस्तव दारुणः ॥ ९ ॥[2]

1 अथ सीतावाक्यम् B, E : the heading omitted by F.

2 This verse is omitted in E; D and F place it after no. 11 of our text. A and C read after this verse:

तत: सीतां प्रति वैतालिकाः ।
माहेश्वरो दशग्रीवः (no. 32 of M).
ततो जनकवाक्यम् ।
आ द्वीपात् पुरतोऽप्यमी नृपतयः (no. 35 of M).

F only reads आ द्वीपात् (without any heading) after no. 9 of our text, which however is placed, as already noted, after no. 11.

Madhusūdana's Text (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

अथ सीताया मनसि[1] भावनम् ।[2]

कमठपृष्ठकठोरमिदं धनु-
र्मधुरमूर्तिरसौ रघुनन्दनः ।
कथमधिज्यमनेन विधीयता-
महह तात पणस्तव दारुणः ॥ ३७ ॥[3]

1 रामेन गृहीते धनुषि सीतामनसि H.

2 This heading is omitted here in all Mss except G.

3 Dām. i, 19. A, B, C, D, E, F, H, omit it here but place it later with a different heading, after no. 38.

OUR TEXT

अथ रामे धनुर्गृहीतवति लक्ष्मणवाक्यम् ।[1]

देव[2] श्रीरघुनाथ किं बहुतया भृत्योऽस्मि ते लक्ष्मणः
मेर्वादीनिह भूधरान्[3] गणये जीर्णः पिनाकः कियान् ।
तन्मामादिश देव[4] यस्य भवतो वाक्यादहं कौतुकी
प्रोद्धर्तुं परिणामितुं[5] प्रचलितुं[6] भङ्क्तुं सदैव क्षमः ॥ १० ॥[7]

1 तदाकर्ण्य लक्ष्मणवाक्यम् A, D : अथ लक्ष्मणवाक्यम् E, H. F omits this heading but places the verse, which follows, after no. 7 of our text.

2 नाथ E, वीर F. 3 पर्वतान् A.

4 Dropped in B.

5 प्रतिनामितुं A, C, D : प्रविचालितुं F.

6 नमयितुं F ; प्रवलितुं E.

7 For the readings of D, see above p. 584, fn. 1. E reads, after this, a verse which is somewhat corrupt :

इति लक्ष्मणो वाक्येन रामाभि[मुख ?]त्वमनुगम्य पुनराह ।

किं वैचित्र्यमिदं त्वदीयचरणद्वन्द्वप्रसादादहं
यत्त्वेकत्र धनुर्द्वयं नमयितुं शक्तोऽस्मि कोऽयं श्रमः ।
किं त्वेकं विनिवेदयामि नमिते कोदण्डखण्डे मया
यद्गात्यात् परिणामदूषणमिदं सर्वं त्वया ज्ञायते ॥

MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

श्रीरामे[1] लज्जां कुर्वति सीताया उत्साहं वर्धयन् लक्ष्मणः ।

देव[2] श्रीरघुनाथ किं बहुतया[3] दासोऽस्मि ते लक्ष्मणः
मेर्वादीनपि न भूधरान् गणये जीर्णः पिनाकः कियान् ।
तन्मामादिश वीर[4] पश्य[5] भवतो वाक्यादहं कौतुकी
प्रोद्धर्तुं प्रचलायितुं[6] नमयितुं[7] भङ्क्तुं सदैनत्[8] क्षमः ॥ ३८ ॥[9]

1 रामे B, C, D, which also add सति after कुर्वति. A, E, F read श्रीरामचन्द्रे लज्जां कुर्वति श्रीलक्ष्मणः ।

2 J notes the reading वीर, which variant is also noted by RS. A reads देव but notes on the margin वीर as a variant.

3 किमिदं B, C, D, contrary to metre.

4 देव A, B, C, D. 5 यस्य E, F, G.

6 प्रविचालितुं A, F ; प्रविनामितुं B, C, D ; परिचालितुं E ; परिणामितुं G.

7 प्रचलितुं B, C, D ; प्रणमितुं E ; प्रबलितुं G.

8 सदैनं A, E, F, G, H, KK, RS ; सदैव B, C, D, CS.

9 A, E, F read after this verse :
श्रीरामस्य कोमलवपुर्वीक्ष्य चापस्य काठिन्येन सीतायाः खेदः ।
कमठपृष्ठकठोर॰ (no. 37)

OUR TEXT

पुनर्लक्ष्मणवाक्यम् ।[1]

पृथ्वि स्थिरा भव भुजङ्गम धारयैनां
त्वं कूर्मराज तदिदं द्वितयं दधीथाः ।

MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

[1]गृहीते हरकोदण्डे रामे परिणयोन्मुखे ।
पस्पन्दे नयनं वामं जानकीजामदग्न्ययोः ॥ ३६ ॥[2]

रामेण धनुषि गृहीते लक्ष्मणवाक्यम् ।[3]

पृथ्वि स्थिरा भव भुजङ्गम धारयैनां
त्वं कूर्मराज तदिदं द्वितयं दधीथाः ।

B, C, D read here :

अथ सीतामनसि खेदः ।

कमठपृष्ठकठोर॰ etc. (no. 37).

The reading of H, which places also no. 37 here, is already noted above p. 591, fn. 1. This verse is the same as Dām. i, ii.

1 अथ रामदेवे धनुर्गृहीतवति लक्ष्मणवाक्यम् A,C,D,E (D,F reading रामे for रामदेवे) : अथ रामे धनुर्गृहीते सीतावाक्यम् H.

1 B, C, D read before this verse ततश्च ।

2 Dām. i, 20.

3 This heading is omitted in CS. B, C, D read only अथ लक्ष्मणः । A, E, F, G read लक्ष्मणः for लक्ष्मणवाक्यम्.

OUR TEXT

दिक्कुञ्जराः कुरुत तत्त्रितये दिधीर्षा-
मार्यः करोतु[1] हरकार्मुकमाततज्यम् ॥ ११ ॥[2]

1 करोति D.

2 A, C, and H read after this verse (H omitting the last verse given here below):

पृथ्वी याति रसातलं (no. 41 of M).
अथ सीतामनसि परितापः।
तच्चापमाकर्षति ताडकारावाकर्णमाकर्णविशालनेत्रा ।
मुहुः समैक्षिष्ट विदेहकन्या कन्यां किमन्यां परिणेष्यतीति ॥
गृहीते हरकोदण्डे (no. 38 of M).

Of these, the first two verses are given here also by F; but the first verse is placed after no. 12 of our text, while the second is placed here. C and H read as heading अथ धनुर्भङ्गः before the first of these verses. H's variants are नम्रं in *l*. 1, बृंहितैः करिवरैः in *l*. 3, and पुरजितः (for च तद्दहो of A and C) in *l*. 4.

MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

दिक्कुञ्जराः कुरुत तत्त्रितये दिधीर्षा-
मार्यः करोति[1] हरकार्मुकमाततज्यम् ॥ ४० ॥[2]
पृथ्वी याति रसातलं[3] फणिपतिर्नम्रं फणामण्डलं
बिभ्रत् क्षुभ्यति[4] कूर्मराजसहिता[5] दिक्कुञ्जराः कातराः ।
आतन्वन्ति च बृंहितं[6] दिशि भटैः सार्धं धराधारिणः
कम्पन्ते रघुपुङ्गवे पुरजितः सज्यं धनुः कुर्वति ॥ ४१ ॥[7]

1 करोतु B, C, D.

2 Dām. i, 21 = BR i, 48. A, E, F read after this verse no. 90 (कुशिकसुतसपर्या°), the variants being पार्श्विः for पारः in l. 1; in E, F स्पृशति विपुलकर्मा कार्मुकं in l. 4.

3 विनम्रतां A, E.

4 बिभ्रति B, C, D.

5 J and RS also note a variant °सहितो which is given by A, E, KK.

6 टङ्कृतं A; चीत्कृतं E, F.

7 Dām. i, 22.

OUR TEXT

अथ धनुर्भङ्गे[1] वैतालिकवाक्यम् ।

उत्क्षिप्तं सह कौशिकस्य पुलकैः सार्धं मुखैर्नामितं
भूपानां जनकस्य संशयधिया साकं समास्फालितम् ।

1 Omitted in A, F, while F reads अत्र for अथ । C and H, whose readings are noted above, omit the whole line.

MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

तत्र[1] नृपतीनां चेष्टा ।[2]

रामे रुद्रशरासनं तुलयति स्मित्वा स्थितं पार्थिवैः
शिञ्जासञ्जनतत्परे च हसितं दत्त्वा मिथस्तालिकाम् ।
आरोप्य प्रचलाङ्गुलीकिसलयैर्म्लानं गुणास्फालने
सारा[3]कर्षणभग्नपर्वणि पुनः सिंहासने मूर्च्छितम् ॥ ४२ ॥[4]

अन्येषामपि ।[5]

उत्क्षिप्तं सह कौशिकस्य पुलकैः सार्धं[6] मुखैर्नामितं
भूपानां जनकस्य संशयधिया साकं समास्फालितम् ।

1 ततो B, C, D ; अत्रावसरे CS.

2 This heading is omitted in A, E, F.

3 सर्वा KK, CS, RS. RS also notes the other reading सारा०

4 BR iii, 75.

5 B, C, D read अन्येषामपि चेष्टा. This heading is altogether omitted in KK. A, E, F, H read अथ धनुर्भङ्गः ।

6 साकं A, E, F.

OUR TEXT

वैदेहीमनसा समं च सहसाकृष्टं ततो भार्गव-
प्रौढाहङ्कृतिकन्दलेन महता[1] तद्भग्नमैशं धनुः ॥ १२ ॥[2]
शम्भौ यद्गुणवल्लरीमुपनयत्याकृष्य कर्णान्तिकं
भ्रश्यन्ति त्रिपुरावरोधसुदृशां कर्णोत्पलग्रन्थयः ।
यच्चास्फालयति प्रकोष्ठकमिमामुन्मुच्य तासामहो
भिद्यन्ते वलयानि दाशरथिना तद्भग्नमैशं धनुः ॥ १३ ॥[3]
त्रुट्यद्भीमधनुःकठोरनिनदस्तत्राकरोद्विस्मयं
त्रासादेव रवेर्विमार्गगमनं शम्भोः शिरःकम्पनम् ।

1 तरसा D ; सहितं F.

2 E reads after this verse the following :

त्रैलोक्यं विस्मितं चक्रे सस्मितं जानकीमुखम् ।
धनुर्भङ्गरवः सर्वं सचेतनमचेतनम् ॥

F reads no. 19 of our text (with its heading) after this verse (no. 12 of our text), and then reads no. 41 of M (पृथ्वी याति)

3 This verse is omitted in F.

MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

वैदेहीमनसा समं च सहसा कृष्टं ततो भार्गव-
प्रौढाहङ्कृतिकन्दलेन महता[1] तद्भग्नमैशं धनुः ॥ ४३ ॥[2]

1 सहितं G.

2 Dām. i, 23. The order of the following verses (nos. 44-48) is given differently in some of the Mss. A, E, F read thus : nos. 46, 44, 47, 45, 48. B, C, D, omit no. 44 but otherwise follow the order of the text. H omits no. 44 after 43 but places it after 46.

OUR TEXT

दिग्दन्तिस्खलनं कुलाद्रिचलनं[1] सप्तार्णवोन्मीलनं[1]
वैदेहीमदनं मदान्धदमनं त्रैलोक्यसम्मोहनम् ।। १४ ।।[2]

रुन्धन्नष्ट विधेः श्रुतीर्मुखरयन्नष्टौ दिशः क्रामयन्[3]
मूर्तीरष्ट महेश्वरस्य दलयन्नष्टौ कुलक्ष्माभृतः ।
तान्यक्ष्णा[4] वधिराणि पन्नगकुलान्यष्टौ च सम्पादय-
न्नुन्मीलत्ययमार्य[5]दोर्बलदलत्कोदण्डकोलाहलः[6] ।। १५ ।।[7]

भिन्दन्निद्रां मुरारेः सकलभुजभृतां त्रोटयन्[8] शौर्यदर्पं
छिन्दन्[9] दिग्दन्तिकर्णानथ बलित[10]करान् कम्पयन् कूर्मराजम् ।

1 Dropped in H.

2 This verse is placed after no. 17 of our text by F.

3 क्रोडयन् B, C, H. 4 अत्युच्चैः A, B, Ḥ.

5 उन्मीलत्यथ राम० A, C, H.

6 कोदण्डचण्डध्वनिः D, E.

7 This verse is omitted in F.

8 क्रोडयन् B. 9 भिन्दन् B.

10 ०कर्णान् चलललित B, E ; कर्णान् चलबलित D, F ; ०दन्तान् for ०कर्णान् in H.

MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

[1]रुन्धन्नष्ट विधेः श्रुतीर्मुखरयन्नष्टौ दिशः क्रोडयन्
मूर्तिरष्ट महेश्वरस्य दलयन्नष्टौ कुलक्ष्माभृतः ।
अत्युच्चैः[2]र्वधिराणि पन्नगकुलान्यष्टौ च सम्पादय-
न्नुन्मीलत्ययमार्यबाहुविदल[3]त्कोदण्डकोलाहलः ।। ४४ ।।[4]

अपि च ।[5]

भिन्दन्निद्रां मुरारेः सकलभुजभृतां[6] त्रोटयन्[7] शौर्यदर्पं
छिन्दन् दिग्दन्तिकर्णांष्टलबलितफणां[8] कम्पयन् सर्पराजम् ।[9]

1 H adds before this verse अपि च । 2 तान्यक्ष्णा G.

3 दोर्बलदलत् E, F, H, KK.

4 Dām. i, 27 = AR, iii, 54. This verse is omitted altogether by B, C, D. A drops the last two lines.

5 Omitted in all Mss. 6 भुजवतां A, E, F.

7 प्रौढयन् B, C, D ; क्रोडयन् E, F.

8 चलबलितफणां A, E, F ; चलवलनकलां B, C, D.

9 कूर्मराजम् A, E, F.

OUR TEXT

उद्दामोद्यद्गभीरप्रलयजलधरध्वान[1] धिक्कारधीर-
ष्टङ्कारः कृष्यमाणत्रिपुरहरधनुर्भङ्गभूराविरासीत् ॥ १६ ॥
लोकान् सप्त निनादयन् हरिहयानुद्भ्रामयन् सप्त च
ध्यानात् सप्त निवारयन्मुनिवरान् सप्तार्णवान् क्षोभयन् ।
उन्मीलानि[2] रसातलानि जनयन् सप्ताभि[3]सम्भूतवान्[4]
श्रीमद्राघवबाहुदण्डविदलत्कोदण्डचण्डध्वनिः ॥ १७ ॥[5]
यावत्कन्दुकलाञ्छनाञ्चितकरः शोणाम्बुजन्मद्युतिः
कौशल्यार्पितमङ्गलप्रतिसरो रामस्य दोःकन्दलः ।
किञ्चिच्चञ्चति तावदेव हि दलच्चण्डीशचापोच्छल-
च्छब्दैकार्णवमग्नमेतदखिलं जातं त्रिलोकीतलम् ॥ १८ ॥[6]

1 ०ध्मान A, C.   2 सम्भ्रान्तानि F.

3 सप्ताथ F ; सप्तापि C.

4 सञ्चालयन् भूधरान् A, D, E ; सप्ताचलांश्चालयन् H.

5 F reads after this verse no. 14 of our text. B reads here सार्धं हरेण (no. 27 of M), with the heading अथ रामेण धनुषि भग्ने रावणविमाने रावणानुचरवाक्यम् ।

6 This verse is omitted in B, F, H, but given by A,C,D,E. D, however, reads, after this verse, the verse

MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

उद्दामोद्यद्गभीरप्रलयजलधरध्वानधिक्कारघोर-[1]
ष्टङ्कारः कृष्यमाणत्रिपुरहरधनुर्भङ्गभूराविरासीत् ॥ ४५ ॥[2]
लोकान् सप्त निनादयन् हरिहयानुद्भ्रामयन् सप्त च
ध्यानात् सप्त निवारयन् मुनिवरान् सप्तार्णवान् क्षोभयन् ।
उन्मूलानि रसातलानि जनयन् सप्तापि[3] सम्भूतवान्
श्रीमद्राघवबाहुदण्डविदल[4]त्कोदण्डचण्डध्वनिः[5] ॥ ४६ ॥
यावत्कन्दुकलाञ्छनाञ्चितकरः शोणाब्जनालाकृतिः[6]
कौशल्यार्पितमङ्गलप्रतिसरो रामस्य दोःकन्दलः ।
किञ्चिच्चञ्चति[7] तावदेव विदल[8]च्चण्डीशचापोच्छल-
च्छब्दं कार्णव[9]मग्नमेतदखिलं जातं त्रिलोकीतलम् ॥ ४७ ॥[10]

1 धिक्कारधीर all Mss.

2 PR iii, 45. This verse is omitted in KK.

3 सप्ताद्रि E, F,   4 विलसत् B, C, D.

5 ०कोलाहलः A, E.

6 शोणाब्जशोणाकृतिः B, C, D ; शोणाम्बुजन्मद्युतिः A, E.

7 हि चलत् A, B,C, E, F, G ; हि दलत् H, CS, RS.

8 कुञ्चति A, E, F.

9 All Mss and the printed editions read शब्दैकार्णव० ।

10 PR iii, 49. This verse is omitted in KK.

Our Text

(Footnotes continued)

लज्जा कीर्तिर्जनकतनया noted below. This is followed by अथ पौरजनवाक्यम् and no. 19 of our text. E reads immediately after the verse 18 of our text :

अथ रामेण धनुषि भग्ने रावणापमाने तदनुचरवाक्यम् ।

साधं हरेण हरवल्लभया (no. 27 of M).

After this the order of our text is followed in E. H reads no. 20 in place of no. 18 of our text.

Madhusūdana's Text (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

त्रुट्यद्भीमधनुःकठोरनिनदस्तत्राकरोद्विस्मयं[1]
त्रस्यद्वाजिरवे[2] र्विमार्गमनं शम्भोः शिरःकम्पनम् ।
दिग्दन्तिस्खलनं कुलाद्रिचलनं[3] सप्तार्णवान्दोलनं[4]
वैदेहीमदनं मदान्धदमनं त्रैलोक्यसम्मोहनम् ॥ ४८ ॥[5]

दोर्दण्डाञ्चितचन्द्रशेखरधनुर्दण्डावभङ्गोद्गत-[6]
ष्टङ्कारध्वनिरार्यबालचरितप्रस्तावनाडिण्डिमः ।
द्राक्[7] पर्यस्तकपालसम्पुटमिलद्ब्रह्माण्डभाण्डोदर-
भ्राम्यत्पिण्डितचण्डिमा कथमहो नाद्यापि विश्राम्यति ॥४९ ॥[8]

शम्भौ यद्गुणवल्लरीमुपनयत्याकृष्य कर्णान्तिकं
भ्रश्यन्ति त्रिपुरावरोधसुदृशां कर्णोत्पलग्रन्थयः ।

1 ०करोदम्बरे E, F.

2 त्रासादेव रवेः B, C, D, CS. 3 Dropped in A.

4 सप्तार्णवास्फालनं A, E, F. 5 Dām. i, 26.

6 ०भङ्गोद्यत A, E, F, G, H, CS, RS. RS also notes the other reading. J notes both the readings. G reads before this verse : अथ लक्ष्मणः ।

7 प्राक् B, C, D. 8 Mahāvīra-carita i, 54.

OUR TEXT

अथ पौरवचनम् ।[1]

कोदण्डभङ्गान्मुखरीकृताशं
वरं वरेण्यं जनकात्मजायाः ।
अनन्यसामान्यधनुर्विनाशं[2]
नमामि तं लोकविसर्पि[3]कीर्तिम् ॥ १६ ॥[4]

MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

स्वच्छास्फालयति प्रकोष्ठकमिमामुन्मुच्य तासामहो
भिद्यन्ते वलयानि दाशरथिना तद्भग्नमैशं धनुः ॥ ५० ॥[1]

तद्ब्रह्ममातृवधपातकिमन्मथारि-
क्षत्रान्तकारिकरसङ्गमपापभीत्या ।
ऐशं धनुर्निजपुरश्चरणाय नूनं
देहं मुमोच रघुनन्दनपाणितीर्थे ॥ ५१ ॥[2]

कोदण्डभङ्गान्मुखरीकृताशं
वरं वरेण्यं जनकात्मजायाः ।
अनन्यसामान्यधनुर्विलासं
नमामि तं लोकविसर्पिकीर्तिम् ॥ ५२ ॥

1 अथ पौरजनवाक्यम् D : omitted in H. 2 ०विलासं F, C.

3 लोकविशेष : A विश्वविसर्पि H.

4 This verse is placed by F after no. 12 of our text without the heading. D reads after this verse

अथ रामेण धनुषि भग्ने रावणापमानशङ्कया तदनुचरवाक्यम् ।

साध हरेण हरवल्लभया (no. 27 of M).

1 This verse is omitted in A, B, C, D, E, F, KK. Dām. i, 24 = AR iv, 21.

2 Dām. i, 25. This verse is omitted in all Mss and printed editions.

OUR TEXT

अथ[1] लक्ष्मणवाक्यम् ।

दोर्दण्डाञ्चितचन्द्रशेखरधनुर्दण्डावभङ्गोद्यत-
ष्टङ्कारध्वनिरार्यबालचरितप्रस्तावनाडिण्डिमः ।
द्राक्पर्यस्तकपाल[2]सम्पुटमिलद्ब्रह्माण्डभाण्डोदर-
भ्राम्यत्पिण्डितचण्डिमा कथमहो नाद्यापि विश्राम्यति[3] ॥ २० ॥

अथ जनकेन शतानन्दं पुरोहितं प्रहित्याहूतान्[4]
मिथिलामागच्छतो दशरथादीन् वीक्ष्य पुनर्वैतालिकवाक्यम् ।

जनकनृपतिवाक्यं पुत्रसम्बन्धहृद्यं
सरभसमुपगृह्य श्रीशतानन्दवक्त्रात् ।
अपरमपि तनूजद्वन्द्वमादाय हृष्टः
श्रुतरघुपतिशौर्यः कोशलेन्द्रोऽयमेति ॥ २१ ॥

1 पुनः F. 2 पर्यस्तकपाट A, D, E, F.

3 H reads this verse without any heading after no. 19, which also is given without any heading.

4 प्रस्थाप्याहूतान् A.

MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

अथ[1] शतानन्देनानीते दशरथे मिथिलां प्रविशति
वैतालिकैः पठितम्[2] ।[3]

जनकनृपतिवाक्यं पुत्रसम्बन्धहृद्यं
सरभसमुपगृह्य श्रीशतानन्दवक्त्रात् ।
अपरमपि तनूजद्वन्द्वमादाय हृष्टः[4]
श्रुतरघुपतिशौर्यः[5] कोशलेन्द्रोऽयमेति ॥ ५३ ॥

1 गत्वा B, C, 2 वैतालिकवाक्यम् B, C, D.

3 जनकेन शतानन्दं पुरोहितं प्रस्थाप्याहूतान् मिथिलां पूरीमागच्छतो दशरथादीन् वीक्ष्य पुनर्वैतालिकवाक्यम् A, E, F, which read after this heading no. 49.

4 जुष्टः A, E. F. 5 ०पतिवीर्यः A, E, F.

OUR TEXT

आतिथ्यमानसहितं मिथिलाधिनाथः
कृत्वातिथिं दशरथं परमातिथेयः ।
स्वीये सुते अथ कुशध्वजकन्यके च
प्रीत्या ददौ विधिवदेव तदात्मजेभ्यः ॥ २२ ॥

MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

आतिथ्यमानसहितं मिथिलाधिनाथः[1]
कृत्वातिथिं दशरथं स्वय[2]मातिथेयः[3] ।
स्वीये सुतेऽप्यथ कुशध्वजकन्यके च
प्रीत्या ददौ विधिवदेव तदात्मजेभ्यः ॥ ५४ ॥
निःस्वान[4]मर्दलरसालगभीरभेरी-
टङ्कार[5]तालवरकाहलनादजालैः ।
पूर्णं बभूव धरणीगगनान्तरालं
पाणिग्रहे रघुपतेर्जनकात्मजायाः ॥ ५५ ॥[6]
वैवाहिकं कुशिकनन्दनजामदग्न्य-[7]
वाल्मीकिगौतमवशिष्ठपुरोहिताद्यैः ।

1 विहितातिथेयः A, E, F.
2 पर B, C, D, G, H, KK, CS.
3 मिथिलाधिनाथः A, E, F.
4 निःसीम B, C, D ; निःशाल KK.
5 टङ्कार KK ; झङ्कार B, C, D,
6 Dām. i, 56.
7 भार्गवाद्यैः B, C, D.

OUR TEXT

रघुजनकमहीन्द्रयोस्तदानी-
मभवदपत्यविवाहमङ्गलश्रीः ।
त्रिभुवनजनता ननन्द यत्र[1]
प्रमदमवाप[2] मनोरथव्यतीतम् ॥ २३ ॥

सीतां श्रीरघुनन्दनोऽथ भरतः कौशध्वजीं माण्डवीं
सौमित्रिः शतपत्रशत्रुवदनां सीतानुजामूर्मिलाम् ।
शत्रुघ्नः श्रुतकीर्तिमुत्तमगुणां कौशध्वजीमूढवां-
स्तानादाय कृतोत्सवो दशरथः स्वीयां पुरीं प्रस्थितः[3] ॥ २४ ॥

1 तत्र B ; जनता च नूनमत्र H. C is corrupt here and reads नन्दमत्र ।

2 प्रमोद० A, C, E, H contrary to metre,

3 A and C read here :

लज्जा कीर्तिर्जनकतनया शैवकोदण्डभङ्गे
तिस्रः कन्या निरुपमतमा भेजिरे राघवेन्द्रम् ।
अन्त्यापाणिग्रहणसमये ज्यायसी जातरोषा
भूपैः सार्धं खलु गतवती मध्यमा दिग्दिगन्तम् ॥

MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

रामो विधिं परिसमाप्य सहानुजैस्तु
तेभ्यो ददौ बहुवसूनि तिलांश्च गाश्च ॥ ५६ ॥[1]

रघुजनकमहीन्द्रयोस्तदानी-
मभवदपत्यविवाहमङ्गल[2]श्रीः ।
त्रिभुवनजनता ननर्त यत्र[3]
प्रमद[4]मवाप मनोरथव्यतीतम् ॥ ५७ ॥

सीतां श्रीरघुनन्दनोऽथ भरतः कौशध्वजीं माण्डवीं
सौमित्रिः[5] शतपत्रशत्रुवदनां सीतानुजामूर्मिलाम् ।
शत्रुघ्नः श्रुतकीर्तिमुत्तमगुणां कौशध्वजीमूढवां-
स्तानादाय कृतोत्सवो दशरथः स्वीयां पुरीं प्रस्थितः ॥ ५८ ॥

एष श्रीलहनूमता विरचिते श्रीमन्महानाटके[6]
वीरश्रीयुतरामचन्द्रचरिते[6] प्रत्युद्धृते विक्रमैः ।

1 Dām. i, 58. This verse is omitted in KK.

2 कौतुक A, E, F. 3 ०जनतामनन्दयत्तुसा A, E, F.

4 प्रमोद A, E, F, contrary to metre ; प्रमुद KK.

5 सौमित्रः A, E, F. 6 Dropped in A.

OUR TEXT

अथ वर्त्मनि परशुरामदर्शनम् ।

यद्बभञ्ज जनकात्मजाकृते राघवः पशुपतेर्महद्धनुः ।
तत्स्वनश्रवणरोषित[1]स्त्वरन्नाजगाम जमदग्निजो मुनिः[2] ॥२५ ॥

1 ०रोषण B ; बांधित D : तद्ध्वनिश्रवणबाधित० F ; तद्ध्वनिश्रवण० H.

2 G places it after no. 26 of our text.

MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

मिश्र[1]श्रीमधुसूदनेन कविना सन्दर्भ्य सज्जीकृते
यातोऽङ्कः प्रथमो विदेहतनयालाभाभिधानो महान् ॥ ५९ ॥

इति प्रथमोऽङ्कः समाप्तः ॥

द्वितीतोऽङ्कः ॥

जामदग्न्यस्त्रुट्यद्धरधनुःकोलाहलामर्षमूर्च्छितः प्रलयमारुतोद्धूतकल्पान्तानलवत्प्रदीप्तरोषानलः ।[2]

अथ पथि परशुरामेण सह संसर्गः ।[3]

यद्बभञ्ज जनकात्मजाकृते राघवः पशुपतेर्महद्धनुः ।
तद्ध्वनिश्रवणरोषितस्त्वरन्नाजगाम जमदग्निजो मुनिः ॥ ६० ॥[4]

1 धीर A, E, F.

2 This passage is omitted in all Mss and printed editions, but taken from Dām. i, 27.

3 अथ पथि परशुरामदर्शनम् B, C, D : the other Mss omit सह ।

4 Dām. i, 28.

OUR TEXT

चूडाचुम्बितकङ्कपत्रमभितस्तूणद्वयं[1] पृष्ठतो
भस्मस्निग्धपवित्रलाञ्छन[2]मुरो धत्ते त्वचं रौरवीम् ।

1 तूणीद्वयं A, C, 2 ०लाञ्छित H,

MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

लक्ष्मणः श्रीरामं प्रति परशुरामं स्मारयति ।[1]

कुर्वन् कोपादुदञ्चद्विकिरणसटा[2]पाटलैर्दृष्टिपातै-
रद्यापि क्षत्रकण्ठच्युतरुधिरसरित्सिक्तधारं कुठारम् ।[3]
तीव्रैर्निश्वासवातैः पुनरपि भुवनोत्पातमासूचयन् द्राग्[4]
गर्जन्मौर्वीकचाप[5]स्त्रिभुवनविजयी जामदग्न्योऽयमेति[6] ॥६१॥

अपि च ।[7]

चूडाचुम्बितकङ्कपत्रमभितस्तूणीद्वयं पृष्ठतो
भस्मस्निग्ध[8]पवित्रलाञ्छनमुरो धत्ते त्वचं रौरवीम् ।

1 श्रीरामं प्रति परशुरामदर्शनेन लक्ष्मणवाक्यम् B, C, D. This heading is omitted in A, E, F.

2 ०किरणसमैः A, E, F. 3 कुठारैः A.

4 भुवनोत्पातमासूचयद्भिः A, E, F.

5 मार्जन्मौर्वीकलापं H, KK, CS : गर्जन्मौर्वीधरोऽयं A,E,F.

6 PR iv, 2. This verse is omitted in A, E, F.

7 Omitted in A, B, C, D, E, F.

8 भस्मच्छन्न B, C, D ; भस्माश्लिष्ट A, E, F.

OUR TEXT

मौञ्ज्या मेखलया नियन्त्रिमधोवासश्च माञ्जिष्ठिकं
पाणौ कार्मुकमक्षसूत्रवलयं दण्डं परं पैप्पलम्॥ २६ ॥[1]
कुर्वन् कोपादुदश्चद्रविकिरणसटापाटलैर्दृष्टिपातै-
रद्यापि क्षत्रकण्ठच्युतरुधिरसरित्सिक्तधारं कुठारम्।
तीव्रैर्निश्वासवातैः पुनरपि भुवनोत्पातमासूचयद्भि[2]-
र्गर्जन्मौर्वीकरोऽयं त्रिभुवनविजयी जामदग्न्यः समेति[3]॥२७॥

MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

मौञ्ज्या मेखलया नियन्त्रितमधोवासश्च माञ्जिष्ठिकं
पाणौ कार्मुकमक्षसूत्रवलयं दण्डं परं पैप्पलम्[1] ॥ ६२ ॥

आजन्मब्रह्मचारी पृथुलभुजशिलास्तम्भविभ्राजमान-
ज्याघातश्रेणिसंज्ञान्तरितवसुमतीचक्रजैत्रप्रशस्तिः।
वक्षःपीठे घनास्त्रव्रणकिण[2]कठिने संक्षुवानः पृषत्कान्
प्राप्तो राजन्यगोष्ठी[3]वनगजमृगयाकौतुकी जामदग्न्यः[4] ॥ ६३ ॥
सोऽयं सप्तसमुद्रमुद्रितमही येनार्जुनादुद्धृता
छित्त्वा भैरवसङ्गरेऽतिजरठं[5] कण्ठं कुठाराञ्चलैः।

1 This verse is omitted by F. After this verse A, B, C and E read no. 90 (कुशिकसुतसपर्या०) of M (*variants* ०रिपुहत० A, C; बहुविधहितकर्मा E in the last line).

2 आसूचयन् द्राक् B, E, G.

3 This verse is omitted by H.

1 Mahāvīra-carita i, 28; Dām. i, 29.

2 ०व्रणगण A, E, F. 3 ०गोष्ठीं A, E, F.

4 This verse is omitted here in all mss. and printed editions; but it is given later by A, E, F. Dām, i, 32.

5 ०निकठिनं H.

OUR TEXT

यत्राक्रामति दुर्गसङ्गरभुवं[1] दुर्वारधारास्खल[2]-
त्कुप्य[3]त्क्षत्रकिशोरकण्ठरुधिरैर्नीरेणुका भूरभूत् ।

1 सङ्गराङ्गनभुवं D, E. 2 ०धाराज्वल D.
3 त्रुगया A, D.

MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

रेवानीरनिरोध[1]हेतुगहनं बाहोः सहस्रं जवात्[2]
खण्डं खण्डमखण्डयत्[3] पितृवधामर्षेण वर्षीयसा[4] ॥ ६४ ॥
येन त्रिःसप्तकृत्वो नृपबहलवसामांसमस्तिष्कपङ्क-
प्राग्भारेऽकारि भूरिच्युतरुधिरसरिद्वारिपूरेऽभिषेकः ।
यस्य स्त्रीबालवृद्धावधिनिधनविधौ निर्दयो विश्रुतोऽसौ
राजन्योच्चांसकूटक्रथनपटुरटद्घोरधारः कुठारः[5] ॥ ६५ ॥
यत्राक्रामति सङ्गराङ्गनभुवं दुर्वारधारास्खल-
त्कुप्य[6]त्क्षत्रकिशोरकण्ठरुधिरैर्नीरेणुका भूरभूत् ।

1 रेवातोयविरोध A, E, F.

2 बलात् A. 3 काण्डं काण्डमखण्डयत् A, B, C, D, E, F.

4 Dām. i, 32. A, E, F read, after this verse, no. 61 (कुर्वन् कोपादुदञ्चद्वि०), then no. 66 (यत्राक्रामति), then no. 63 (आजन्मब्रह्मचारी), then जामदग्न्यः क्रोधं नाटयित्वा etc.

5 This verse is omitted in all Mss and printed editions, but taken from Dām, i, 33.

6 दृप्यत् B, D.

OUR TEXT

ताद्दग्वीरवरस्वयंवरपरस्वर्लोककन्याकर-
क्रीडापुष्करदामरेणुभिरभूद् द्यौरेव रेणूर्जिता[1]॥२८॥[2]

1 रेणूत्कटा A, C ; रणूत्करा D.

2 This verse is omitted by F and H,

MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

ताद्दग्वीरवरस्वयंवरपरस्वर्लोककन्याकर-
क्रीडापुष्करदामरेणुभिरभूद् द्यौरेव रेणूत्कटा[1] ॥ ६६ ॥

जामदग्न्यः। (क्रोधं नाटयित्वा) केनेदं कालदण्डान्तर-मिच्छता भग्नमजगवं नाम[2] धनुः[3]। (साशङ्कं वारत्रयम्)[4]

पार्वत्या निजभर्तुरायुधमिति प्रेम्णा यदभ्यर्चितं
निर्मोकेण च वासुकेर्निचुलितं यत्सादरं नन्दिना।
भव्यं य[5]त्त्रिपुरेन्धनं धनुरिदं तन्मन्मथोन्माथिनः
सत्येवं भुवि[6] रामनामनि मयि[7] द्वैधीकृतं दृश्यते[8] ॥ ६७ ॥[9]

1 PR iv, 29. This verse is omitted in A, E, F.

2 Omitted in A. 3 G, H add इति।

4 वारत्रयं साशङ्कम् A. This prose passage is given also in Dām.

5 भग्नं यत् A, E, F, G (but G corrects the reading to भव्यं); यद्द्यं B, C, D.

6 मयि B, C, D. 7 भुवि B, C, D.

8 BR iv, 53 ; Dām. i, 34.

9 A, E, F read, after this verse, no. 74 (क्व स दाशरथी रामः), but without the headnote परशुरामः), after which comes the prose passage ascribed to जामदग्न्यः and no. 68 etc.

OUR TEXT	MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)
	जामदग्न्यः[1] । ([2]फुत्कारप्रफुल्लनासापुटकुहरो[3]द्गीर्णप्रभूतरोषानलोच्छलित[4]कालकूटधूमाच्छादित[5]दिङ्मण्डलम्[6]) अरे रे निजकुलकमलिनी[7]प्रालेयवर्ष दाशरथे कथमकाण्डप्रचण्डकोदण्डखण्डन[8]दोर्दण्डचण्डिमाडम्बरेणापूरितं जग[9]त्त्वयं सकलवसुमतीमण्डलाखण्डललक्ष्मी-[10]कुमुदिनी[11]हरणकिरणमालिनं मां न वेत्सि । येनोक्तः

1 Omitted in A, G, H. The whole of the prose passage is omitted in B, C, D. It is given in Dām.

2 स्फीतफुत्कार A, E, F, G. 3 कोटर for कुहर A, E, F.

4 ०च्छुरित A, E, F.

5 A, E, F omit कालकूटधूमाच्छादित.

6 ०मण्डलः A, E, F. 7 ०कुलकमल A.

8 ०खण्डखण्डन CS ; A, E, F omit कोदण्डखण्डन.

9 ०पूरितजगत् E, H, CS, RS.

10 ०ललक्ष्मी omitted in A, E, F ; CS reads कीर्ती for लक्ष्मी. G reads as in text but corrects it to कुमुदिनीलक्ष्मी on the margin.

11 A, E, F read कुमुदिनीप्रख्यलक्ष्मी.

OUR TEXT

परशुरामवचनम् ।[1]

अत्यग्निर्जमदग्निराश्रमपरैर्यैः श्रूयते श्रोत्रियैः
श्रूये चाहमहंयुभिर्नृपतिभिस्तेऽत्रोभयोः[2] साक्षिणः ।
इक्ष्वाकोरथवा भृगोर्भगवतो भावी स्वधा[3]विप्लवः
स्वाध्यायेन शपे शपे परशुना पत्या पशूनां शपे ॥ २९ ॥[4]

1 Omitted in B, E; also in D, F, H which omit the next verse also (no. 29 of our text). D reads here no. 34 of our text (स्त्रीषु प्रवीरजननी), omitting nos. 29 and 30, after which it reads no. 31 (बाह्वोर्बलं न).

2 ०स्तत्रोभये E. 3 युधा A, C, G.

4 This verse is omitted, as already noted, by D, F and H. A and C read (after no. 29 but before no. 30) no. 64 of M (सोऽयं सप्तसमुद्र०), its variants being ०मुद्रितमहीन्द्रस्यार्जुनस्योद्धतं in l. 1 ; भित्वा and कुठारेण यः in l. 2 ; वर्षीयसा in in l. 4 (in A only).

MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

कार्तवीर्य इति[1]

सहस्रबाहुस्त्वमहं द्विबाहुस्त्वं चक्रवर्ती मुनि[2]नन्दनोऽहम् ।
त्वं सैन्ययुक्तोऽस्य[3]हमेकवीरस्तथापि नौ पश्यतु तर्कमर्कः[4]॥६८ ॥

1 इदं H. A, E, F read इति कार्तवीर्यः ।

2 नृप H. 3 ०युक्तोऽप्य H.

4 Dām. i, 35, This verse is omitted in B, C, D.

Our Text

त्रस्य[1]त्क्षत्रकिशोरकण्ठविगलद्रक्तौघधारासरि-
न्निर्वृत्ताभिषवस्य कृत्तशिरसः केशान् कुशान् कुर्वतः ।

1 भ्राम्यत् A, E.

Madhusūdana's Text (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

उत्कृत्योत्कृत्य गर्भानपि शकलयः[1] क्षत्रसन्तानरोषा-
दुद्दामानेक[2]विंशत्यवधि विशसतः[3] सर्वतो राजवंश्यान् ।
पित्र्यं तद्रक्तपूर्णं ह्रद[4]मवनि[5]महानन्दमन्दायमान-[6]
क्रोधाग्नेः[7] कुर्वतो[8] मे न खलु न विदितः सर्वभूतैः[9] प्रभावः[10] ॥६६
कुप्य[11]त्क्षत्रकिशोर[12]कण्ठविगलद्रक्तौघधारासरि-[13]
न्निर्वृत्ताभिषवस्य कृत्तशिरसः केशान् कुशान् कुर्वतः ।

1 शकलयतुं KK, Dām ; सकलजगत् A, E, F.
2 दुर्द्धर्षानेक B, C, D. 3 ०विलसतः A, E, F.
4 ०पूर्णंह्रद KK, Dām.
5 ०मज्जनि A, B, C, D, E, F, G.
6 ०मानः A, E, F ; ०मानं B, C, D, G.
7 क्रोधाग्नि B, C, D, G. 8 दुर्बलो A, E, F.
9 यस्य यादृग् A, E, F.
10 Mahāvīra-carita ii, 48 : Dām. i, 36.
11 त्रस्यत् A, E, F. 12 कठोर for किशोर C.
13 धाराशतैः B, C, D.

Our Text

तावद्रक्तजलाञ्जलिः पितृगणैर्यस्य क्षणं स्वीकृतः
सन्तोषेण जुगुप्सया करुणया शोकेन हासेन वा ॥ ३० ॥[1]

[1] This verse is omitted in D, F, H.

Madhusūdana's Text (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

तावद्रक्तजलाञ्जलिः[1] पितृगणै[2]र्यस्य क्षणं स्वीकृतः[3]
सन्तोषेण जुगुप्सया करुणया[4] हासेन शोकेन[5] वा[6]॥७०॥[7]
[8]आश्चर्यं कार्तवीर्यार्जुनभुजविपिनच्छेदलीलास्वभिज्ञः
केयूरग्रन्थिरत्नोत्करकषण[9]रणत्कारघोरः कुठारः ।
तेजोभिः क्षत्रगोत्रप्रलयसमुदितद्वादशार्कानुकारः
किं न प्राप्तः श्रुतिं[10] ते पुरमथनधनुर्भङ्गपर्युत्सुकस्य[11] ॥ ७१ ॥
अभ्यग्नि[12] जमदग्निराश्रमपरो[13] यैः श्रूयते श्रोत्रियैः[14]
श्रूये चाहमहंयुभिर्नृपतिभिस्तत्रोभये साक्षिणः ।

1 ०जलाञ्जलीन् A, E, F.
2 पितृगणो A, E, F. 3 स्वीकृता C.
4 कृपणया A, E, F. 5 शोकेन हास्येन A, E, F.
6 च H.
7 PR iv, 33. This verse is omitted here by A, E, F, but placed earlier, as already noted above.
8 B ,C, D, G, CS read अपि च before this verse.
9 कषण dropped in C, D. 10 श्रुतं A, E, F.
11 Dām. i, 37. 12 अत्यग्निः B ; अभ्यग्निः G.
13 ०श्रमपरैः B, C, D, G. 14 श्रोत्रियः B, C, D, G.

OUR TEXT

अथ दशरथवाक्यम् ।[1]

बाह्वोर्बलं न विदितं न च कार्मुकस्य शत्रो[2]र्बिभेति मनुजो न च दोष एषः ।
तच्चापलं परशुराम मम क्षमस्व डिम्भस्य दोर्विलसितानि मुदे गुरूणाम् ॥ ३१ ॥[3]

1 ०वचनम् for वाक्यम् in A, C. This heading is omitted in D, H.

2 शम्भो D.

3 E and H omit this verse here but place it later as indicated below.

MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

इक्ष्वाकोरथवा भृगोर्भगवतो भावी स्वधाविप्लवः
स्वाध्यायेन शपे शपे परशुना पत्या पशूनां शपे ॥ ७२ ॥[1]

श्रीरामः सानुनयम् ।[2]

बाह्वोर्बलं न विदितं न च कार्मुकस्य त्र्यैम्बकस्य[3] सुतराम-[4]यमेव दोषः ।
तच्चापलं परशुराम मम क्षमस्व डिम्भस्य दोर्विलसितानि[5] मुदे गुरूणाम् ॥७३॥[6]

1 This verse is omitted entirely in A, E, F. B, C, D omit it here but read it later after no. 78 (भो ब्रह्मन्). C reads no. 74 immediately after this verse, i. e. after no. 78.

2 रामः सभयम् A, E, F ; श्रीरामः सभयगाम्भीर्यम् B, C, D.

3 यत्त्र्यम्बकस्य B, C, D. 4 नितराम A, E, F.

5 J notes the reading दुर्विलसितानि, which is also noted by RS.

6 BR iv, 60 ; Dām. i, 38. After this verse, B, C, D read here no. 77, and then no. 75 (with the heading पुनर्दाशरथिः), omitting no, 74 altogether,

OUR TEXT

MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

पुनः परशुरामवचनम् ।[1]

उत्कृत्योत्कृत्य गर्भानपि शकलयितुः[2] क्षत्रसन्तानरोषा-
दुद्दामा[3]नेकविंशत्यनवधि शतशः[4] सर्वतो राजवश्यान् ।
पित्र्यं तद्रक्तपूर्णह्रदसवनमहानन्दमन्दायमानं
क्रोधाग्निं कुर्वतो मे न खलु न विदितः सर्वभूतैः[5] प्रभावः[6]॥ ३२ ॥

1 पुनः omitted in F; ०वाक्यम् for वचनम् in B, E, F. This heading is omitted in C, H,

2 च कलयितुः A; सकलयितुः (doubtless for शकलयितुः) B, E, F; शकलयितुः C, G; शमयितुः D.

3 वर्गाणा० A, C, D.

4 ०विंशत्यपि समवधीशः (?) G. F reads ०त्यवधि विशषतः (=विशसतः)

5 सर्वलोकैः B, E.

6 This verse is omitted in H. D reads after this verse several passages from PR as follows:

अये क इह धनुर्भङ्गमकरोदिति परशुरामे वदति शतानन्दवाक्यम्—राघवेन शिशुनापि किलायं (PR iii, 41)॥ पुनः परशुरामवाक्यम्—दुर्धर्षाः सुरसिद्धकिन्नरभटैः (PR iv, 13)॥ ततो रामवाक्यम्—मया स्पृष्टं

OUR TEXT

न वा स्पृष्टं (PR iv, 21) ॥ परशुरामवचनम्—येनोपदिष्टमद्यापि (PR iv, 20) ॥ चण्डीशकार्मुकविमर्द० (PR iv, 19) ॥ रामवचनम्—भो ब्रह्मन् भवता समं (PR iv, 25) ॥ परशुरामवचनम्—राजन्येभ्यो जन्म० (AR iv, 48) ॥ रामवचनम्—जातः सोऽहं दिनकरकुले (no. 35 of our text=AR iv, 49) ॥

MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

परशुरामः ।[1]

क्व स दाशरथी रामो मद्यशाश्चन्द्रवारितः ।
पुरारेः कार्मुकं येन भग्नं तिष्ठति भार्गवे ॥ ७४ ॥[2]

श्रीरामः सविनयम् ।[3]

स्पृष्टं वापि न वा स्पृष्टं कार्मुकं पुरवैरिणः ।
भगवन्नात्मनैवेदमभज्यत करोमि किम् ॥ ७५ ॥[4]
हारः कण्ठे प्रभवतुतरामत्र किं वा कुठारः
स्त्रीणां नेत्राण्यधिवसतु नः कज्जलं वा जलं वा ।

1 Omitted in H.

2 This verse is omitted entirely by B, D; A, E, F omit it here but place it, with its headnote after no. 66 (पावर्त्या निजभर्तु०). G reads it after no. 76, CS omits it here but places it after no. 72

3 Omitted in A, E, F; पुनर्दाशरथिः B, C, D, which add before the verse following : मुने क्षमस्व ।

4 This verse is omitted in A, E, F.

OUR TEXT

MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

सम्पश्यामो निजजनमुखं[1] प्रेतभर्तुर्मुखं वा
यद्वा तद्वा भवतु न वयं ब्राह्मणेषु प्रवीराः ॥ ७६ ॥[2]

अपि च।

निहन्तुं हन्त गा विप्रान् न शूरा रघुवंशजाः[3] ।
अयं कण्ठे[4] कुठारस्ते[5] कुरु राम यथोचितम्[6] ॥ ७७ ॥

1 निरुपमसुखं KK, CS, H; ध्रुवमपि सुखं Dām. G reads as in text.

2 PR iv, 23; Dām. i, 44. The verse is omitted in A, B, C, D, E, F.

3 राघवा वयम् G, H. 4 हस्ते A, B, C, D.

5 मे for ते E, F.

6 Dām. i, 39. A, B, C, D transpose the two lines of this verse, reading the last line first.

OUR TEXT

पुनः सानुनयमाह दशरथः ।[1]

भो ब्रह्मन् भवता समं न घटते संग्रामवार्तापि नः
सर्वे हीनबला वयं बलवतां यूयं स्थिता मूर्धनि ।
यस्मादेकगुणं शरासनमिदं राजन्यकानां बलं[2]
युष्माकं द्विजजन्मनां नवगुणं यज्ञोपवीतं[3] बलम्[3] ॥ ३३ ॥

1 अथ दशरथवाक्यम् F ; पुनः सानुनयं दशरथस्त्वाह G ; अथ तं दृष्ट्वा दशरथवाक्यम् H.

2 सुव्यक्तमुर्वीभुजां B. 3 Dropped in H.

MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

अथ युद्धोद्यते परशुरामे दाशरथिः ।[1]

मुने क्षमस्व ।[2]

भो ब्रह्मन् भवता समं न घटते संग्रामवार्तापि नः
सर्वे हीनबला वयं बलवतां यूयं स्थिता मूर्धनि ।
यस्मादेकगुणं शरासनमिदं राजन्यकानां बलं[3]
युष्माकं द्विजजन्मनां[4] नवगुणं यज्ञोपवीतं बलम्[5] ॥ ७८ ॥[6]

1 दशरथः A, G, H ; दशरथ आह E, F. The line is omitted entirely in B, C, D.

2 Omitted in B, C, D. 3 सुव्यक्तमुर्वीभुजां A, E, F.

4 अस्माकं भवतः पुनः A ; अस्माकं भवतां पुनः E ; युष्माकं भवतां पुनः F.

5 PR iv, 25 : Dām. i, 40.

6 B, C, D read here, after this verse, अथ परशुरामः followed by no. 72.

Our Text

स्त्रीषु प्रवीरजननी जननी त्वदीया[1]
देवी स्वयं भगवती गिरिजापि यस्यै ।[2]
त्वद्दोर्वशीकृतविशाखमुखावलोक-
व्रीडाविनम्रवदना[3] स्पृहयाम्बभूव ॥ ३४ ॥[4]

1 सवैव B, D, F. 2 यस्मै A, G. 3 ०विदीर्णहृदया F.

4 This verse is omitted by H; while D places it after no. 28, and not here.

Madhusūdana's Text (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

परशुरामः साभ्यसूयम् ।[1]

येन स्वां विनिहत्य मातरमपि क्षत्रास्रमध्वासव-
स्वादाभिज्ञपरश्वधेन विदधे निःक्षत्रिया मेदिनी ।
यद्बाणव्रणवर्त्मना शिखरिणः क्रौञ्चस्य हंसच्छला-
द्द्याप्यस्थिकणाः पतन्ति स पुनः क्रुद्धो मुनिर्भार्गवः[2] ॥ ७९ ॥

रामः सविनयम् ।[3]

स्त्रीषु प्रवीरजननी जननी तवैव
देवी स्वयं भगवती गिरिजापि यस्यै[4] ।
त्वद्दोर्वशीकृतविशाखमुखावलोक-
व्रीडाविदीर्णहृदया स्पृहयाम्बभूव[5] ॥ ८० ॥[6]

1 This as well as the following verse is omitted in all Mss and printed editions: but probably borrowed by J from Dām. i, 42.

2 AR iv, 52,

3 Omitted in all Mss and printed editions.

4 दृश्ये A, E, F.

5 AR iv, 33; Dām. i, 43.

6 B,C,D omit this verse and read instead अथ परशुरामः

OUR TEXT

MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

अथ परशुरामं प्रति लक्ष्मणः सकोपम् ।[1]

पुरोजन्मा नाद्यप्रभृति मम रामः स्वयमहं
न पुत्रः पौत्रो वा रघुकुलभुवां च क्षितिभुजाम् ।
अधीरं धीरं वा कलयतु जना मामयमयं
मया बद्धो दुष्टद्विजदमनदीक्षापरिकरः[2] ॥ ८१ ॥[3]
भूमात्रं कियदेतदर्णवमितं तन्निर्जितं हार्यते
यद्वीरेण भवादृशेन ददता त्रिःसप्तकृत्वो जयम् ।

followed by no. 72, as already noted. This verse is also omitted by KK.

1 सकोपम् omitted by G, H. The line is entirely omitted by A, E, F. B, C, D read instead: गुरुनिन्दां श्रुत्वा सक्रोधं लक्ष्मणवाक्यम् ।

2 AR iv, 46. A, E, F omit this verse here but place it after no. 85 (तच्चापमीशभुज०).

3 After this verse, B, C, D read: श्रीरामः सामर्षो लक्ष्मणं प्रति । कार्याकार्यं न जानासि वक्तुं शिक्षा कुतः शिशोः । प्रमथाधिप-शिष्यस्ते रामो न गणनास्पदम् ॥ Then परशुरामं प्रति रामः, followed by no. 84 (जातः सोऽहं).

OUR TEXT

साटोपं सानुनयं रामः ।[1]

जातः सोऽहं दिनकरकुले क्षत्रियश्रोत्रियेभ्यो
विश्वामित्रादपि भगवतो दृष्टदिव्यास्त्रपारः ।

1 F and H omit this heading. E adds आह before रामः. D reads रामवचनम् only.

MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

डिम्भोऽहं नवबाहुरीदृशमिदं घोरं च वीरव्रतं
तत्क्रोधाद्विरम प्रसीद भगवन् जात्यैव पूज्योऽसि नः[1] ॥८२॥
द्विः शरं नाभिसन्धत्ते द्विः स्थापयति नाश्रितान् ।
द्विर्ददाति न चार्थिभ्यो रामो द्विर्नाभिभाषते ॥ ८३ ॥[2]

अथ राम[3]वाक्यम् ।

जातः सोऽहं दिनकर[4]कुले क्षत्रियश्रोत्रियेभ्यो[5]
विश्वामित्रादपि भगवतो दृष्टदिव्यास्त्रपारः[6] ।

1 AR iv, 35 : Dām. i, 47. This verse is omitted in all Mss and printed editions, but probably borrowed by J from Dām.

2 Dām. i, 48. Omitted in all Mss and printed editions.

3 रामचन्द्र A, श्रीरामचन्द्र E, श्रीराम G.

4 दिवाकर A, contrary to metre.

5 ०श्रोत्रियाभ्यां B, C, D.

6 The pages of KK's edition in my copy are missing from here to the end of Act II.

Our Text

अस्मिन् वंशे कलयतु[1] जनो दुर्यशो वा यशो वा
विप्रे शस्त्रग्रहणगुरुणः साहसिक्याद्बिभेमि ॥ ३५ ॥[2]
[3]यदग्र[4]जन्मनामग्रे न शूरा राघवा वयम् ।
अयं क्षत्र [5]कुठारस्ते कुरु राम यथोचितम् ॥ ३६ ॥[6]

1 जनयतु E ; कलयति B.

2 This verse is omitted in F and H. B reads after this verse : पुनः साटोपं सानुनयं रामः । मया स्पृष्टं न चाकृष्टं कार्मुकं (no. 75 of M), variant being भगवन् भृगुमाखण्डव्याभज्यत in the second line.

3 A and C read before this verse : अथ श्रीरामपरशुरामयोरुक्तिप्रत्युक्ती ।

4 शूराग्र D, F. 5 कण्ठे D, F, H : ब्रह्म G.

6 A and C read after this verse : भूमात्रं कियदेतदर्णवमयं AR, iv, 35), the variants being तन्निर्जितं हार्यते (A), यशः (for जयः A). F reads here some of the verses which it omitted before and arranges the verses as follows : अथ रामवाक्यम्—बाह्वोर्बलं न विदितं (no. 31 of our text) ॥ जातः सोऽहं दिनकरकुले (no. 35) ॥ पुरोजन्मा नाद्यप्रभृति (no. 81 of M=AR iv, 46) ॥ तच्चापमाकर्षति (no. 38 of our text) ॥ ययौ रामं परिष्वज्य (no. 41 of our text) ॥ कुशिकसुतसपर्या० (no. 90 of M).

Madhusūdana's Text (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

अस्मिन् वंशे कलयतु जनो दुर्यशो वा यशो वा
विप्रे शस्त्रग्रहणगुरुणः साहसिक्याद्बिभेमि[1] ॥ ८४ ॥

1 AR iv, 49 : Dām, i, 41.

Our Text

ततः परशुरामः ।[1]

तच्चापमीशभुजपीडनपीत[2]सारं
प्रागप्यभज्यत भवांस्तु निमित्तमात्रम् ।
राजन्यकप्रधनसाधनमस्मदीय-
माकर्ष कार्मुकमिदं गरुडध्वजस्य ॥ ३७ ॥[3]

1 ॰रामवाक्यम् D ; ॰रामवचनम् G. H reads अथ परशुरामोक्तिः and places here some of the verses which it has omitted before, arranging the verses thus : उत्कृत्योत्कृत्य (no. 32 of our text, reading सकलयितुः in l. 1, वर्गाणामेकविंशत्यवधि शमयतः in l. 2) ॥ अथ दशरथस्य भाषणम्—बाह्वोर्बलं न (no. 31, reading शम्भोर्बिभेति in l. 2) ॥ अथ रामवाक्यम्—भूमात्रं कियदे-तदर्णवमितं AR iv, 35) ॥ जातः सोऽहं दिनकर॰ (no. 35, reading कथयतु in l. 3) ॥ अथ मुनयः—कुशिकसुतसपर्या॰ (no. 90 of M, reading भृगुपतिमपि जित्वा लब्धवीरेन्द्रशब्दः) ॥ ययौ रामं परिष्वज्य (no. 41).

2 ॰पीडनिपीत B.

3 A and C read here no. 86 of M (रामस्तदादाय) and no. 88 of M (यः कार्तवीर्यस्य).

Madhusūdana's Text (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

तथापि[1] श्रीरामं प्रति[2] परशुरामः ।[3]

तच्चापमीशभुजपीडनपीतसारं
प्रागप्यभज्यत भवांस्तु निमित्तमात्रम् ।
राजन्यकप्रधनसाधनमस्मदीय-
माकर्ष कार्मुकमिदं गरुडध्वजस्य[4] ॥ ८५ ॥[5]

1 Omitted in A, E, F. 2 Omitted in E.

3 B, C, D read for this line : विनीतं रामचन्द्रं प्रति परशुरामः ।

4 AR iv, 55 ; Dām. i. 45.

5 B, C, D, read here :

रामः ससंतोषं सदर्पं सबाणां (सशरासनं C) च तदाचकर्ष ।
तेजोऽविशद् भार्गवतोऽभिरामे प्रहीनतेजाश्च बभूव चैषः ।
तत्प्रार्थितास्तीर्थगतीर्विरुध्य स्वर्गप्रयाणं विशिखेन बद्धम् ॥

ततः परं परशुरामवचनम् ।

याते कार्मुकविद्यया परिभवं सार्धं गणानां गणैः
षड्वक्त्रे समयं विलङ्घ्य जयिनीमुद्दिश्य शक्तिं स्थिते ।
हस्तोदास्तपरश्वधः स्वशपथैर्यः स्तम्भितः शम्भुना
विश्वे पश्यत कौतुकं भृगुपतेस्तस्यापि रामोऽङ्कुशः ॥

OUR TEXT

[1][तच्चापमाकर्षति ताडकारावाकर्णमाकर्णविशालनेत्रा ।
मुहुः समैक्षिष्ट विदेहकन्या कन्यां किमन्यां
परिणेष्यतीति[2] ॥ ३८ ॥]

कन्या काचिदिहापि कर्मणि पणः स्यादित्यसूयावशात्
सीतापाङ्गमयूखमांसलमुखज्योत्स्नाविलिप्तां दिवम्[3] ।
कुर्वाणेन रघूद्वहेन[4] चहृषे नारायणीयं धनुः
सन्धायाथ शरश्च भार्गवगतिच्छेदादमोघीकृतः[5] ॥ ३९ ॥

[6]राज्ञाशान्तं नितान्तं निगदितमपि तं नैव शान्तं विदित्वा
वध्यं दोर्वल्लिलीलाजितसकलजगद्वीरवर्गप्रभावम् ।

1 B supplies a heading : ततः सीतामनसि परिभवः ।

2 This verse is given only by B, C, G here.

3 दिशम् A. 4 रघूत्तमेन A, C.

5 This verse is from AR iv, 57.

6 A and C supply a heading पुनरपि साटोपं रामः ।

MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

रामस्तदादाय धनुः सहेलं वाणं च संयोज्य[1] तदाचकर्ष ।
भाति स्म[2] साक्षान्मकरध्वजोऽयं गतिं[3] प्रचिच्छेद
च भार्गवस्य[4] ॥ ८६ ॥

तच्चापमाकर्षति ताडकारावाकारगुप्तापि[5] विशालनेत्रा[6]
सासूयमैक्षिष्ट विदेहकन्या[7] कन्यां किमन्यां
परिणेष्यतीति[8] ॥ ८७

1 संयुज्य G, H. 2 विभाति A, E, F.

3 ०ध्वजः स्वर्गतिं A, E, F, G.

4 Dām. i, 49, This verse is omitted in B, C, D.

5 तातवाक्यकठोररुष्टापि A, E, F; B, C, D read ०काररुष्टापि ; G reads ०कारतुष्टापि ।

6 विदेहकन्या A, E, F ; विदेहपुत्री B, C, D.

7 विशालनेत्रा A, B, C, D, E, F.

8 Dām. i, 50.

OUR TEXT

आदायास्मादकस्माद् धनुरमरपुरप्राप्तिमार्गं मुदित्वा
रामो रामं निकामं वरपरशुकरं खर्वगर्वं वितेने ॥ ४० ॥[1]

[1] This verse is omitted by D, F, H.

MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

भार्गवः सानुनयम् ।

यः कार्तवीर्यस्य भुजान्[1] सहस्रं चिच्छेद वीरो युधि जामदग्न्यः ।
स सायके[2] रामकराधिरूढे ब्राह्मण्य एव प्रणयी बभूव ॥ ८८ ॥[3]
यावद् धूर्जटिधर्मपुत्रपरशुक्षुण्णाखिलक्षत्रिय-
श्रेणीशोणितपिच्छिला वसुमती कोऽस्यामधास्यत् पदम् ।
त्रैलोक्याभयदानदक्षिणभुजावष्टम्भदिव्योदयो[4]
देवोऽयं दिनकृत्कुलैकतिलको न प्राभविष्यद् यदि ॥ ८९ ॥[5]
कुशिकसुतसपर्यादिष्टदिव्यास्त्रपारो
भृगुपतिसहयुध्वा वीरभोगीनबाहुः ।

1 J notes the alternative reading भुजा, which is accepted by Dām, A, G, H; RS also notes both the readings.

2 शरासने B, C, D. 3 Dām. i, 51.

4 दिव्यायुधो B, C, D; दानोद्यत A, E, F.

5 Dām. i, 52.

OUR TEXT

MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

दिनकरकुलकेतुः कौतुकोद्दामबाहुः
बहुमतरिपुकर्मा कार्मुकी रामभद्रः ॥ ६० ॥[1]

जामदग्न्यचरणे निपतितो[2] रामः ।

उत्पत्तिर्जमदग्नितः स भगवान् देवः पिनाकी गुरु-
र्वीर्यं यत्तु[3] न तद्गिरां पथि ननु[4] व्यक्तं हि[5] तत्कर्मभिः ।
त्यागः[6] सप्तसमुद्रमुद्रितमहीनिर्व्याजदानावधिः
सत्यब्रह्मतपोनिधेर्भगवतः किं किं न लोकोत्तरम् ॥ ६१ ॥[7]
ज्ञात्वा प्रभावं[8] रघुनन्दनस्य तदङ्गमालिङ्ग्य ततोऽपि[9] गाढम् ।

1 AR vi, 50. This verse is omitted in A, B, C, D, E, F. Dām, reads this as xiv, 36.

2 ०चरणपतितो A, E, E ; ०चरणे पतितो B, D : ०वचने पतितो C.

3 यच्च A, E, F ; यस्य B, C, D.

4 पदमनु for पथि ननु A, E, F ; गुरोः पदं न तु गिरां B, C, D.

5 च A, E, F. 6 योगः A, D, E, F.

7 Mahāvīra-carita ii, 36 ; Dām. i, 53.

8 ज्ञात्वेव भावं B, C, D : ज्ञात्वावतारं A, E, F, Dām ; G accepts the reading of the text but also notes ज्ञात्वावतारं ।

9 ततोऽपि all Mss, except H.

OUR TEXT

अथ रामपराक्रमं दृष्ट्वा परशुरामापसर्पणम् ।[1]

ययौ रामं परिष्वज्य भार्गवः स्वीयमाश्रमम् ।
राजापि सह रामाद्यैः पुत्रैरुत्तरकोशलाम् ॥ ४१ ॥

1 This heading is omitted by A, D, F, H. A reads after it no. 94 of M (रुद्ध्वा गतिं परशुराममुनेः स नाकादानन्द्य सर्वजनकान्). C also gives this verse here but reads the heading after this verse and before no. 41 of our text.

MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

विन्यस्य तस्मिन् जमदग्निसूनुस्तेजो महा[1]क्षत्रवधान्निवृत्तः ॥६२॥[2]

ययौ रामं परिष्वज्य[3] भार्गवः स्वीयमाश्रमम् ।
राजापि सह रामाद्यैः पुत्रैरुत्तरकोशलाम् ॥ ६३ ॥

रुध्वा गतिं परशुराममुनेः स नाकी-
मामन्त्र्य सर्वसुजनान् पितृमातृवंश्यान् ।
सम्मान्य मान्यतमविप्रगुरुस्वजातीन्
पित्रा समं निजपुरीं प्रजगाम रामः ॥ ६४ ॥

अत्रान्तरे जनकजारघुनन्दनौ च
दृष्ट्वा चिरान्मदनबाणनिपीडिताङ्गौ ।
गत्वास्तशैलशिखरं खररश्मिमाली
हर्षात् पपात सलिले चरमस्य सिन्धोः ॥ ६५ ॥

प्राप्यायोध्यां स्वजनपरमोत्साहसम्भावनाभि-
र्नत्वा मूर्ध्नाखिलगुरुजनान् सीतया लक्ष्मणेन ।

1 महत् B, C, D, E, F, G. 2 Dām. i, 55.

3 J notes the alternative reading परित्यज्य which is accepted by A, B, C, D, E, F; RS notes both the readings.

OUR TEXT	MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)
	रामो यामत्रयमपि कथं मारनाराचभिन्नो नीत्वा सद्यः स्वरथतुरगान् ताडयामास दण्डैः ॥ ६६ ॥[1] अस्तं याते सपदि[2] नलिनीबान्धवे सिन्धुपुत्रे प्राचीभागे सरसमुदिते[3] पक्वनारङ्गकल्पे[4] । रामः कामं गुरुजनगिरा मन्दिरे सङ्गतोऽभू- द्रामोरूस्तं जनकतनया नन्दयन्ती जगाम ॥ ६७ ॥[5]

1 This verse is omitted in all Mss and printed editions. J notes in the commentary that it is taken from the Western recension : it occurs as Dām. ii, 1.

2 स्वकुल A, E, F ; मुकुल B, C, D,

3 रभससुदिते E, F ; सरागे नभसि समुदिते B, C, D, contrary to metre. A's reading is corrupt : सरभपङ्किलानङ्ग-कल्पे ।

4 पङ्किलानङ्गकल्पे E, F, which E explains in a gloss as चन्दनविशिष्टकन्दर्परूपे ।

5 Dām. ii, 2.

MISCELLANY

Vyoṣa

Quotations from Vyoṣa in illustration of grammatical rules occur fairly frequently in commentaries on grammar and lexicons. Some scholars led away by a mere similarity of sound, have suggested that Vyoṣa is merely a scribe's error of Ghoṣa which stands for Aśvaghoṣa, but no serious attempt has ever been made to establish the identity. In the index to the *Durghaṭavṛtti*, Vyoṣa and Aśvaghoṣa have been regarded as the same author and the editor has gone out of his way to class a genuine verse of Aśvaghoṣa like

इदं पुरं तेन विसर्जितं वनं वनं च तत्तेन समन्वितं पुरम् ।
प्रशोभते तेन हि नो विना पुरं मरुत्वता वृत्रवधे यथा दिवम् ॥

after which the name of Aśvaghoṣa is distinctly mentioned, with verses from Vyoṣa. The late Prof. Srish Chandra Chakravarti in his Introduction to the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* admitted that the quotations from Vyoṣa could not be found in the *Buddhacarita* edited by Cowell but hoped that when the complete manuscript of the *Buddhacarita* would be discovered, "Vyoṣa and Ghoṣa might turn up to be the same work."

A mere glance at the passages quoted from the *Vyoṣa Kāvya* is sufficient to show that it must have been a work illustrating rules of grammar like the *Bhaṭṭi Kāvya*. The *Rāvaṇārjunīya* is such a work, and practically all the passages quoted from Vyoṣa are found in the *Rāvaṇārjunīya*. It is difficult to say with the materials at our command how the *Rāvaṇārjunīya* came to acquire this peculiar designation, but one may hazard the suggestion that since it illustrates the rules of grammar, it was as unpalatable as the three bitters त्रिकट which is the meaning of the word व्योष in Sanskrit.

KSHITISH CHANDRA CHATTERJEE

Date of the Mudrārākṣasa

Having read with great interest the paper of Mr. S. Śrīkaṇṭha Śāstrī on this topic in the *I.H.Q.*, VII, 163 sq., I should like to point out to the author an article which I published several years ago (*JRAS.*, 1923, 585 sq.) on the date of Viśākhadatta and his drama. There I deduced from various arguments that the Mudrārākṣasa belongs to the latest period of the great Guptas, the reign of Skandagupta. This article apparently has escaped the notice of Mr. Śrīkaṇṭha Śāstrī; nor does he seem to be aware that not only Speyer and Hillebrandt but also Professor Konow and Mr. K. P. Jayaswal (see *IA.*, xlii, 265 sq.) tried to make Viśākhadatta a contemporary of Candragupta II Vikramāditya. Neither the criticism of Professor Keith (cf. *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 204) nor the attempt of Mr. Śrīkaṇṭha Śāstrī to fix upon the year 397 A.D. as that of the composition of the Mudrārākṣasa are strong enough to shake my belief in the date fixed by me years ago. To single out a definite year—or even a day—as that of the composition of the drama is scarcely possible and presents no real interest; but there can be slight doubt that Viśākhadatta wrote his admirable play only short time before the catastrophal inroad of the Huns in the late 5th century A.D.

JARL CHARPENTIER

Surāṣṭra under the Mauryas

In his article, *On some points relating to the Maurya Administrative System*, appearing in the September issue of the *I.H.Q.* (1930), Dr. U. N. Ghoshal assails certain views about the position of Surāṣṭra in Maurya India expressed in Dr. H.C. Raychaudhuri's *Political History of Ancient India*, 1927. Dr. Ghoshal does not agree with the view held by Dr. Raychaudhuri that the Surāṣṭras were an *autonomous* people under the suzerainty of the Maurya empire.

With regard to the argument of Dr. Raychaudhuri—that the title of of *rājā* borne by Tuṣāspha, the ruler of Surāṣṭra, in the days of Aśoka Maurya, *probably* indicates that he enjoyed a certain amount of autonomy,—Dr. Ghoshal observes that "Dr. Raychaudhuri himself disposes of it by pointing to the analogy of Rājā Mānsingh's appointment as Subadar of Bengal under Akbar". Dr. Ghoshal it seems, has missed the true

'import of the analogy. It is far from the intention of the author of the *Political History of Ancient India* to hold up Tuṣāspha as a *bureaucratic* governor. What he intends to suggest is that Tuṣāspha resembled Mān-singh in having the significant title of *rājā*, though holding the position of a provincial ruler through the favour of a superior authority to which he owned allegiance. This is apparent from the immediately following sentence in the *Political History* (p. 180): "His (Tuṣāspha's) relations with Aśoka remind us of the relationship subsisting between the Rājā of the Śākya state and Pasenadi." The relationship sugges-ted here is not what is expected between a bureaucratic governor and the paramount power.

Dr. Ghoshal further observes that Dr. Raychaudhuri's "whole case for the alleged exceptional position held by Puṣyagupta and Tuṣāspha rests upon the authority of a passage in the *Arthaśāstra* referring to the *Kāmboja*, the *Surāṣṭra*, the *kṣatriya* (?) and other corporations (*saṃghas*)". With this assertion he couples the following interroga-tion: "Can the reference in the Arthaśāstra be safely taken, apart from any corroborative evidence, to reflect the conditions of the Maurya period?" A perusal of the *Political History of Ancient India*, pp. 180, 194 and 197 leads us to the conclusion that Dr. Ghoshal has not done justice to the author even on this point. The second foot-note appended to p. 435 of the *I.H.Q.* by Dr. Ghoshal himself (misleading as it is in some respects) ought to have convinced him that Dr. Raychaudhuri has not relied on the uncorroborated evidence of the Arthaśāstra (vide Dr. Ghoshal's paper, *I.H.Q.*, p. 435, fn. 2). He has accepted the testimony of the work only when it is borne out by independent sources of information. The *Arthaśāstra* couples the Surāṣṭras with the Kāmbojas who are mentioned in R. E. XIII in a list of "various autonomous tribes" to quote the words of Dr. Ghoshal himself. The status enjoyed by the Kāmbojas raises a strong presumption that the Surāṣṭras held a position of equal importance. That they actually did so is rendered *probable* by two pieces of evidence noted by Dr. Raychaudhuri on pp. 180 and 197 of his book. The first is that of the Junāgaḍh Rock inscription of Rudradāman, and the second is that of the fifth Rock edict of Aśoka himself. In the Junāgaḍh epigraph Tuṣāspha, the ruler of Surāṣṭra in the days of Aśoka, is represented as bearing the title of *rājā*. The significance of this designation becomes apparent when it is contrasted with the title *amātya* used in reference to Suviśākha, the governor of Surāṣṭra in the time of Rudradāman himself.

In the fifth Rock edict of Aśoka, the list of 'various autonomous tribes' includes the Risṭika Peteṇikas and *the other Aparāntas*, and a student of ancient Indian geography need not be told that *other Aparāntas* (i.e. Aparāntas in the widest sense of the term) included the Surāṣṭras.

Dr. Ghoshal suggests that the *saṃghas* mentioned in the relevant Arthaśāstra passage refer merely to industrial and martial corporations. But he forgets that one of these "merely fighting and industrial" corporations, viz., the Kāmbojas find explicit mention in the list of "various autonomous tribes included within the limits of the Maurya Empire". The name of the Surāṣṭras, is indeed, not clearly given in the list. But such is also the case with the Gandhāras, in R. E. XIII, and, with the Andhras, Pulindas, Bhojas, etc. in R. E. V. It should not, however, be overlooked that in the last mentioned edict, after mentioning the Peteṇikas, Aśoka makes the significant addition *aṃñe aparātā*, "*with other nations on my western frontier*, (Smith), "and others on the western coast" (Bhandarkar). In view of these words of Aśoka himself one is not justified in saying that the edicts do not make 'the slightest reference to the Surāṣṭras".

We now come to the most astonishing of Dr. Ghoshal's assertions. "The Arthaśāstra", says he, "mentions the Licchivikas, the Vṛjikas, the Mallakas, the Madrakas, the Kikuras (*sic.*), the Kurus and the Pāñcālas as examples of *saṃghas*. These, however, are not mentioned by Dr. R. in his description of Aśoka's Empire (*Political History*, pp. 192 97), while other tribes like the Kāmbojas and the Surāṣṭras are mentinned in this connection." Dr. Ghoshal would have done well if he had left the Vṛjikas out of the list, for they are actually mentioned on p. 194. He complains in *I.H.Q.* (June, 1931, p. 387) that Dr. Barnett "has done scant justice to" him. But does he not lay himself open to the same charge by making a statement which does not accord with fact ? As to the Mallakas etc. and the Arthaśāstra statement relating to a plurality of saṃgha-mukhyas how can he, of all persons, expect the author of the *Political History* "to take a reference in Arthaśāstra (*sic.*) apart from any corroborative evidence, to reflect the conditions of the Maurya period' '?

Dr. Ghoshal has not contented himself with mere destructive criticism. He offers his own solution of the problem presented by Puṣyagupta and Tuṣāspha. He says that "the rāṣṭriya Puṣyagupta and the Yavanarāja Tuṣāspha after his time held charge of small jurisdictions falling within the limits of the neighbouring Viceroyalty

at Ujjainī." Dr. Ghoshal is a careful writer on ancient Indian history and we hope that he will produce his evidence for making such a weighty statement. Meanwhile we may be permitted to point out that in the *Mahābodhivaṃsa* (pp. 98-99) the name of the province under the sway of the *Kumāra* at Ujjeni is given as Avantiraṭṭha and we know of no Sanskrit or Pāli geographical composition which includes Surāṣṭra within Avantiraṭṭha. Further, according to the *Mahābhārata* (XII, 85, 12) the king in Council has direct relations with the Rāṣṭrīya. There is no reference to a Viceregal intermediary. Regarding the suggestion in the *Political History* that Puṣyagupta was a sort of Imperial High Commissioner, attention may be invited to the analogous case of the Imperial Calukya officials sent to territories of subordinate chiefs who "ruled in a dual capacity, that of customs officer and of a political agent" (Moraes, *The Kadambakula*, p. 266).

BANKIM CH. RAY CHAUDHURI

A Note on Sureśvarācārya and Maṇḍana Miśra

The tradition about the identity of Maṇḍana Miśra and Sureśvarācārya was introduced into the field of controversy when Professor Hiriyanna contributed his paper on the subject to the *J.R.A.S.*, 1923, (pp. 259-63). The professor has been amply corroborated by Mr. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya, in his article on 'Maṇḍana, Sureśvara and Bhavabhūti', (*I.H.Q.*, VII, 2). In a little book, named the 'Maṇimañjarī',[1] written by Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍit, son of Trivikrama Paṇḍit, a disciple of Madhvācārya, Viśvarūpa and Maṇḍana are described as different persons. The writer says that Śaṅkara had a dialectical contest with Viśvarūpa, in which Viśvarūpa's wife, who is not named, acted as judge and gave her verdict against her husband, who turned a Sannyāsin, according to the terms of the contest; that after this, Maṇḍana met Śaṅkara, and was, in his turn, vanquished. The writer also names, in a different connection, one Umbaka (Umbeka ?) as a disciple of Kumārila, but does not say whether he was the same person as Viśvarūpa. Much of the history narrated by this writer, Nārāyaṇa, is vitiated by sectarian bias, but he treads upon sure ground in differentiating the husband of Ubhayabhāratī from Maṇḍana.

AMARNATH ROY

1 It is an earlier work than the "Śaṅkaravijaya" of Mādhava, which identifies Sureśvara with Maṇḍana.

Notes on the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa Inscriptions

I

Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and Nāgārjuna

The discovery of the Prākṛt Inscriptions at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa recently edited and published by Dr. Vogel in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XX, pt. i, is of great importance to the history of Buddhism.

Importance of the site of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa

In my note on the "Discovery of a Bone-relic at an Ancient Centre of Mahāyāna" published in the *I.H.Q.*, (1929), vol. V, pp. 794-796, I dwelt on the importance of the site, Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, as a famous resort of the Buddhists of the early centuries of the Christian era, and probably also, as an early centre of Mahāyāna. Just as Bodh-Gaya grew up on the bank of the Nerañjarā as a very early centre of Hīnayāna and a place of pilgrimage for the early Buddhists so also did Amarāvatī (extending to Jaggayapeta) and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa on the bank of the Kṛṣṇā (including its tributary Paler) as a flourishing centre of proto-Mahāyāna and Mahāyāna in the pre-Christian and the early Christian era and a place of pilgrimage for the later Buddhists. On the basis of the style of sculptures and the palæographic data, Burgess, agreeing with Fergusson, holds that the construction of the Amarāvatī Stūpa was commenced in the 2nd century B.C., and enlarged later and decorated with new sculptures, the latest of which was the great railing erected a little before 200 A.D.[1] It was some time after the completion of this Amarāvatī Stūpa, that the stūpas at Jaggayyapeta and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa came into existence, their dates being, according to Burgess and Vogel respectively, the 3rd or 4th century A.D.[2] This estimate of date is based on palæographic evidences and the mention of the king called Māḍharīputa Siri Virapurisadata (= Māṭharīputra Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta) of the Ikhāku dynasty.[3] The inscriptions on the

1 Burgess, *Buddhist Stūpas of Amarāvatī and Jaggayyapeta* (Arch. Survey of Southern India), p. 112-3.

2 *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 2.

3 Bühler assigns 3rd century A.D. to the reign of king Purisadata, *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 2, quoting *Ind. Ant.*, XI (1882), pp. 256ff.

āyaka-pillars at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa contain not only the name of this king, but also that of his father Vāseṭhīputa Siri Cāṃtamūla and his son and successor Vāseṭhīputa Siri Ehuvuḷa Cāṃtamūla.[1] It appears from the inscriptions that the principal donor of the subsidiary structures of the stūpa, was Cāṃtasiri, the sister of the king Siri Cāṃtamūla, and the paternal aunt (*pituchā*), later on, probably mother-in-law, of the king Siri Vīrapurisadata.[2] Hence, the time of the inscriptions, mentioning the names of the kings Cāṃtasiri and Vīrapurisadata, is the 3rd or the 4th century A.D. It should be remembered that the period mentioned here relates to the subsidiary structures of the main stūpa, and not to the stūpa itself—the Mahācetiya, which must be assigned to an earlier period.

Yuan Chwang's testimony about Nāgārjuna's place of residence

The Buddhistic remains at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa of Palnad Taluk of the Guntur District and the Tibetan tradition about the residence of Nāgārjuna at Śrī-parvata near Dhānyakaṭaka tempt us to trace some connection of Nāgārjuna, the expounder of Mādhyamika philosophy, with this locality, and have, in fact, led scholars to enter into speculations about the identification of Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li of Yuan Chwang, with Śrīparvata.

Yuan Chwang states that from Kaliṅga he travelled north-west about 1800 li (=300 miles roughly) through hills and forests and reached southern Kośala, where he found—"an old monastery *with an Aśokan tope*" said to be the residence of Nāgārjuna.[3] He further states that while residing here Nāgārjuna met Āryadeva who hailed from Sengkala (Siṃhala).[4] About 300 li (=50 miles) to the south-west of the 'old' monastery of Nāgārjuna stands the mountain called Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li (rendered into Chinese by 'Hei-feng' meaning 'Black Peak' and 'Hei-feng-feng' signifying 'Black Bee mountain').[5] On the authority of Beal and Burgess, and

1 *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 3. 2 *Ibid.*

3 Watters, *Yuan Chwnng*, II, p. 200; Tāranātha, *Geschichte des Buddhismus* (Schiefner), p. 83.

4 *Ibid.*

5 Watters, *op. cit.*, II, p. 207; Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, new ed., pp. 598f. Varamula giri=Varula=Elura,

Fa-hien's Parvata-giri, Watters with some hesitation restores it as Bhramara-giri, and identifies it with Śrīparvata,[1] where, according to the testimony of Tibetan writers, Nāgārjuna spent the latter part of his life.[2] Yuan Chwang, however, does not state clearly that Nāgārjuna lived at Po-lo mo-lo-ki-li, which may have been a Buddhist establishment built at his instance within the province of Dakṣiṇa Kośala. To identify this mountain with Śrīparvata, which, if identified with a mountain near Dhanakaṭaka, must have been more than 50 miles distant from any part of Dakṣiṇa Kośala, seems to me to be wide of the mark.

Tibetan and Sanskrit Traditions

Yuan Chwang's mention of Nāgārjuna in connection with Dakṣiṇa Kośala and the identification of this country, as suggested by Cunningham, with "the ancient province of Vidarbha or Berar, of which the present capital is Nagpur"[3] reminds us of the Tibetan tradition which says that Nāgārjuna was born of a brahmin family of Vidarbha.[4]

The *Laṅkāvatāra* could have been pointed out as the source of this tradition if the "Vedalyāṃ" of the undermentioned verse[5] could have been shown to be a locality in Vidarbha or if the word had been a variant for Vaidarbha."[6]

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1 Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

2 Tāranātha, *op. cit.*, pp. 71, 81, 303; *dPag. bsam. ljon. bzaṅ*, p. 86: dPal. gyi. ri = Śrīparvata or Śrīśaila.

3 Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 595.

4 Tāranātha, *op. cit.*, Appendix, pp. 301, 303; *dPag. bsam. ljon. bzaṅ*, p. 85: lho-phyogs-Vaidarbhar-bram. ze*h*i. rigs. su. *h*khruṅs.

5 *Laṅkāvatārā*, Sagāthakaṃ, p. 286:

दक्षिणापथवेदल्यां भिक्षुः श्रीमान् महायशाः ।
नागाह्वयः स नाम्ना तु सदसत्पक्षदारकः ॥

[At Vedali in the south, there will be the renowned monk known by the name of Nāga, supporter of the doctrine of both existence and and non-existence].

6 The reading 'Vedalyāṃ' of Nanjio, followed by H. P. Śāstrī, (*Buddhistic Studies*, ed. by B. C. Law, p. 853) is not warranted by the Tibetan version of the verse, which is as follows:

lho-phyogs Vedahi yul du ni /
dge-sloṅ dpal-ldan ches grags-pa // etc.

See Walleser, *Life of Nāgārjuna* (Hirth Anniversary volume), p. 19.

The *Mañjuśrimūlakalpa* furnishes us with a few particulars about Nāgārjuna corroborating the *Laṅkāvatāra* but does not mention his birth-place or the chief centre of his activities. It says,—

चतुर्थे वर्षशते प्राप्ते निर्वृते मयि तथागते ॥
नागाह्वयो नामासौ भिक्षुः शासनेऽस्मिं हिते रतः ।
मुदितां भूमिलब्धस्तु जीवेत् वर्षशतानि षट् ॥
मायूरी नामतो विद्या सिद्धा तस्य महात्मनः ।
नानाशास्त्रार्थधात्वर्थं निःस्वभावार्थतत्त्ववित् ॥
सुखावत्यां चोपपद्येत यदासौ त्यक्तकलेवरः ।
सोऽनुपूर्वेण बुद्धत्वं नियतं सम्प्राप्स्यते ॥

[In the fourth century after my parinirvāṇa,[1] there will be a monk known by the name of Nāga engaged in doing good to the Faith. By attaining the Muditā stage (i.e. the first of the ten bhūmis) he will live for 600 years. He will attain perfection in *Māyurīvidyā*.[2] That master of the knowledge of the various *śāstras* and *dhātus*, and of the non-reality of all things, will after demise be reborn in the Sukhāvatī, and will in due course attain Buddhahood].

The Mādhyamik-Nāgārjuna confused with the Tāntrik-Nāgārjuna

The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, belonging to a date prior to the 11th century A. D.,[3] has very probably mixed up the traditions relating to more than one person bearing the name Nāgārjuna. It corroborates the *Laṅkāvatāra*[4] when it states that Nāgārjuna will be the master of the

1 In the Appendix to Tāranātha, *op. cit.*, pp. 301, 303, Wassiljew writes that according to Sumbum of Toguan chutuktu, Nāgārjuna was born in Vidarbha in the south, 400 years after Buddha's parinirvāṇa. See also *dPag. sam. ljon. bzaṅ*, p. 85.

2 Nanjio speaks of six *Mahāmayūrī-Vidyārājñīs* (nos. 306-311). The earliest translation, dated 317-420 A.D., is attributed to Poh Śrīmitra, the next in order being that of Kumārajīva. See also *As. Researches*, XX, p. 516; R. L. Mitra, *Nepalese Buddhist Literature*, pp. 173, 292.

3 Its Tibetan translation was made in the 11th century. See Csoma Körösi, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. XX.

4 As the passage occurs in the last chapter (Sagāthakam) of the *Laṅkāvatāra*, the date of the tradition may be taken to be as old as

doctrine of existence and non-existence and that he will after attaining the *Muditā* stage (i.e. Pramuditā, the first of the ten *bhūmis*), be reborn in Sukhāvatī, but it omits the prophecy that Nāgārjuna will propagate the Mahāyāna[1] doctrine of Buddhism. On the other hand, it says that he will attain perfection in the *Māyūri-vidyā* and will live for 600 years. To attribute mastery of the *Māyūri Tantra*[2] to the expounder of Mādhyamika philosophy looks absurd on the face of it, hence, it may be unhesitatingly stated that the *Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* makes a confusion between the traditions about the Mādhyamik-Nāgārjuna and the Tāntrik-Nāgārjuna. That there was a Tāntrik Nāgārjuna is proved by the tradition preserved in the *dPag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ* (p. 86), in which it is recorded that, according to the account of the 84 *mahāsiddhas* (*grub-chen-gya-bshi*), one Nāgārjuna was born at Kahora, a part of Kañci, was educated at Nalanda, where he learned the Śāstras, practised the Siddhis and visualized the goddess Tārā. He lived for some time at Ghaṇṭāśaila and thence came to Śrīparvata.

Of the two traditions mixed up in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, I think, one originated in the *Laṅkāvatāra* and the other in the *Mahāsiddhi-Vṛttānta*. Taking Nāgārjuna to be a single person, his span of life has been supposed to be of 600 years. Tāranātha[3] obtained much of his information from the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* and gave currency to the view that Nāgārjuna lived for 600 years, or more correctly, 529 or 571 years. Though the author of the *dPag. bsam. ljon. bzaṅ*[4] has recorded the traditions separately he was not sure about the fact that there were two Nāgārjunas, as he described the first Nāgārjuna as successful in the sādhana connected with the goddesses Mahāmāyūrī and Kurukullā.[5] In the Tibetan tradition, how-

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the 5th century A. D., because the Chinese translations of this chapter were made by Bodhiruci (513 A. D.) and Śikṣānanda (704 A. D.). See also *J.R.A.S.*, 1905, p. 835; Walleser, *Life of Nāgārjuna* (Hirth Anniversary volume), pp. 20, 21.

1 *Laṅkā.*, p, 286 : प्रकाश्य लोके मद्यानं महायानमनुत्तरम् ।

2 This has been pointed out by Dr. B. Bhattacharya in his Intro. to the *Sādhanāmālā*, vol, II, p. xlv.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 730.

4 pp. 85, 86

5 For particulars about these Tāntrik goddesses, see Dr. B. Bhattacharya's Preface to the *Sādhanamālā*, vol. II.

ever, one Nāgārjuna is counted as a Tāntrik guru, being the disciple of Saraha[1]; hence it is quite possible that the incidents of the life of the second Nāgārjuna have been mixed up with those of the first. Confusion was further helped by the fact that this Tāntrik Nāgārjuna had as his disciple one Kaṇaripa, who was also called Āryadeva.[2]

Tāranātha's statements utilised for dentangling the traditions

For disentangling these traditions, we may utilise Tāranātha's division of Nāgārjuna's life of 600 years into three periods, viz., 200 years in the Madhyadeśa, 200 years in the south, and 129 or 171 years on Śrīparvata.[3] Tāranātha linked up the life-span of the first Nāgārjuna with that of the last, and as the belief in the capacity to prolong life through Tāntrik methods was then current, he did not think it absurd in any way that a person should live for about 600 years. Nāgārjuna of Madhyadeśa was very probably the student of the *Prajñāpāramitās* and the expounder of the Śūnyatā philosophy, while the Nāgārjuna of Śrīparvata was born in the south probably 400 or 500 years after the first Nāgārjuna and spent the latter part of his life on

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1 *dPag. sam. ljon. bzaṅ*, p. 124, based on the account of the 84 *Mahāsiddhis.* See also *Sādhanamālā*, II, intro., p. xli. Tāranātha (p. 105) also mentions him.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 124. It is not unlikely that this is also a confusion made by the Tibetan writers with Āryadeva of the Mādhyamika school.

3 Tāranātha, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

4 It may be shown from tra-̄tions of these two Nāgārjunas that the Mādhyamika Nāgārjuna lived in or about the first century A. D. The second Nāgārjuna, whose disciple met Yuan Chwang, may be placed in the beginning of the 6th century A. D. If the total length of time from the birth of the first Nāgārjuna to the death of the second Nāgārjuna be taken as 529 or 571 years, as Tāranātha states, then the date of the first Nāgārjuna is to be taken back to just tht beginning of the Christian era or a few decades earlier. The latter alternative fits in with the prophecy as recorded in the *Laṅkāvatāra* and the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* that Nāgārjuna will come into existence in the fourth century after Buddha's death. Some may say that Nāgārjuna, the Mādhyamika expounder, lived in the first century B. C. In another paper, this point will be dealt with,

Śrīparvata, converting it into a centre of Tārā worship.[1] In all probability it was the Tāntrik Nāgārjuna, who was regarded as the great alchemist.[2] Yuan Chwang says that he met a disciple of Nāgārjuna[3] and that the first Nāgārjuna lived somewhere in Dakṣiṇakośala at a place consecrated by an Aśokan tope, which perhaps will come to light at some future date. In his *Geographical Dictionary*,[4] Mr. De writes that there is near Nāgpur a place called Rāmagiri (mod. Rāmtek) where a temple is said to have been dedicated to Nāgārjuna. Taking into account all these evidences, it may be stated that the first Nāgārjuna had nothing to do with the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, Śrīparvata, or Dhānyakaṭaka, and that his activities were confined to Dakṣiṇa-kośala. The Sanskrit inscription at Jaggayyapeta recording the establisment of a *Buddhapratimā* by the donor and his aspiration to Buddhatva[5] cannot but be a record of a comparatively late date and hence its reference to Nāgārjunācārya is evidently to the Tāntrik Nāgārjuna.

The *Gaṇḍavyūha*,[6] a work of about the 2nd or the 3rd century A. D., speaks of Dhānyakara as a great city of Dakṣiṇāpatha and a seat of Mañjuśrī, who lived in an extensive forest at Māla-dhvajavyūhacaitya and converted a large number of Nāgas and other inhabitants of that place, but refers neither to Nāgārjuna nor to Śrīparvata. It is in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*[7] that Śrīparvata and Dhānyakaṭaka find mention as important centres of Buddhism, and hence these should be associated with the second Nāgārjuna rather than with the first.

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1 The conversion of a centre of Tārā worship into that of Durgā or Pārvatī is not uncommon. There is now a Śivadurgā temple at Śrīparvata (See De, *Geog. Dict.*, p. 193). This fact has led Beal to identify Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li with Śrīparvata.

2 This raises the questions, as to the contemporaneity of Nāgārjuna with Sātavāhana ; the authorship of the *Suhrillekha* (JPTS, 1886) ; the discoverer of the so-called elixir of life, and the identity of Nāgārjuna about whom fresh information has been supplied by Prof. Sylvain Lévi in his article "*Sur le Buddhisme de basse époque dans l'Inde*" in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, vi, pt. 2. As these topics fall beyond the scope of this paper, I wish to deal with them in a subsequent issue of the Quarterly.

3 Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 287.

4 Sv. Rāmagiri.

5 Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

6 A. S. B. Ms., leaf 21b.

7 *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, pp. 88, 628,

II

PAṀCA-MĀTUKAS

The occurrence of the terms '*Pacanekayika*,' '*Sutantika*,' *Trepiṭaka*, *Sutātikinī*,' '*Peṭakin*', *Vinayaṃdhara*[1] in Barhut, Sāñci and other inscriptions, has been generally accepted to imply that the Buddhists of the 3rd or 2nd century B.C. had a Tripiṭaka, one of which was the *Sutta Piṭaka*, divided into 5 Nikāyas, just as we have it today. Until the discovery of the inscriptions at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa we had not come across any epigraphic record specially naming the *Nikāyas*.

Vinayadharas and Saṃyuktabhāṇakas of Mahāvanaśaila

On the pillar of an outer railing of the Amarāvatī Stūpa there is an inscription which describes some nuns as *Vinayadharas*[2], and another inscription which speaks of the monks of Mahāvanaseliya as *Mahāvinayadharas*.[3] These two inscriptions distinctly prove the existence of a Vinayapiṭaka at that time.

An inscription on one of the slabs found near the central stūpa of Amarāvatī refers to a monk of Mahavanasāla (Mahāvanasala-vathavasa), who was a pupil of the *Saṃyutabhātuka* mahātheras [Saṃyutabhātukāṇaṃ mahāth(e)rānaṃ][4]. Burgess translated the word "Saṃyutabhātuka" as "the brother of Saṃyutaka," The letter "ta" of "bhātuka" in the plate is distinctly "na." Burgess probably was not aware of the use of the word 'bhāṇaka', a term not rare in the inscriptions[5], and read it as 'bhātuka.' It is only in the works of Buddhaghosa,[6] we find that monks were used to be grouped as "Dīghabhāṇakas", "Majjhimabhāṇakas", "Saṃyuttabhāṇakas" or "Aṅguttarabhāṇakas".

Now, the Saṃyuttabhāṇakas of the above mentioned inscription

1 Vogel, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 173, 196; Bloch, *J. A. S.:B.*, 1898, pp. 274, 280; Stede, *Pāli Dict.*, sv. Piṭaka; Lüders' List.

2 Burgess, *op cit.*, p. 37. 3 *Ibid.*, p. 102.

4 Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 91 (Plate xlviii, no. 35), see also p. 105.

5 See Index to Lüders' List.

6 *Sum. Vil.*, p. 15; *Visuddhimagga*, pp. 74, 76, 77: Aṅguttara-bhāṇakā; pp. 36, 266, 275, 286: Dīghabhāṇakā; pp. 275, 286, 431: Majjhimabhāṇakā; pp. 275, 431: Saṃyuttabhāṇakā.

are associated with the Mahāvanasala[1]. Burgess adopts the reading 'sālā' for 'sala', and I think, he would have no objection if one adopted the reading 'sela.' From the *Gaṇḍavyūha*[2] we learn that on the east of the great city Dhanyākara, there was a great forest called *Vicitramāladhvajavyūha.* So it is very likely that there was a series of forest-covered hills which went by the name of Pūrvaśaila or Pūrvamahāvanaśaila and Aparaśaila or Aparamahāvanaśaila, and these are referred to in Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscriptions as Aparamahāvinasela.[3]

From what has been said above as also from the Amarāvatī inscriptions it may be inferred that there were, on the forest-covered hills near Dhanyākara, a few Buddhist establishments with a large number of monks and nuns, the latter being much in evidence as donors and donees of gifts. The establishments belonged to a Buddhist sect which had a Piṭaka divided into *Sūtra* and *Vinaya*, the former having sub-divisions, one of which was the *Saṃyukta.*[4]

Dīgha-Majhima-Nikāya-dhara

It is for the first time in the inscriptions at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa that we get the use of the words, *Dīgha*, *Majjhima* and *Matṛkā*, in passages like *Dīgha-Majhima-pa[ṃ]ca-mātuka-osaka-vācakānaṃ* and *Dīgha-Majhima-nikāya-dharena*' in the Āyaka-pillar C_1 and "*Dīgha-Majhima-paṃḍa-m[ā]tukadesa[ka-vā][ca-kānaṃ]*" and "*Dīgha-Ma-nigaya-dharena*" in the Āyaka pillar C_2.

Any comment on the expressions "Dīgha-Majhima" or "Dīgha Majhima-Nikāya-dhara" is hardly necessary except this that the use of such appellations is not usual in the Pāli literature, where the appellations "*dhammakathika*",[5] "*dhammadhara*" are very

1 See Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

2 A. S. B. ms., leaf 21a: धन्याकरस्य महानगरस्य पूर्वेण विचित्रमालध्वजव्यूहं नाम महावनषण्डं पूर्वबुद्धाध्युषित चैत्यं तथागताधिष्ठितं।

3 *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 4.

4 See *infra*, for *Dīgha* and *Majjhima.*

5 *Dhammakathikas*, according to Buddhaghosa, are really Abhidhammikas, but he further says that ordinary Dhamma preachers are also called Dhammakathikas. *Attha.*, p. 29.

Saṃyutta, III, pp. 162ff: See the answer given to the question, "kittavatā nu kho bhante *Dhammakathiko* hotī'ti "?

Its use is found also in the Amarāvatī and other inscriptions. See Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 24 and Index to Lüders' List.

commonly found. The Pāli expressions which repeatedly occur in every Nikāya for referring to the masters of the various branches of the Buddhist literature are, "*bahussuta āgatāgama dhammadhara vinayadhara mātikādhara*",[1] and not *Nikāyadhara*. The slight difference noticed in the sets of such appellations in the Nāgārjnikoṇḍa inscriptions and the Pāli texts tends to show that the inscriptions were concerned with a Buddhist sect which was not exactly the Theravāda (the Pāli School) but had a literature and tradition very similar to those of the Theravāda School.

We now pass on to the next expression '*Paṃca-mātukā*' which also points to the inference that the inscriptional records are concerned with a sect other than the Theravāda. The word 'mātuka' is evidently a corrupt form of Sanskrit *mātṛkā* or Pāli *mātikā*. The common explanation of *mātikā* as given in the Pāli texts is Abhidhamma. By the term *mātikādhara*, the Pāli texts refer to a master of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka. The interpretation has its origin in the tradition that Buddha preached Abhidhamma to his mother in Tāvatiṃsa heaven and gave its *mātikā* (=substance or main themes) to Sāriputta among his disciples, and that Sāriputta later on expanded the *mātikās* and developed them into the *Abhidhamma piṭaka* ; hence the *Abhidhamma* has become synonymous with *mātikā*. The older of the Sarvāstivāda traditions, as preserved in the *A-yu-wang king* (*Aśokarāja sūtra*) and *A-yu-wang-tchouan* (Aśokarājāvadāna sūtra),[2] while giving an account of the First Council, says, that Mahākāśyapa, after completing the recitation of the Vinaya with the help of Upāli, proceeded to recite the *Mātṛkā* or *Mātṛkāpiṭaka*. Kāśyapa said to the bhikṣus that by the *mātṛkā* or *mātṛkāpiṭaka* one is to understand the following topics : 4 *smṛtyupasthānas*, 4 *samyak-pradhānas*, 4 *ṛddhipādas*, 5 *indriyas*, 5 *balas*, 7 *bodhyaṅgas*, *aṣṭāṅgika-mārga*, (i.e. the 37 *Bodhipakkhiyadhammas*) as also the 4 *Pratisaṃvits*, the *Samādhis* ; in short, the exposition of the precepts and the dharmas constitutes the *mātṛkā*. In the Pāli texts also, these 37 *Bodhipakkhiya-*

1 *Majjhima*, I, p. 223 ; CV. i 11 ; *Aṅguttara*, III, p. 78 : dullabho bahussuto, dullabho dhammakathiko, dullabho vinayadharo ; *Attha.*, p. 15 : Ānandatthero hi bahussuto tipiṭakadharo. For further references, see P.T.S. Pāli Dictionary, s.v.

2 J. Przyluski, *Le Concile de Rajagṛha*, pp. 45, 334 ; cf. Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 160 : mDo (Sūtra), Dulva (Vinaya) and Ma-mo (Mātṛkā).

dhammas[1] are often pointed out as the essentials of Buddhism. Though *mātikā* came to mean the *Abhidhammapiṭaka* in the Pāli texts, its use in its original sense is not excluded. While discussing whether the *Kathāvatthu* can be regarded as 'Buddhabhāsita', it is contended by Buddhaghosa that Moggaliputta Tissa did not compose the work from his own knowledge but from the *mātikā* given by the Teacher (*satthā dinnanayena ṭhapitamātikāya deseti*).[2] In support of this contention Buddhaghosa adds that the *Madhupiṇḍikasuttanta* is regarded as Buddhavacana though it was Mahākaccāna's composition on the ground that it was only an exposition of the *mātikā* given (*ṭhapitamātikāya*) to him by Buddha. It is also in this sense that we find its use in the Vinaya texts, but there are a few passages[3] in which '*mātikā*' means the *Pātimokkha-Sutta.* Later on, however, *Mātikā* more properly *Dvemātikā*, became a technical name for the *Bhikkhupātimokkha* and *Bhikkhuṇīpātimokkha.*[4] Without multiplying

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1 *Dīgha*, II, p. 119-120: (Mahāparinibbānasutta) : Katame ca te bhikkhave dhammā mayā abhiññāya desitā......? Seyyathīdaṃ cattāro satipaṭṭhānā, cattāro sammāppadhānā, cattāro iddhipādā, pañc' indriyāni, pañca balāni, satta bojjhaṅgā, ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo. In the *Majjhima Nikāya* (II, p. 245), Buddha just after enumerating these asked Ānanda if there were any two monks who held different opinions about them (imesu dhammesu dve pi bhikkhū nānavāde ti?), to which Ānanda answered in the negative. This conversation was concluded by the remark that there might in future be difference in opinion relating to minor rules of discipline (ajjhājīve adhipatimokkhe) but not to these essentials.

2 *Attha.*, p. 4.

3 E. g. *Vinaya*, Mv., I, p. 98 :

Khandhake Vinaye c'eva Parivāre ca *Mātike* /
Yathatthakārī kusalo paṭipajjati yoniso //

See also Vidhuśekhara Śāstrī, *Pātimokkhasutta*, p. 12-13 : Naiva mātikāya na padabhājane vuttaṃ (*Kaṅkhā-Vitaraṇī* Pāc. 19), in which *mātikā* means *pada*, i.e. of the *Pātimokkhasutta.*

Samantapāsādikā, p. 18 ; *Attha.*, p. 19 : Pañcavidha-pātimokkuddesa-pārājikādisatta āpattikkhandha-*mātikā.*

4 See Mabel Bode, *Pāli Literature of Burma*, p. 6. She says in the footnote that her attention was drawn by Dr. Barnett to a book re-edited in Burma as *Dve-mātikā*, which included Bhikkhu- and Bhikkhunī-pātimokkha, Kammākammavinicchaya, extracts from the Parivāra and other Vinaya texts, and a Pātimokkhuddesa.

instances, it may be stated that even in Pāli literature, *Mātikā* means not only the Abhidhamma-piṭaka but also the Pātimokkhasutta, and for the matter of that, the *Vinaya Piṭaka.* Childers in his Pāli Dictionary (s.v. Mātikā), writes on the authority of Burnouf's translation of the *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka,* that it means "the list of the Vinaya precepts, omitting all the explanations and other details". The "mātuka" of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions may therefore be taken to mean both Vinaya and Abhidhamma.

Pañca of Paṃcamātuka

Now let us turn to the significance of the numerical adjective *paṃca* in the expression 'paṃca-mātuka.' The Pāli Vinaya-Piṭaka is usually regarded as consisting either of 4 parts or of 5 parts thus: (i) *Pātimokkha,* (ii) *Vibhaṅga,* (iii) *Khandhakas,* and (iv) *Parivāra,* or, (i) *Pārājikā* ; (ii) *Pācittiyā,* (iii) *Mahāvagga* ; (iv) *Cullavagga* and (v) *Parivāra.*[1] The latter division is more common, and hence paṃca-mātuka may be taken to refer to the Pāli Vinaya or a version very similar to the same.

Much information is now available from the Chinese sources about the Vinaya texts of the different schools,[1] and a flood of light has been thrown on them by Mons. Przyluski in his "*Le Concile de Rājagṛha.*"[3]

Among the Vinaya texts in Chinese, catalogued by Nanjio, we notice that four works have '*mātṛka*' as a part of their names, viz., Sarvāstivāda-nikāya-vinaya-*mātṛkā,* (1132); Mūlasarvastivāda-nikāya-

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1 The corresponding Sarvāstivāda titles are,—(i) Vinaya-vastu, (ii) Prātimokṣa-sutra ; (iii) Vinaya-vibhāga ; (iv) Vinaya-kṣudraka-vastu, and (v) Vinaya-uttara-grantha, see my *Early History etc.* pp. 283ff.

2 For Dharmagupta Vinaya, see *Jourual Asiatique,* 1916 ; and for the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya, see *Ibid.,* 1914 ; also Csoma Körösi in the *Asiatic Researches,* XX summarised in my *Early History etc.,* pp. 282 ff. ; see also my introduction to the *Bodhisattva Prātimokṣa Sūtra* (*I. H. Q.*, June, 1931).

3 A work though published in 1926-28 is not widely known even among scholars writing on the first two Buddhist Councils, the main source of which are the Vinaya texts of different schools. They depend for their information on the paper by Prof. La Vallee Poussin published two decades ago. See *Buddhistic Studies* (1931), Ch. II : Buddhist Councils, p. 26.

mātṛkā (1134); Vinaya-*mātṛkā*-śāstra (1138) of the Dharmaguptas,[1] Mūlasarvāstivāda-nikāya-vinaya-nidāna-*mātṛkā*-gāthā (1140). Of these, the *Vinaya-mātṛkā-śāstra* furnishes us with the information that the Vinaya Piṭaka (i. e. of the Dharmaguptas) consisted of five parts, viz. *Khaṇḍa* (kaṭhina, etc.), *Mātṛkā*, *Ekottara*, *Bhikṣu-Prātimokṣa* and *Bhikṣuṇī-Prātimokṣa.*[2] Likewise, we are told that the Vinaya Piṭaka of the Mahāsaṅghikas was also divided into five parts and that the Mahāsaṅghikas had a particular fancy for the number 'five', specially in connection with the Vinaya, for they have repeatedly mentioned this number while speaking of the divisions of the Vinaya rules.[3] We have seen that the *matṛkā* has been used to denote the Vinaya Piṭaka as much as the Abhidhamma; hence, the *Paṃca-mātuka* of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions may be taken to mean either a Vinaya-Piṭaka or an Abhidharma Piṭaka, in five divisions, Now, let us see if any school had the Abhidhamma Piṭaka in five divisions. The Abhidhamma Piṭaka, so far as is known to us, consists of seven texts whether in Pāli[4] or in Sanskrit,[5] and the Mahāsaṅghikas, so far as the traditions go, did not recognise the seven texts of the Theravādins as Buddhabhāsita,[6] but had an Abhidharma Piṭaka of their own according to the testimony of Yuan Chuang,[7] who further supplies us with the information that he himself studied certain Abhidharma treatises of the Mahāsaṅghika

1 Przyluski, *op. cit.*, pp. 169, 316. "The title P'i-ni-mou (Vinay matṛkā) indicates that this work is a *mātṛkā* of a Vinaya, and at the end of the fragment translated, it is written that the Vinaya appertains to the Haimavata school.

2 Przyluski, *op. cit.*, pp. 177, 353.

3 *Ibid.*, pp 212: "Il y a *cinq* régles de la pureté"; p. 215: "Dans le Vinaya cinq choses sont relatées; p. 216: "Il ya a cinq Vinaya"

4 Pāli (Theravāda): (i) Dhammasaṅgaṇi, (ii) Vibhaṅga, (iii) Kathāvatthu, (iv) Puggala Paññatti, (v) Dhātukathā, (vi) Yamaka and (vii) Paṭṭhāna.

5 Sanskrit (Sarvastivāda): (i) Jñāna-prasthāna-sūtra with its six supplements, viz., (ii) Saṅgīti Paryāya, (iii) Dhātukāya; (iv) Prajñaptisāra (v) Dharmaskandha, (vi) Vijñānakāya and (vii) Prakaraṇapāda. See my *Early History* etc., pp. 288 ff.

6 See *Dīpavaṃsa*, ch. v, 32-38.

7 Watters, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 161, 217.

school with two monks at Dhanakaṭaka. If it could have been ascertained that their Abhidharma had five divisions, we would have no hesitation in stating that the *Paṃca mātuka* referred to the Abhidharma Piṭaka of the Mahāsaṅghikas. The only Abhidharma Piṭaka existing in five parts, as far as we know, is that of the Dharmaguptas, whose Vinaya-Piṭaka was in four parts,[1] but as the inscriptional and literary evidences do not point to the existence of that school in this locality, they may be left out of account.

Coming to the Vinaya Piṭaka, we find that five of the principal schools, viz., Theravāda, Mahīśāsaka, Haimavata, Sarvāstivāda and Mahāsaṅghika had their Vinaya Piṭakas in five divisions,[2] and in view of the fact that the appropriate place of the Vinaya Piṭaka is after the Nikāyas, the term 'paṃca-mātuka' refers, I think, to the Vinaya-Piṭaka and to the one belonging to the Mahāsaṅghikas, because the inscriptional and literary evidences, as we shall see presently,[3] suggest it.

III

SCHOOLS OF BUDDHISM CONNECTED WITH NĀGĀRJUNIKOṆḌA

The testimony of Yuan Chwang about the schools of Buddhism prevalent in Dhanakaṭaka and its neighbourhood is our best guide in this enquiry. He says that in the twenty monasteries existing at the time, there were the monks of the Mahāsaṅghika School, and that on a hill to the east of Dhanakaṭaka stood the Pūrvaśaila monastery, and on a hill to the west, the Aparaśaila monastery.[4] The inscriptions so far discovered in this locality nowhere mention the name of the Mahāsaṅghikas, as we find in the Karle Caves (Mahāsāghiyas).[5] The names of schools, rather local schools, that are mentioned in these inscriptions are :

(i) Haṃghi (Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 105).
Ayira-haghāna (*Ep. Ind.*, XX, pp. 17, 20).

(ii) Caityikas (Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 100, 102).
Cetiavadakasa (*Ibid.*, p. 102).

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1 Przyluski, *op. cit.*, pp. 353, 357, 359.

2 *Ibid.* 3 See *infra*, p. 649.

4 Watters, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 214, 217.

5 For references, see my *Early History* etc., p. 243.

(iii) Aparamahāvinaseliya (*Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 41).
Mahāvanaseliyāna (Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 105).

(iv) Puvasele (used not as a sect but a place-name, see *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 22).

(v) Rājagiri-nivāsika (Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 53).
Rājaśaila (*Ibid.*, p. 104).

(vi) Sidhathikānaṃ (*Ibid.*, p. 110).

(vii) Bahusutīya, (*Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 24).

(viii) Mahisāsaka (*Ibid.*).

Drs. Burgess and Vogel have drawn our attention to five of the abovementioned schools, viz., (1) the Caityikas, comprising (2) the Aparaseliyas and (3) Puvaseliyas, and (4) Bahusutīyas and (5) Mahīśāsakas. Of these the Mahīśāsakas need not be taken into account, first because, the donor who makes the gift to this sect hails from the distant province of Vanavāsa, and secondly because it is a branch of the Sthaviravādins and not of the Mahāsaṅghikas. All the other sects mentioned in these inscriptions are branches or sub-branches of the Mahāsaṅghikas.

Āryasaṃgha = Mahāsaṃgha

My first object is to show that the Mahāsaṅghikas have been here referred to as Ayira-haṃgha or simply, Haṃgha, for reasons stated below. Whenever a sect is named in the inscriptions it is preceded by the expression 'Ācariyānaṃ,' e.g., Ācariyānaṃ Aparamahāvinaseliyānaṃ; Ācariyānaṃ Bahusutīyānaṃ; Ācariyānaṃ Mahīsāsakānaṃ, hence Ācariyānaṃ Ayira-haṃghānaṃ refers to the sect of Ayira-haṃghas or simply Haṃghas. In the Chinese titles of the Vinaya texts, the Mahāsaṅghikas is sometimes shortened to Saṅghika,[1] and it is quite natural. The use of the term 'Haṃghi' before "gahapatiputasa Dusakasa"[2] is significant. Burgess takes Haṃghi as a proper name, whereas, I think, it means 'one belonging to the Haṃgha (Saṅgha) sect.' It is still more significant that a householder (gahapati) is pointed out as belonging to the sect, a thing rather unusual in

1 See Nanjio, 1159 [Prātimokṣa-saṅghika(saṅ-khi)-vinayamūla), an extract from the text no. 1119 Mahāsaṅghika (Mo-ho-saṅ-khi) vinaya].

2 Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 105. See also pp. 72, 78, 90, 91.

Buddhism, but it should be remembered that the Mahāsaṅghikas, as the forerunners of the Mahāyānists, were the first Hīnayānists to give a place to the laity in the Buddhist dharma. The derivation of the term 'Mahāsaṅgha', as offered by Yuan Chwang is as follows,—"And because in the assembly, both common folk and holy personages were mixed together, it was called the assembly of the *great congregation*".[1] Hence, we should take 'Haṃgha' or 'Saṃgha' as a proper name and a shortened form of Mahāsaṅgha. Then the use of "ārya" for "mahā" is not uncommon in Sanskrit or Pāli; hence "Āryasaṅgha" may well be taken to mean the 'Mahāsaṅgha'.

All the Andhakas (=Pubbaseliyā, Aparaseliyā, Rājagiriyā, Siddhatthikā) are specifically named in the inscriptions

The Caityikas were a branch of the Mahāsaṅghikas. Probably a section of the Mahāsaṅghikas attached great importance to the worship of the *stūpa* or *caitya* as is to be found in the *Mahāvastu*,[2] and got the appellation of Caityika. But it is doubtful whether the Aparaseliyas or Pubbaseliyas were independent sects, though the commentary on the *Kathāvatthu* attributes to them some differences of view in regard to doctrine, and psychological analysis. In the *Mahāvaṃsa*[3] it is stated that in later times, some (local) schools came into existence in India, viz., Hemavatā, Rājagiriyā, Siddhatthikā, Pubbaseliyā, Aparaseliyā and Vājiriyā.[3] Four of these sects, viz., Rājagirikas, Siddhatthikas, Aparaseliyas and Pubbaseliyas are collectively called the Andhakas.[4] The members of the Mahāsaṅghika sect, it seems, came to be known after the names of the hills, on which they had their monasteries, without probably vital differences in doctrinal and disciplinary matters. Yuan Chwang remarks that he saw only the Mahāsaṅghikas in the existing monasteries of Dhanakaṭaka, and specifically refers to two monasteries, one on the Aparaśilā and the other on the Pūrvaśilā, without pointing out that they were two independent sects. Mrs. Rhys Davids infers from the statements of Buddhaghosa in his commentary on the *Kathāvatthu*

1 Beal, *Records of the Western Countries*, II, p. 164.

2 *Mahāvastu*, II, pp. 362ff.

3 *Mahāvaṃsa*, p. 29.

4 *Points of the Controversy*, Intro.

that the Mahāsaṅghikas were not actually existing at Buddhaghosa's time. Buddhaghosa, however, speaks of the Andhakas as existing in his time.[1] The inference that can be drawn from these statements is that either the Mahāsaṅghikas came to be called by their prolonged residence in the Andhra country as the Andhakas or the four sects that issued out of the Mahāsaṅghikas were, by their residence on the hills of the Andhra country, called the Andhakas. To reconcile the statements of Yuan Chwang and Buddhaghosa, we may say that the Mahāsaṅghikas residing within the Andhra country were known as the Andhakas.

Dr. Burgess overlooked the fact that the terms, *Rājagiri* or *Rājaśaila* and *Sidhathika*,[2] so often mentioned in the Amarāvatī inscriptions, refer in some cases to the local sects as much as the Puvaseliya and Avaraseliya do. Sidhathika is not in all instances the name of a person as Dr. Burgess supposes it to be. Except the Mahīśāsakas, all the sects named in the inscriptions are branches or sub-branches of the Mahāsaṅghikas, hence it may be concluded that the whole Buddhist establishment at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa belonged to the Mahāsaṅghikas though visitors came there from far off countries[3] for the great sanctity of the Stūpa, containing as it did, the bone-relic of Buddha.[4] It follows therefore that 'Dīgha-Majhima-Nikāyadhara' or 'Paṃcamātukadesakavācaka,' mentioned in the inscriptions belonged to the Mahāsaṅghikas or the Andhakas as they were later on called.

Doctrinal Evidences point to the Andhakas

A remarkable aspect of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions is the mention of a few points relating to the Buddhist doctrine. Buddha is described as jita-rāga-dosa-moha (one who has conquered attachment, ill-will and delusion) and dhātuvaraparigahita (possessed of the excellent dhātu), and the donor expects as a result of his or her gifts merits which he or she can transfer (pariṇāmetuṃ) to his or her relatives and friends—an article of faith not recognised in the Pāli works

1 *Points of the Controversy*, p. xxxiv.

2 Burgess, *op.*, *cit.*, pp. 101, 103, 104, 110.

3 Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 214 ; *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, p. 88, and *infra*, pp. 652-3.

4 *I.H.Q.*, vol. IV, pp. 794-6. Discovery of a Bone-relic.

where *attadīpa attasaraṇa* is the maxim. The fruits expected are (i) religious merits, for himself, his relatives and friends resulting in their happiness in this world and the next (*ubhaya-loka-hita-sukhāva-hananāya*),—a merit which reminds us of the Aśokan inscriptions: *esa bāḍha dekhiye iyaṃ me hidatikāye iyaṃmana me pālatikāye ti* and (ii) Nivāṇa-sampati (nirvāṇadom) for *himself or herself.*[1]

The recording of the view that gifts may bring happiness to all, but nirvāṇa only to oneself, deserves our careful consideration. The distinction drawn in this way is rather uncommon and is not made even in the inscriptions recording the gifts of the Queen of Vanavāsi to the Mahīśāsakas[2] or in the long inscription of the Sinhalese donor.[3] This may well serve as an evidence to prove that all the inscriptions of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa except the two mentioned above belong to one sect, viz., the Mahāsaṅghikas or their sub-sects, or in other words, the Andhakas.

Then the expresions '*dhātuvara-parigahita*' or '*nivāṇa-sampati-sampādaka*' raise the presumption that the Andhaka-conception of Nirvāṇa was different from that of the Theravādins or their sub-sect the Mahīśāsakas. In the *Kathāvatthu,* there are two controversies (ix, 2; xix, 6), relating to the conception of Nirvāṇa as prevailing among the Andhakas. The one attributed to the Puvaseliyas is that the Amatapada (=Nirvāṇa), is "an object of thought of a person not yet free from bondage",[4] and the other attributed to the Andhakas is that "the Nibbānadhātu is kuśala (good)" in the sense in which mental states are spoken as kuśala (good) and it is a faultless state.[5] Both these statements bear the implication that the Mahāsaṅghikas or the Andhakas conceived of Nirvāṇa as a 'positive faultless state'—a conception which can hardly be accepted by the Theravādins, who speak of realizing the Nibbāna within one's own self (paccattaṃ veditabbo viññūhi) and not of grasping the same as some object producing pure happiness.[6] Hence, the expression *nivāṇa-sampati-sampādaka* (the obtainment of the wealth of Nirvaṇa) cannot be the utterance of an adherent of a sect other than the Andhakas.

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1 *Ep. Ind.*, XX, pp. 16, 18, 19, 20, 21 : "atano" or "apano."

2 *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 24. 3 *Ibid.*, p. 22.

4 Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Points of the Controversy*, pp. 231-3.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 339.

6 See *Majjhima Nikāya*, Mūlapariyāyasutta.

IV

PASĀDAKĀNAM

In the second Apsidal Temple inscription F, the following words occur at the end of l. 1:

ācariyānaṃ Kasmīra-Gaṃdhāra-Cīna-Cilāta-Tosali-Avaraṃta-Vaṃga-Vanavāsi-Yava[na]-Da[mila- Pa]lura- Taṃbapaṃni- dīpa-pas[ā]dakānaṃ theriyānaṃ Taṃbapa[ṃ]ṇakānaṃ suparigahe, etc.

It has been translated by Dr. Vogel thus: "For the benefit of the masters and of the fraternities (*of monks*) of Taṃbapaṃṇa (Ceylon) who have converted Kashmir, Gandhāra Cīna, Cilāta (Skt, Kirāta), Avaraṃta (Sk. Aparānta), Vaṅga, Vanavāsi, Yavana (?), Damila (?) Palura (?) and the isle of Taṃba-paṃni (Ceylon)".[1]

The gift has been made by an upāsikā Bodhisiri for the benefit of her husband Budhaṃnikā, and of her father, the householder Revata residing at Govagāma, as also for many others.

Our object is to see how far Dr. Vogel is justified in making such an assertion, unknown in the history of Buddhism, as that "the fraternities of Ceylonese monks had converted Kasmir"[2] and other places named in the inscription. His sole authority for this statement is the word "pasādakānaṃ" in the line quoted above. Childers explains "pasādaka" by 'causing serenity and happiness' and then refers to its use as *dīpappasādako thero* (*Mahāvaṃsa*, XX, 8) which literally means that "the priest who brought peace or pleasure to the island," from which Childers gives the secondary meaning "the priest who *converted* the island." Childers made himself quite clear in his notes *sub voce* pasādo, but probably Dr. Vogel did not care to go through them, having in his mind a meaning which satisfied his new theory. The Pāli word for initiation into Buddhism is "pabbājanam" (becoming a Buddhist monk) or periphrastically, "saraṇasīlesu patiṭṭhapanam" (*Mah.*, XII. p. 19). The distinction made between *pasādanam* and *pabbājanam* is made clear in the verses 42 and 43 of the *Mahāvaṃsa* (ch. XII) relating to the mission of Majjhima to Himavanta:

> Visuṃ te pañca raṭṭhāni pañca therā *pasādayuṃ*,
> purisā satasahassāni ekekasseva santike
> pabbajiṃsu *pasādena* sammāsambuddhasāsane.

1 See *Ep. Ind.*, XX, pp. 22, 23. 2 *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 23.

[The five (i. e. Majjhima and his four companions) gladdened[1] the five kingdoms separately, each of them ordained (lit. brought out from the world) 100,000 persons, believing (as they did) in the doctrine of Buddha].

In the *Mahāvaṃsa*, it is said in connection with Mahinda that he was waiting for a suitable time for "pasādetuṃ Laṇkādīpaṃ" (XIII, vs. 2). This passage may admit of the secondary meaning 'for converting the island of Laṅkā" but in verse 64 (of ch. XIV), "pasīdiṃsu nāgarā" clearly means "the city people became faithful."

Without further multiplying the instances of the use of the word Pasādaka'[2] (for which see P. T. S. *Pāli Dictionary*) I may make myself clearer by pointing out that in Hīnayāna (specially Pāli) Buddhism, 'conversion' has no sense unless a person is admitted into the Order. Anyone, even an animal or a spirit or a Nāga may develop faith (pasāda) in Buddha, his Dhamma aud his Saṅgha, but that does not make the being a Buddhist; so also any non-Buddhist may be believers (pasādaka) in Buddhism,but unless and until he is either established in the *Trisaraṇas* and *Pañca-sīlas* or admitted into the Order as a Samaṇa, he cannot be called a person 'converted'. Hence, strictly speaking, "pasādakaṃ" can never mean "conversion" The entry of any saint into a country gladdens the hearts of the people of the country. It is in this sense that the word "Pasādakānaṃ" in the inscriptions should be understood, and the passage: *Kasmīra ·· Taṃbapaṇṇi-dīpapasādakānaṃ theriyānaṃ* should be translated thus: Those nuns (not monks, as Dr. Vogel writes, for the word is *theriyānaṃ*) who gladdened the hearts of the people of Kasmīra···Tambapaṇṇidīpa. The inscription, I think, refers in a general way to the nuns of all countries who by their saintly lives bring joy and peace to the people of the countries visited by them. The reason for glorifying the nuns only is probably due to the fact that the donor is an upāsikā, and as such she wanted to eulogize the bhikṣuṇīs alone.

Dr. Vogel takes the *therīs* to whom the gift is made as all belonging to Tambapaṇṇi, following the grammatical construction of the sentence, Kasmīra...Tambapaṃnidīpapasādakānaṃ theriyānam Tambapaṃnakām suparigahe, etc. He shows no hesitation in remarking in the introduction (p. 7) that "the fraternities of Ceylonese

1 Not 'converted' as Prof. Geiger translates.

2 Every chapter of the *Mahāvaṃsa* is ended by the line "Sujanappasādasaṃvegatthāya etc."

monks who had converted Kashmir··· the isle of Tambapaṇṇi (Ceylon). But as this statement is not supported by any data, not even by the Ceylonese Chronicles, one should think twice before coming to any conclusion. In Sanskrit, the genitive is sometimes used for specifying (nirdhāraṇe) one out of many, and therefore, the passage may very well be translated as "Among the nuns who have brought joy and peace to the people of Kasmira...Tambapaṃnidīpa, the gift is made for acceptance by the nuns of Tambapaṇṇi alone." It has been already pointed out that Dhānyakaṭaka, Śrīparvata and other places in the neighbourhood became very important as holy centres of Buddhism, and as such they were visited every year by a large number of pilgrims which fact is borne out by Yuan Chwang's records.[1] Hence it may safely be stated that nuns congregated there from various countries, and rich devotees hailing from a particular country quite naturally erected establishments for the residence of monks and nuns of their own country; in this particular case, an upāsikā of Ceylon[2] provides a Caitya hall for the nuns only of her own country.

Another reason why Dr. Vogel's interpretation that Ceylonese monks (theriyā ?) converted the Indian provinces cannot be accepted is the significant silence of the *Mahāvaṃsa* about such a fact of momentous importance to Ceylon. The *Mahāvaṃsa,* on the other hand, speaks of the conversion of Ceylon and the Indian provinces by Indian monks and even refers to various centres of Buddhism in India,[3] wherefrom went monks in large number to attend the ceremony of consecretion of the Mahāthūpa of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī. Hence, Dr. Vogel's rendering of the passage in question cannot be accepted as correct unless more evidences are forthcoming regarding the activity of the Ceylonese monks in the conversion of places in India as far north as Kashmir.

NALINAKSHA DUTT

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1 Watters, *op. cit.*, II, p. 214.

2 As Dr. Vogel admits that this is a donation of a Ceylonese devotee, cannot *Govagāma*, the home of the donor's father, be identified with Goṇagāma of the *Mahāvaṃsa* (ch. VIII, 24), according to which it was a port of Ceylon where landed Bhaddakaccānā, grand-daughter of Amitodana Sākya ?

3 *Mahāvaṃsa*, ch. XXIX, pp. 29ff. . Rājagaha, Isīpatana, Jetavana vihāra, Vesālī, Kosambi, Ujjeni, Pupphapura, Kasmīra, Pallavabhogga, Alasanda, Bodhimaṇḍavihāra, Vanavāsa, Kelāsavihāra.

The "Webbed Fingers" of Buddha

Dr. Coomaraswamy, writing "on the Webbed-Fingers of Buddha" (in *I.H.Q.*, June, 1931 pp. 365-66), refers to an article on 'Le *jālalakṣaṇa* in *Acta Orientalia* (vol. VII, 232ff.) in which the writer, Dr. Stutterheim seeks to prove that the "*jālalakṣaṇa*" means 'the thin lines of rosy light which may be seen between the fingers when they are in contact, and the hand is held up against the light.' For this interpretation Stutterheim relies on the well-known verse of the *Abhijñāna-śakuntala*

प्रलोभ्यवस्तुप्रणयप्रसारितो विभाति जालग्रथिताङ्गुलिः करः ।
अलक्ष्यपत्रान्तरमिद्धरागया नवोषसा भिन्नमिवैकपङ्कजम् ॥

laying much stress on the words *vibhāti* and *iddharāga*, and the simile of the fingers with the petals of a half opened lotus. Dr. Coomaraswamy disagreeing with my view and that of Mons. Foucher about the original significance of *jālalakṣaṇa* preferred the interpretation of Stutterheim. I am afraid I cannot accept the interpretation.

In explaining the word *Jālagrathitāṅguli*, the force of the word *grathita* should not be overlooked and the whole expression should be interpreted in relation to the poetical comparison of the boy's fingers with the petals of a *partially* opened lotus-flower in the early dawn. Drs. Böhtlink and Roth correctly take note of these points in their respective translations of this verse and refer to the fingers as joined. When the poet purposely makes this comparison, we are to understand that he has in his mind the idea about the jointure of the fingers, especially at their lower ends. The expression *iddharāga* refers to another of the *Cakravarti-lakṣaṇas*. Rāghavabhaṭṭa, while commenting on this verse of Kālidāsa, quotes this from the *Puruṣalakṣaṇa* in the *Sāmudra* :—

अतिरक्तः करो यस्य ग्रथिताङ्गुलिको मृदुः ।
चापाङ्कुशाङ्कितः सोऽपि चक्रवर्त्ती भवेद् ध्रुवम् ॥

In this verse, as many as four auspicious signs, viz., *raktakara*, *grathitāṅgulikara*, *mṛdukara* and *cāpāṅkuśāṅkitakara*, are mentioned ; king Duṣyanta sees only two of these—and these, the first and the second are the only two that are visible from a distance—and Kālidāsa naturally refers to these very same in a manner particularly befitting one of the foremost poets of India.

Again, the early Buddhist texts refer to this sign as *Jālahatthapādo* (*Mahāpadāna-* and *Lakkhanasuttāntas*), *jālāṅgulihastapādo* (*Lalita-*

vistara), and as *jāla* (*Mahāvastu*—this work does not give us the full names of all these 32 *lakṣaṇas* and simply refer to them in a curt manner) ; the *Mahābhārata* also describes this *lakṣaṇa* as *Jālapāda-bhujau* (xii, 143, 36 ; this term most likely connotes the same thing as *Jālahastapāda*) while enumerating the characteristic signs of Nara and Nārāyaṇa, the two gods and *Mahāpuruṣas* at the same time. The *Jālalakṣaṇa* of the toes can certainly not be explained in a manner in which Stutterheim interprets the same in the case of the fingers. 'The feet held up against the light' and thin lines of rosy light infiltrating through the interstices of the toes in contact with one another', would indeed be a curious explanation of the term *jālāṅgulipāda* or *jālapāda* ! I need hardly point out that it would be quite unjustifiable to explain the *lakṣaṇa* in different ways—once in its relation to the fingers and secondly in connection with the toes.

It appears that in Kālidāsa's time, the adventitious sense of this sign as 'webbing of the fingeres' (to the poet this was partial) has already been introduced. So I modify my previous statement that the misinterpretation of the term did not take place till a period much later than the 5th century A.D. Buddhaghosa and Dharmapāla refer to the original interpretation of the term in the sense of regular parallel lines on the fingers and toes of the palms and soles, whereas the poet refers to the other meaning (the poet is naturally silent about the toes, for king Duṣyanta sees the extended hand of Sarvadamana and does not look at his feet). That the sense of 'webbing' had made its appearance as early as the closing years of the 4th century A.D. is proved by the *Madhyamāgama* text (Taisho ed. ; vol. I, p. 393) translated into Chinese by the Kashmerian Gautama Saṅghadeva in 397-8 A.D. ; here, this sign was rendered into Chinese in the following manner—'the feet and the hands of the Mahāpuruṣa are netted like those of the *haṃsarāja*—the golden mallard.' (I am indebted to Dr. P. C. Bagchi of the Calcutta University. for this reference).

Dr. Coomarawamy is definitely of opinion that Buddhaghosa in his explanatory note on this *lakṣaṇa* means the same thing as was according to Stutterheim meant by the poet Kālidāsa. But, in the comment of Buddhaghosa, which was quoted by me in full in my first article, there is nothing that could justify us in drawing the above conclusion. The commentator begins with the statement that this *lakṣaṇa* does not mean that the fingers were joined by a

web, and that this kind of webbing between the fingers will define a peculiar kind of inauspicious hand, in shape like that of the hood of a snake (*phaṇahatthako*), which will be a fault in the figure of the man (*purisadosa*). Then he refers to the *four* (not *five*, evidently leaving out the thumb which being in a much lower plane than the other four fingers cannot have its lines touching those of the others) fingers of the hand and five toes of the feet which are of uniform or regular size (*ekappamāṇa*), their uniformity or regularity being indicated by the auspicious sign of the *jālas* which remain touching each other (*aññamaññaṃ paṭivijjhitvā tiṭṭhanti*). Lastly, he uses the simile of the lattice of a window. All this, if it means anything, can only mean 'the fingers and toes are marked with *jālas* or uniform and parallel lines as are to be found in the lattice of a window'.

Dr. Coomaraswamy's other objection against this interpretation of the *lakṣaṇa* 'that the palms and soles of the Buddha, as Mahāpuruṣa, being marked with a *cakka* and so represented in very many sculptures of an early date, there can be no reference to another *lakkṣaṇa* in the same places' can be met by saying that the palms of the hand and especially the soles of the feet are marked by more than one auspicious characteristic ; that those of many of the Buddha images (specially of the Mathurā ones belonging to the Saka-Kuṣāṇa period, and the mediæval ones) bear not only the *cakka*, but also *nandipāda triśūla*, *svastika* (and some mediæval ones, *dhvaja*, *yugmamīna*, *padma* and such others in addition ; cf. the inscribed Buddha image set up by Dattagalla, now in the Indian Museum) on them ; that these symbols are carved on the palms (rarely) and soles, and not on the fingers and toes ; that the reference in the case of this *lakṣaṇa* is to the lines *on the fingers and toes* (in some texts, cf. *Lalitavistara*) ; that these could not be shown there by the artist 'in plastic or pictorial representations without marring their beauty' ; that a good many of the 32 major signs as well as most of the 80 minor ones could not be plastically or pictorially represented in Buddha figures.

JITENDRA NATH BANERJEA

Notes on Asoka Rescripts

ETADATHĀ*—We have seen that although there is a close rapprochement of form between *etadathā* of P. E. VII and *etadatthā* at Ang. i. 198, the construction of the P. E. passage becomes rather clumsy with *etadathā* as adjective. A better use of the word is at Mil. 31, in an adverbial sense, which also appears to be the sense expressed by *etadathā* of the inscription. In the Pāli passage the word occurs as a correlative, or rather, complement of *kinti* ('how', 'in order that') and necessarily means 'to that end', being, therefore, equivalent to *etadatthāya,* as the following quotation from the Milinda will show :—

> "Rājā āha : 'Kimatthiyā bhante Nāgasena tumhākaṃ pabbajjā, ko ca tumhākaṃ paramattho' ti. Thera āha : '*Kinti* mahārāja idaṃ dukkhaṃ nirujjheyya aññañ ca dukkhaṃ na uppajjeyyā ti *etadatthā* mahārāja amhākaṃ pabbajjā, anupādā' parinibbānaṃ kho pana amhākaṃ paramattho' ti.———'Kim pana bhante Nāgasena sabbe *etadatthāya* pabbajantī, ti" etc. etc. [pp. 31 (=65-'6)—32].

[For the correlation of the terms, cf. also R. E. XIII. l. 11 : *etaye ca aṭhaye* ayo dhramadipi nipista *kiti* putra papotra me.........(*Shahbazgarhi*)].

The theme of P. E. VII is 'anulupā dhaṃma-vaḍhi'. When Aśoka says *etadathā me esa kaṭe* ('to this end has it been done by me'), the end or intent is 'that men may conform to this befitting pursuit of Dhaṃma' (*Imaṃ ca dhaṃmānupaṭīpati anupaṭīpajaṃtu ti.* Cf. the concluding portion : *se etāye aṭhāye iyaṃ kaṭe............tathā ca anupaṭīpajaṃtu ti.* Cf. also P. E. II). And this conforming to the befitting pursuit of Dhaṃma is, as the context in P.E. VII shows, calculated to ensure 'anulupā dhaṃma-vaḍhi'. The idea of 'vaḍhi' or spiritual thriving also runs through *etadatthā* of the Pāli passage quoted above (cf. also Pāli *pitu-atthā*, J. iii, 518, which the scholiast explains as 'pitu *vaḍḍhi*-atthāya').

Thus it appears that *etadatthā* at Mil. 31 is a better parallel than *etadatthā* at Aṅg. i. 198 ; and it is infinitely better than Hultzsch's *bhojanatthā,* for the simple reason that besides being strikingly similar in form, it agrees with the P. E. term in inner meaning, namely, 'vaḍhi', 'furtherance', 'increase of merit'.

SAILENDRANATH MITRA

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* Continued from the March number, 1931.

Some Notes on Ownership of the Soil in Ancient India

While reviewing my *Agrarian System in Ancient India* (Calcutta University Readership Lectures, 1930) in the current number of the *JRAS*, Dr. L. D. Barnett has raised afresh the controversy about the king's title to the soil in Ancient India. His views on this important question which differ materially from mine are particularly welcome as they enable me to test the validity of my conclusions. In the present paper I shall consider the arguments advanced by him in support of his contention.

Dr. Barnett mentions "two distinct lines of theory and practice" bearing upon the present problem, one tending to establish, and the other to disprove, the ownership of the crown. It is important to remember that even in the January number of the *JRAS*, (p. 166) Dr. Barnett recorded without any qualification whatever his long-cherished opinion that "in Ancient India the crown owned the land." If the array of arguments advanced in my work under notice has led him now to modify his earlier opinion to the extent just indicated, it has not been given in vain. Now what are the "two distinct lines" of evidence which Dr. Barnett claims to bring before us in his present article? They may best be stated in his own words as follows. "In favour of the theory of Crown ownership of the soil we have :—(*a*) the express statements of Kātyāyana, Gautama, Manu (with Medhātithi) and Bhaṭṭasvāmin, (*b*) the evidence of Megasthenes and the Chinese travellers, (*c*) the cases where kings actually resumed grants of land made to Brahmins (the Bahur grant *SII*, ii, p. 513 ff.) or reserved to themselves the right to do so in the event of misconduct (as in the Chammak grant *CII*, iii, p. 235) and (*d*) the fact that the British found no private ownership of land and practically had to invent it. Against this we have (*e*) the dictum of Jaimini, VI, vii, 2, that the land is 'unreserved for all', *sarvān pratyaviśiṣṭatvāt*, which a series of later writers—Śabara, Mādhava and Khaṇḍadeva *in loco* as well as Nīlakaṇṭha in his *Vyavahāra-mayūkha*—explain to mean that the king is not the owner of the soil, but only its guardian ; (*f*) the references of the Smṛtis and Kauṭalya to alienations of land, and (*g*) the records of such alienations in inscriptions,"[1]

1 In the above extract there are two 'very unfortunate' slips, *caess* for *cases* and *CII ii* for *CII iii*. These have been corrected in my quotation.

With regard to the above I may first mention that I have treated all of them (except *c* and *d*) in my work, though my interpretation of the same is different from that of Dr. Barnett. I shall now consider these items anew in the light of Dr. Barnett's observations.

As to (*a*) the "express statements" of Kātyāyana and other authorities are not connected with any specific rights of ownership belonging to the king, but are used (as I indicated in my *Agrarian System*) solely to explain or justify the king's right to levy certain revenues from land.[1] Another proof of the inconclusive character of these "statements," as I further mentioned, is that Manu, e.g., in the same context advances for the Brāhmaṇas the still more sweeping claim to be the owners of everything (*sarvasyādhipatiḥ*—a claim which indeed may be traced back to the later Vedic Saṃhitas). But then, argues Dr. Barnett, doubtless with an eye to (*f*), these authorities introduce the doctrine of royal ownership "cheek by jowl beside the alienation of real ownership by private persons." Does not this very fact corroborate our view of the inconsequential character of the statements of royal ownership of the soil mentioned above? On the whole it seems that Dr. Barnett has been misled by the supposed analogy of similar statements of an extreme school of jurists in the feudal ages of Western Europe.

As to (*b*) Dr. Barnett quotes a passage from my work (*Ibid.*, p. 78) to show, as he thinks, that I have "explained away Megasthenes by a not very probable supposition." This criticism, I may justly complain, is extremely unfair to me. For the passage to which Dr. Barnett takes exception occurs in an altogether different context (Lecture IV) where I attempted a historical retrospect of the various aspects of the Ancient Indian land-revenue system. On the other hand, while discussing the question of ownership of the soil in the last lecture (Lecture V), I admitted in full the evidence of Megasthenes and I brought forward[2] the apparently corroborative evidence of the Chinese pilgrims which I believe, was explained for the first time in my *Hindu Revenue System*. Nevertheless I was unable to accept this evidence as a valid statement of facts. "Megasthenes's statement," I wrote,[3] "has not obtained much credence even from those who believe in the State-ownership of the soil in Ancient India, while the testimony of the Chinese pilgrims is only implicit in its character." As Dr. Barnett has not challenged

1 *Agrarian System*, pp. 98-9.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 98.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 99.

these arguments, they may properly be regarded for the present as holding the field.

As to (*c*) it is difficult to understand the relevancy of Dr. Barnett's argument. Cases of actual or potential resumption of endowments of land made by the kings in favour of Brāhmaṇas, as Dr. Barnett well knows, are altogether exceptional in character. But even if they were very much more numerous, the conditions of their tenure would apply only to the fiscal or other rights emanating from the Crown.

As regards (*d*) it would have little relevancy, even if it were a fact. For, admitting that the British in the late 18th and early 19th centuries "found no private owership of land," it would prove nothing regarding the absence of this right in the ancient times extending back to the 4th century B. C. and further. As a matter of fact, however, Dr. Barnett's statement is altogether disproved by the evidence of some eminent British administrators who had unrivalled opportunities of studying the problem during their long and distinguished service in this country in the early part of the 19th century. Beginning with the territories comparatively untouched by the Muslim invaders I refer in the first instance to Col. Wilks whose well-known *History of Mysore* contains an extremely valuable chapter (vol. I, ch. v) with the title *Landed Property in India.* In the course of this chapter which, as the author tells us in his Preface, he wrote very early so as to subject it to "the most rigorous test," he examines the state of the question in his own time in the wide extent of the country between the Ghats and the sea extending from 13½ lat. on the east coast rouud Cape Comorin to 15° lat. on the western coast. The result of this luminous survey is stated by him in the following emphatic words. "We have now passed over the tract which I had proposed to trace, and, as I hope, have proved to the satisfaction of every impartial mind the positive and unquestionable existence of private landed property in India. After proving its distinct recognition in the ancient Śāsters (sic) or sacred laws of the Hindoos, we have clearly deduced its derivation from that source, and its present existence in a perfect form in the provinces of Canada and Malabar and the principalities of Coorg and Travancore which have longest evaded the sword of the northern barbarians ; we have found it preserved in considerable purity under Hindoo dynasties and comparatively few revolutions in Tanjore until the present day ; we have traced its existence entire but its value diminished in Madura and Tinnevelly which had experience of numerous revolutions and had long groaned under the Muhammadan yoke. In the provinces adjacent and west

of Madras which had sustained the close and immediate grip of these invaders, we have shown by ancient documents its immemorial existence in former times, and even at the present day the right is generally clear and distinct, but in value approaching to extinction." From Southern India we turn to Rajputana which like it has remained largely untouched by the Muslim invasions. In his classical *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Col. Tod whose thorough acquaintance with his subject few have equalled, writes, "The *ryot* is the proprietor of the soil in Mewar. He compares his right therein to the *aksay duba* which no vicissitudes can destroy. He calls the land his *bapota*,[1] the most emphatic, the most ancient, the most cherished and the most significant phrase his language commands for patrimonial inheritance." And again, "Besides the ability to alienate, all the overt symbols which mark the proprietory right in other countries are to be found in Mewar, that of entire conveyance by sale or temporary alienation by mortgage."[2]

Turning to the parts of country which were more or less thoroughly subdued by the arms of Islam, we find on equally unimpeachable evidence abundant traces of private ownership at the beginning of British rule. Thus Forbes in his valuable Annals of Gujerat called *Rāsmālā* by the author, writes with reference to a particular class of land-holders in the province. "It is difficult to make out a better title to land than that which was possessed by the *Grassias* of Gujerat," Malcolm in his valuable *Memoir of Central India* (1880 vol. II) writes, "The settled and more respectable hereditary cultivators of Central India have still many privileges, and enjoy much considera-

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1 Similarly Wilks writes in course of his survey of South Indian tenures above-mentioned, "Private property in Malabar and Travancore is distinguished by the emphatical word *junnum* a term having the express significance of birth-right." Even with regard to Madras and the adjoining districts he noted how the Muslim rulers could not but adopt the vernacular term 'Cawney Atchey' (*sic*) meaning 'independent hereditary landed property".

2 These rights have survived down to our own times. Thus we find in the Gazetteers of the Mewar Presidency (Rajputana Gazetteers Vol. II, A, Ajmer, 1908) that the *bapoti* tenure "gives the occupant rights of mortgage and sale and an indestructible title to the land so long as he pays the assessments upon it."

tion, their title to the fields their forefathers cultivated is never disputed while they pay the Government share. In general a fixed known rent and established and understood dues or fees are taken from such persons, beyond which all demands are deemed violence and injustice." Even with regard to Bengal we find Verelst at the beginning of the Company's administration writing with reference to the district of Chittagong that the people possessed the right of transmitting and alienating their landed property by inheritance, mortgage, sale or gift. We also find the magistrate of the district in 1801 mentioning "a numerous body of land-holders unknown elsewhere who consider themselves as actual proprietors of the soil."[1]

From the above authoritative list of opinions it follows that the conditions of land-tenures in India at the beginning of British rule, so far from proving "the Crown-ownership of the soil" in ancient times, furnish a strikingly corroborative body of evidence in favour of the former prevalence of private ownership on an extensive scale.

Coming to the group of points (e), (f) and (g) it appears that while Dr. Barnett admits the validity of the first in its entirety, he thinks himself justified in whittling down the force of the other two practically to nothing. He explains the cases of (f) and (g) to refer to "alienations of usufruct" only. At most he is prepared to allow that (f) "was derived in principle from an early age when the Crown was not yet universally recognised as the land-owner." These suppositions are open to exception on the following grounds :—

(1) To admit the validity of the Mīmāṃsā rule expressly denying to the king the ownership of the soil and in the same breath to interpret the Smṛti law as referring to alienation of usufruct only on the supposed ground of royal ownership is to overlook the important place which the Mīmāṃsā occupies as the acknowledged basis of interpretation on the Sacred Law.

(2) Dr. Barnett's whole case for referring the Smṛti rules and the inscriptional evidence to cases of alienation of usufruct alone evidently rests upon his assumption of the validity of his arguments under (a), (b), (c) and (d). As these last have been shown above to be untenable, the conclusion drawn by him naturally falls to the ground.

(3) By confining the data of the Smṛtis and Kauṭīlya to cases of alienations of land alone Dr. Barnett has altogether excluded other

1 For references, see Wilks Vol. I, ch, X.

and equally relevant branches of the evidence which are absolutely necessary to consider in forming a proper estimate of their significance. Such are the ideas of these authorities regarding ownership in general as well as the essential qualities and attributes of private ownership of land, which have been duly dealt with in my work.[1] When Dr. Barnett imagines that (f) "was derived in principle from an early age when the Crown was not yet recognised as the land-owner" he overlooks the fact that the authors of the great mediæval Digests of the Sacred Law, like Jīmūtavāhana, Nīlakaṇṭha and Mitramiśra have, next to the Mīmāṃsā authorities, the clearest notion of the concept of ownership.[2]

To sum up the results of the above discussion, Dr. Barnett has failed to prove out of his first group of points that the Crown was the owner of the soil while his attempt to whittle down the evidence of the last two points has met with no better success. From this it follows that his belief in an "irreconcileable antagonism" between two groups of evidences is without foundation. Thus there remains in the field the view which I advocated in my work, namely, that of the private ownership of land.

A word may be said finally about the reconstruction of the history of land tenures in Ancient India that is attempted by Dr. Barnett in the concluding part of his review. In so far as the Vedic evidence is concerned I agree with Dr. Barnett that originally the land was held in private ownership.[3] But I emphatically dispute his assertion that thereafter the Crown began to claim the ownership of all lands and that it remained "the real owner of the soil" until the beginning of "baronial feudalism". For as I have shown in my work from an exhaustive and detailed survey of the literary as well as North Indian epigraphic evidence[4] that while the prerogatives of the Crown developed side by side with private ownership, this never amounted to the king's becoming the owner (in theory or in practice) of the land. In particular a specific group of rights claimed for the king in the Arthaśāstra and Smṛtis and referred to in the inscriptions formed, as I showed for the first time, the true counterpart of the regalian rights of the Crown in Mediæval Europe and like the latter served to restrict, but not to supersede, the private rights of ownership.

U. N. GHOSHAL

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1 *Agrarian System*, pp. 84-89. 2 For references see *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86.

3 For the present I ignore the question whether and how far the land was held in individual or collective ownership.

Nālandā Stone Inscription of Yaśovarmadeva

In the last number of *Epigraphia Indica* (vol. xx, part I, p. 37) Paṇḍit Hīrānanda Śāstrī has published, with a facsimile, the Nālandā Stone Inscription of the reign of Yaśovarmadeva. He has identified this king with Yaśodharmadeva of the Mandasor Inscription on the ground that the record mentions a temple built by Bālāditya at Nālandā. This Bālāditya, argues Mr. Śāstrī, "must be identified with the homonymous chief whom Hiuen Tsang eulogises as the subduer of Mihirakula and the founder of the grand temple at Nālandā". As Mr. Śāstrī infers from the record that "it was written when Bālāditya was ruling and when king Yaśovarmandeva was holding the reins of soverignty", he feels no difficulty in identifying Yaśovarmadeva of this inscription with Yaśodharmadeva who was a contemporary of Mihirakula, and, therefore, also of Bālāditya.

Mr. Śāstrī's argument is vitiated by the fact that the record simply refers to a temple built by Bālāditya, and there is no warrant for the assumption that Bālāditya was ruling at the time the record was set up.

The palæography of the record, however, is quite decisive on this point. Any one who even cursorily glances at the facsimile of the inscription will be satisfied that it cannot possibly belong to the age of Yaśodharman. As this point is not likely to be disputed, I do not enter into a minute and detailed discussion of the subject. Mr. Śāstrī himself admits that the characters of the inscription resemble largely those of the Āphsaḍ Inscr. of Ādityasena. As a matter of fact, any one who compares the letters *n*, *bh*, *y*, *h*, and *ś* of the inscription will regard it as perhaps even somewhat later than the Āphsaḍ Inscription of Ādityasena. The reasonable inference is, therefore, to identify Yaśovarman of the inscription with the emperor of Kanauj who flourished towards the close of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century A.D. And there is nothing in the inscription which would induce us to give up this natural inference in favour of Mr. Śāstrī's theory, which is not only in conflict with the plain epigraphical data, but also forces us to equate Yaśovarman with Yaśodharman for which there is no apparent justification. The present record should, therefore, be regarded as the first inscription of the emperor Yaśovarman who was hitherto known only from literary sources such as the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and the *Gauḍovaho.*

R. C. MAJUMDAR

Śailodbhava Rulers of Koṅgada

It is seen from the appended table that the geographical places in the Koṅgada-maṇḍala mentioned in the copper-plate grants of the Śailodbhava rulers, and of Śubhākaradeva and Daṇḍīmahādevī of the Kara family are now identified in the Ganjam district or in the neighbourhood of its border. From the identification of the Śālimā of the Grant no. 2 with Śāliā in Banpur in the Puri district, we can determine the northern boundary of the Koṅgada. The hill-ranges running from Kaluparāghāṭa towards west seem to have demarked its northern limit. There is no pass through these ranges of hills which reach a point in the south-west frontier of the Nayagarah State.

The Mahendra hill which runs towards west from the coast of the Bay of Bengal in the east, probably formed the southern boundary line of Koṅgada. Again the hills, now demarcating the eastern boundary of the Kalahandi State, may be supposed to be the natural western limit of the same Koṅgada.

The Grant no. 2 was issued from the place on the bank of the Śālimā. It is, therefore, tempting to localise the capital of Koṅgada in Banpur. But there is no place in Banpur, which would recall the description of Koṅgada by Hiuen Tsang. The Chinese pilgrim describes that the capital of Koṅgada, 20 li in circuit, is situated on an angle of the sea and there are many Deva temples. The situation of Ganjam, a petty town, where the ruins of temples are found in large quantity, recalls exactly Hiuen Tsang's description. I, therefore, think that the capital of Koṅgada with Ganjam and should be identified that the place of issue of the Grant no. 2 was a temporary camp established on the bank of the Sāliā in Banpur.

The panegyrical text of the Grant no. 4 is a copy of that of the Grant no. 3 and it contains an additional eulogy of a further generation. The donor of the Grant no. 4, appears to my mind, was the son of the donor of the Grant no. 3.

The scholars would no doubt accept my view that the donor of the Grant no. 5 was the son of the donor of the Grant no. 4, if they compare the texts of these Grants. The text of the former Grant has been reproduced in the latter Grant and again an eulogy of a further generation has been added.

The text of the Grant no. 5 is a replica of that of the Grant no. 6. and it, therefore, appears that the donor of the latter Grant is not different from that of the former Grant.

The complete set of plates of the Grant no. 7 have not been found. But the eulogical text of Madhyamarāja of this plate is an exact copy of that of the king of the same name of the Grant no. 6. Evidently Dharmarāja son of the Madhyamarāja of Grant no. 7 is not different from the donor of the Grant no. 6. We may, therefore, put the Śailodbhava rulers mentioned in the Grants nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 in the following chronological order.

Śailodbhava (mythical)
|
Araṇabhīta
|
Śrī Sainyabhīta
|
Ayaśobhīta
|
Śrī Sainyabhīta (alias Mādhavavarman)
|
Ayaśobhīta (alias Mādhavarāja I)
|
Dharmarāja
|
Madhyamarāja II
|
(Grant No. 7) Raṇakṣobha — Paṭṭavyālopa
Paṭṭavyālopa
|
Tailapa Yuvarāja
|
Madhyamarāja III (Grant No. 7)

The Grant no. 2 was issued in 619-20 A.D. But the dates of other Grants are not known. It is stated in the Grants nos. 5 and 6 that after the accession of Dharmarāja to the throne, Mādhava, probably Dharmarāja's younger brother, raised the standard of revolt to wrest the regal power from his elder brother and was defeated at Fāsikā. Thereafter Mādhava sought the aid of Tivaradeva and again fought. He was also defeated with his ally this time whereupon he passed his days at the foot of the Vindhyas. This Tivaradeva was no doubt the same Tivaradeva of Ratnapura in the southern Kośala.

Candragupta succeeded his elder brother Tivaradeva to the throne and he was the contemporary ruler of Govinda III. We know that Govinda II, the elder brother of Govinda III's father, was ruling in

Śaka 705 or A.D. 783.[1] Hence the initial year of Govinda III's reign cannot be supposed to be earlier than 784 A.D. It is recorded in the inscription that Candragupta was defeated by Govinda III before the birth of his son Amoghavarṣa who ascended the throne in 815-16 A.D.[2] It is therefore probable that Candragupta suffered defeat by Govinda III before 800 A.D. In that case, Tivaradeva may be supposed to have ruled some time between 760-90 A.D.

Dharmarāja was 6th in descent from his ancestor Araṇabhīta. If we now allot 25 years of reign to each of the rulers, who preceded him, we get altogether (5 × 25 =) 125 years, covered by their reign. Now calculating from the date of the Grant no. 2 we get 745 A.D. (620 + 125) as the initial year of Dharmarāja's reign. There is now a margin of 15 years between the result of the calculation of the preceding para and that of present calculation (i.e. 760 A.D. and 745 A.D.) which can be alloted to the donor of the Grant no. 2. In that case Mādhavarāja II of the above Grant can be taken as Araṇabhīta of our foregoing chronological table. If it be untenable, we may hold that another generation ruled between Mādhavarāja II of the Grant no. 2 and Araṇabhīta of the chronological table given before. The supposed ruler must have assumed the *Viruda* Ayaśobhīta.

The *virudas* of this family alternated between Ayaśobhīta and Araṇabhīta, or Śrī-Sainyabhīta. If Araṇabhīta of the chronological table be not accepted as the son of either Ayaśobhīta of the Grant No. 2 or of supposed Ayaśobhīta, two further generations, namely Araṇabhīta and Ayaśobhīta, would be supposed again to have preceded Araṇabhīta of the given chronological order. This supposition seems to be plausible, because 75 years reign of 3 supposed generations put the initial year of Dharmarāja's reign in 820 A.D. when Tivaradeva was certainly not alive. It, therefore, appears that the supposition of one generation is sufficient.

The text of the Grant No. 1 is quite different from that of all other Grants. The donor of the Grant No. 1 claims supremacy over the whole Kaliṅga while the donor of the Grant No. 2 is indicated to be a feudatory of Śaśāṅkarāja. I, therefore, hold that the former

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1 *History of Deccan* by R. G. Bhandarkar, p. 117.

2 See *E. I.*, vol. XIII, p. 253 for Candragupta's defeat and *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XII, p. 216 for the initial year of Amoghavarṣa's reign. His 52nd year reign falls on Śaka 788 or A.D. 816.

Grant is earlier than the latter. This assertion can also be corroborated by the palæography. Mādhavarāja I of the Grant No. 2 is identical with Mādhavarāja of the Grant No. 1. We may reconstruct the complete chronological table of the Śailodhbhava rulers:

Śrī Sainyabhīta I (Grant No. 1)
|
Ayaśobhīta I (,,)
|
Mādhavarāja I (Grants Nos. 1 & 2)
|
Ayaśobhīta II (Grant No. 2)
|
Mādhavarāja II (720 A.D.)
|
Ayaśobhīta III (supposed)
|
Araṇabhīta I
|
Śrī Sainyabhīta II
|
Ayaśobhīta IV
|
Śrī Sainyabhīta III (alias Mādhavavarman)
|
Ayaśobhīta (alias Madhyamarāja I)
|
Dharmarāja (circa 780 A.D.)
|
Madhyamarāja II

(Grant No. 7) Raṇakṣobha

Paṭṭavyālopa
|
Tailapa Yuvarāja
|
Madhyamarāja III (Grant No. 7)

VINAYAK MISRA

The hair and the Uṣṇīṣa on the head of the Buddhas and the Jinas

The disposition of hair and the representation of the so-called *Uṣṇīṣa*, 'turban', on the head of the image of the Buddhas and the Jinas (Tīrthaṅkaras) are the most puzzling questions of Indian iconography. In an article entitled "The Buddha's *cūḍā*, hair, *uṣṇīṣa*, and Crown" Dr. Coomarswamy has dealt with the questions in detail (J. R. A. S., 1928, pp. 815-840). Without going over the whole ground covered by that essay I shall venture to suggest other solutions of the puzzles.

The literary evidence for the hair on the Buddha's head relied on by modern scholars is a passage in the introduction to the commentary on the Pāli Jātakas known as the Nidānakathā which is thus translated by Rhys Davids :—

"Then he thought, 'These locks of mine are not suited for a mendicant. Now it is right for any one else to cut the hair of a future Buddha, so I will cut them off myself with sword.' Then, taking his sword in his right hand, and holding the plaited tresses, together with the diadem on them, with his left, he cut them off. So his heir was thus reduced to two inches in length, and curling from the right, it lay close to his head. It remained that length as long as he lived, and the beard the same. There was no need at all to shave either hair or beard any more." [1]

The Bodhisattva (future Budha) Guatama then threw the hair and diadem together towards the sky. Sakka received them into a jewel casket, and enshrined them for worship in a caitya (temple) in the heaven of the Thirty-three gods.

This narrative reads like an expansion of the legend briefly told in the *Lalitavistara* and the *Mahāvastu*, and illustrated in a bas-relief on one of the pillars of the southern gateway (c. 50 B. C.) of the great stūpa of Sāñcī,[2] and in a panel on a corner pillar of the great rail of the stūpa of Bharhut[3] (c. 125 B. C.). The term *cūḍāmaha*, "worship of hair", not only occurs in the inscription on the Bharhut

1 *Buddhist Birth Stories* translated by T. W. Rhys Davids, London, 1880, p. 86.

2 Sir John Marshall, *A Guide to Sāñcī*, Calcutta, 1918, p. 51, pl. vi b.

3 Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, London, 1927, pl. xii, fig. 44 ; Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, Paris, 1929, pl. 24.

rail pillar, but also in the *Lalitavistara* and the *Mahāvastu*. But this legend is unknown to the Pāli Nikāyas and must have originated after their compilation. In the life of Vipassi in the Mahāpadāna-sutta of the Dīgha-Nikāya, the framework of which is the common factor of the biographies of all the Buddhas including Gautama, it is narrated that when the future Buddha (Bodhisattva) was driving in a chariot towards the park he saw a shaven-headed (*bhaṇḍu*) man, a *pravrajita* (wanderer) wearing yellow robe. When the Bodhisattva was told by the charioteer who the shaven-headed man was and had a talk with the latter, he said :—

"Come then, good charioteer, do you take the carriage and drive it hence back to my rooms. But I will here cut off my hair and beard (*kesamassuṃ otāretvā*), and don the yellow robe, and go forth from home to homelessness."[1]

A somewhat different story is told of the renunciation of the Bodhisattva Gautama in four of the Suttas of the Majjhima Nikāya (Nos. 16, 36, 85 and 100). The charioteer and the shaven-headed monk in yellow robe have no place in the narrative. We are simply told :—

"There came a time when I, being quite young, with a wealth of coal-black hair untouched by grey and in all the beauty of my early prime—despite the wishes of my parents, who wept and lamented—cut off my hair and beard, donned the yellow robes and went forth from home to homelessness."[2]

In the Subha-sutta (99) of the Majjhima Nikāya a Brahman Saṅgārava calls Gautama Buddha a *muṇḍaka samaṇa*, "shaven-headed monk."[3] So by the time when the sculptors of Mathurā began to carve images of Gautama Buddha there were two rival traditions relating to hair on the Buddha's head : an older one now preserved in the Pāli Nikāyas represented Gautama as *muṇḍaka* or shaven-headed monk ; and another tradition preserved in the *Mahāvastu*, the *Lalitavistara* and the *Nidānakathā* represented him as having cut his hair with his sword leaving part of it intact on the head. The

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1 *Dīgha Nikāya* (P. T. S.), vol. II, p. 28 ; *Dialogues of the Buddha* translated by T. W. and C. A. F. Rhys Davids, pt. ii, London, 1910, p. 22.

2 *Majjhima-Nikāya* (Pali Text Society), Vol. I, pp. 163, 240 ; Vol. II, pp. 93, 212 ; *Further Dialogues of the Buddha* translated by Lord Chalmers, Vol. II, London, 1926, p. 115.

3 *Majjhima-Nikāya*, Vol. II, p. 210.

shaven-headed images of the Buddha found at Mathura, Mankuar and Sarnath represent the older tradition, and the images of the Buddha with hair on the head arranged in ringlets represent the other and more popular tradition, because it is found both in Sanskrit and Pāli texts.

Gautama Buddha was not an ordinary monk. He was born with the thirty-two marks of a Mahāpuruṣa (superman). These marks distinguished the Bodhisattva Gautama from the ordinary Arhats. These marks are fully described in two of the Suttas of the *Dīgha Nikāya* (Mahāpadāna-suttanta and Lakkhaṇa-suttanta) and the *Lalitavistara*. Two of these marks that relate to the head are *uṣṇīṣa-śīrṣa*, "having a head like a royal turban," and *pradakṣiṇāvarta-keśaḥ*, "having hair (arranged) in ringlets turning to the right." The commentator Buddhaghosa in his *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī* (*Mahāpadāna-sutta-vaṇṇanā*) says that the term *uṇhisasīsa* (*uṣṇīṣaśirṣa*) may be explained in two different ways either denoting the fullness of the forehead or the fullness of the head. The fullness of the forehead may be caused by a strip of muscle (*maṃsapaṭala*) rising from the root of the right ear, covering the entire forehead, and terminating in the root of the left ear. As a head with such a strip of muscle on the forehead looks like a head wearing a turban, it is therefore called a turban-like head or turban-head. The other explanation defines the turban-head as a fully round head symmetrical in shape like a water bubble.[1]

The smooth head without any mark of hair like the head of the well-known colossal Bodhisattva dedicated by the Friar Bala in the third year of Kaniṣka at Sarnath, the head of the Bodhisattva image from Katra in the Mathura Museum,[2] the head on the fragment of the Buddha-Bodhisattva image from Mathura in the Museum of Ethnology at Munich,[3] and of other images of the same type, shows slight elevation above the forehead. This elevated part reaching from the root of the right ear to that of the left appears to me to be the plastic representation of the *maṃsapaṭala*, the strip of muscle on the forehead of the turban-head, spoken of by Buddhaghosa.

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1 *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. V, no. 4, Supplement, p. 77.

2 Vogel, *Catalogue*, plate VII ; Coomarswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, Fig. 84 ; Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, plate 81.

3 Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, plate 82.

The thick lock of curled hair on the top of the head of the Katra and the Munich images is curled like the snail shell (*kaparda*). Coomarswamy observes, "That the remainder of the head is smooth does not mean that it is shaved, but simply that all the long hair was drawn up close and tight over scalp into the single tress."[1] This single curled tress is marked by parallel lines indicating individual hairs of which it consists. If the sculptor had intended to represent hair on the rest of the head, he would certainly have adopted the same convention instead of leaving the area smooth. Smoothness therefore indicates that the rest of the head is clean-shaven. One standing image of the Buddha with smooth head in the Mathura Museum has a smooth bump.[2] The tress of hair curling like a snail shell on the top of the head of the images of the Buddha referred to above evidently represents *śikhā* or top-knot. Gautama prescribes in his *Dharmasūtra* (iii, 14,22) that an ascetic "may either shave or wear a lock on the crown of the head."[3]

The artists of Mathura in the Kushan period produced another type of the Buddha head with short hair arranged in ringlets turning to the right and a bump or fleshy protuberance on the top covered by hair arranged in the same way. All the Buddha images of the post-Kushan period with the exception of the Mankuar image have a head of this type. The term *uṣṇīṣa* is usually applied to this bump. Is it correct? As we have stated above, *uṣṇīṣa-śīrṣa*, turban-head, is a head which is either round in form like a turban, or has the appearance of a head wearing a turban even when bare on account of a strip of muscle covering the upper part of the forehead. Head of either type is turban-like in outline only. A very important part of the royal turban is the crest. A head, turban-like in outline, but without crest, cannot be recognised as a turban-head in the strict sense. Therefore the addition of a bump or fleshy protuberance on the top was evidently thought necessary to turn the head of a Mahāpuruṣa to a perfect turban-head. The so-called *uṣṇīṣa* on the Buddha's head is the crest of the *uṣṇīṣa* and not the *uṣṇīṣa* itself. So it should be termed crest instead of *uṣṇīṣa* to avoid misunderstanding.

The early Jaina literature, so far avail able, does not render us much help in solving the puzzles relating to the head of the images of the

1 *J.R.A.S.*, 1928, p. 827. 2 Vogel, *Catalogue*, plate XV (a).
3 *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. II, p. 194.

Jinas. In the *Ācārāṅga-sūtra* it is said that when the Jina Mahāvīra turned an ascetic—

"Mahāvīra then plucked out with his right and left (hands) on the right and left (sides of his head) his hair in five handfuls. But Śakra, the leader and king of the gods, falling down before the feet of the Venerable ascetic Mahāvīra, caught up the hair in a cup of diamond, and requesting his permission, brought them to the milk ocean."[1]

In the *Kalpasūtra* it is said that Mahāvīra as well as his twenty-three predecessors did the same—plucked hair in five handfuls and turned shaven-headed monks. Only the image of one of the Jinas, Ṛṣabha, the first in the series, is shown as wearing matted locks like the Brahman Jaṭila monks carved on the Śuṅga monuments. The images of the other twenty-three Jinas mostly show heads with bump covered by hair arranged in ringlets becoming the Mahāpuruṣa. But images of the Jinas with shaven head are not unknown. Coomarswamy has published a seated image of the Jina Pārśva with smooth head from Mathura[2] where the different types of the images of the Jinas were carved for the first time.

RAMAPRASAD CHANDA

1 *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXII, p. 199.

2 Coomarswamy, *The Origin of the Buddha Image*, fig. 43.

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, vol. XII, pt. iii

DURGACHARAN CHATTERJI.—*The Problem of Knowledge and the Four Schools of later Buddhism.* Mr. Chatterji introduces his paper by a paragraph on *pramātṛ*, *prameya*, *pramiti* and *pramāṇa* and then presents an exposition within a short compass of the views of the Vaibhāṣikas, Sautrāntikas, Yogācāras and Mādhyamikas. He concludes his article by saying that "the first two (schools) admit the reality of an external objective world which enters into our cognition, but the last two do not admit such a reality".

R. GANGULI.—*Cattle and Cattle-rearing in Ancient India.* He deals with this topic under the following heads :—Cattle as objects of great care and religious veneration—keeping and employing cattle—diseases and their treatment—feeding and stock breeding.

CHARU CHANDRA DASGUPTA.—*Some Notes on the Ādi-Bhañjas of Khijjiṅga-Koṭṭa, Earlier Bhañjas of Khiñjali-Maṇḍala, Bhañjas of Bauda and Later Bhañjas of Khiñjali.* According to the writer there were four different Bhañja dynasties. He deals with the tables of genealogy furnished by the various inscriptions so far discovered and edited, concluding his paper by a few paragraphs on the chronological position of the four Bhañja dynasties.

K. B. PATHAK.—*Jinendrabuddhi, Kaiyaṭa and Haradatta.* The object of this paper is to show the relative positions of the three commentators mentioned above. By profuse quotations from the *Mahābhāṣya*, *Kāśikā*, *Bhāravi*, *Padamañjarī* and other works Dr. Pathak fixes the date of Jinendrabuddhi at 700 A.D., and that of Jayāditya at circa 661 A.D. He assigns Kaiyaṭa to the close of the 11th century and Haradatta to the 13th century.

S. SRIKANTHA SASTRI.—*Vidyānanda and Śaṅkara Mata.* The writer is of opinion that Vidyānanda uses the term 'Śaṅkara' in his *Āptaparīkṣā* as an epithet of Śiva, Śambhu, Maheśvara, etc., and not for referring to Śaṅkarācārya. He says that "Vidyānanda criticises not the Advaita of Śaṅkara but a theistic creed of the Māheśvaras, partly based on the Vaiśeṣika philosophy". He then proceeds to ascertain the time, identity and the contemporaries of Vidyānanda,

N. B. DIVATIA.—*Certain Fractional Numerals in Gujarātī.* The writer shows "*Doḍha* (G), *diḍha* (M) is derivable from *adhyardha, diyaḍḍha*, and *aḍhī* (G) *aḍīca* (M) from *ardhatṛtīya.*

D. R. MANKAD.—*The Arctic Regions in the Ṛgveda.* Mr. Mankad is neither a supporter of Tilak's theory of the Arctic Home of the Aryans nor an opponent of Das's view that 'Sapta-Sindhu' was their original home. The object of his present paper is mainly to refute the arguments advanced by Dr. Das in support of his opinion that in the Ṛgveda there is no reference to the Arctic Regions.

A. N. UPADHYE.—*Kanarese words in Deśī Lexicons.* The writer gives a short list of such words with their meanings and philological notes.

N. B. DIVATIA.—*The Khazars : Were they Mongols ?*

P. K. GODE.—*Notes on Indian Chronology* : Date of Vicārasudhākara of Raṅga Jyotirvid—śaka 1687 (=A.D. 1765)—Date of "Kaukāli Grantha" attributed to "Nāsīrsāha", A.D. 1500-1510—Dates of the Commentaries on the Tarkabhāṣā or Tarkaparibhāṣā of Keśavamiśra by Govardhana, Mādhavabhaṭṭa, Balabhadra, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa and Murāribhaṭṭa—Date of Jvaratimirabhāskara of Kāyastha Cāmuṇḍa and Identification of Rājamalla, his patron.

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, vol. VI, pt. 2

H. W. BAILEY.—*The Word "But" in Iranian.* The words *But, vXš* and *Bodāsaf* occurring in a passage of the Iranian text of the Bundahiśn have been interpreted here as signifying Buddha, spirit and Bodhisattva respectively, and their corresponding forms have been traced in languages like Sogdian, Manichæan; Middle Iranian, and Pahlavi.

L. D. BARNETT.—*Pramnai.* The identification of the *Pramnai* (mentioned by Strabo as philosophers 'addicted to wrangling and refutation') as distinguished from the Brāhmaṇas has been attempted in this note. The view that the word represents *the prāmāṇikas*, the followers of the various philosophical systems, each having a distinctive view as to what constitutes *pramāṇa*, has been opposed, while the position that the word is a corruption of *Sramnai* (*Śramaṇas*) has been rejected by Dr. Barnett. He thinks that *pramnai* signifies the *prājñas*, who, for their exclusive adherence to

prajñā ('an intellectual and moral attitude') were disliked by the Brāhmaṇas.

JULES BLOCH.—*Aśoka et la Magadhi.* The author has tried to show the relation between the Aśokan dialects and the Māgadhī Prākṛt by taking up the use of final '*e*' nom. sing. as distinguished from final *o*.

W. CALAND.—*Corrections of Eggeling's Translation of the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa.* It contains a list of corrections of Eggeling's English translation of the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* in the Sacred Books of the East Series.

JARL CHARPENTIER.—*Antiochus, King of the Yavanas.* It is contended that Aṃtiyoka mentioned in the Aśokan Rock Edict XIII as the king of the Yavanas is Antiochus I (280-261 B.C.) and can be neither Antiochus III nor Antiochus II as suggested by previous scholars. The other four kings named in the same Edict are identified as follows :

Turamāya = Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285-246 B.C.)
Aṃtikini = Antigonus Gonatas (276-239 B.C.)
Maka = Magas of Cyrene (C. 300-C. 250 B.C.)
Alikasundara = Alexander of Epirus (272-C. 255 B.C.)

The assumption of Prof. Charpentier that Antiochus I is the *Yonarāja* mentioned in the Edict has influenced his inference as to the date of Aśoka's coronation. He follows Senart in thinking that all the edicts in their present shape were issued at one and the same date. As two of the edicts, viz., the third and the fourth, record that they were promulgated when Aśoka had already been anointed twelve years, the date of the Rock Edict mentioning Antiochus falls in the year 12/13 after the *abhiṣeka* of Aśoka. The death of Antiochus occurring, as it did, between October, 262 and April, 261 B.C., the latest date possible for the issue of the edict will not be far removed from the date of the demise of Antiochus. The year of the coronation, therefore, would be calculated by adding 12/13 years to this date pointing to 273 B.C. as the latest possible date of the *abhiṣeka*.

G. CŒDE'S.—*A propos de l' origine des chiffres arabes.* There are two theories regarding the "Arabic" figures and place value of zero. Some affirm its Indian origin while others have tried to find in it a Western invention. Mr. G. R. Kaye is the supporter of the second theory, but he has been refuted by many scholars, notably

by Mr. W. E. Clark. The presence of these figures in the Sanskrit inscriptions of Indo-China and Insulindia has led Mr. Kaye to suppose that they were introduced into India from the Extreme Orient. This has been criticised by Mr. Clark, but none of the scholars have cared to ascertain at which epoch and at what condition the figures with the place-value of zero appeared in the inscriptions of Indo-China and Insulindia. It is this desideratum that the present writer removes by collecting the inscriptions with their dates, and he is inclined to the view that the figures were in use in India before they were introduced in the Extreme Orient.

GABRIEL FERRAND.—*Les grands rois du monde.* Mons. Pelliot has recently published in the *T'oung-pao* (xxii, 1923, pp. 97-125) an article entitled "the theory of the four sons of the heavens", in which he has collected information from the Chinese sources and some Arabic texts. The present note is only an addition to the article of Mons. Pelliot. The following information is given in this paper from the Chinese and Arabic texts :

(1) 245-250, K'ang T'ai knew China, Ta-ts'in = Orient méditerranean and Yue-tche = Indoscythes.

(2) 3rd or 4th century, Che-eul-yeou-king mentions China, India, Ta-ts'in and the home of Yue-tche.

(3) 646, Hiuen-tsang cites 4 sovereigns of India, home of the Iranians, Tokharians, the land of the Turks and China.

(4) 645-67 : Tao-siuan cites 4 kings of China, Persia, India, and home of the Turks.

(5) 851, the merchant Sulaymān knew four kings of Arabia, China, Byzance and India.

(6) Circa 872-5, Ibn Wahab reports that there are 5 kings, viz., of Irak, China, Turks, India and Rūm.

(7) 11th century (1029-70) Abū'l-Kāsim knew five kings, viz., of China, India, Turks, Persians, and Rūm.

(8) The author of the book of 101 nights announces 5 great kings but names the following six : the king of the Arabs, Persians, Turks, India, Egypt and Rūm.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.—*Conjunct Consonants in Dardic.*

E. WASHBURN HOPKINS.—*Hindu Salutations.*

HERMANN JACOBI.—*Sind nach dem Sāṅkhya-Lehrer Pañcaśikha die Puruṣas von Atomgrösse ?*

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.—*The Doctrine of the Buddha.* The writer

thinks that the doctrine of the denial of Ātman presented in the Pāli texts was not propounded by Buddha himself. The doctrines of retribution and transmigration accepted by Buddha are Brāhminical, conflicting with the Buddhist doctrine of "Nirvāṇa as the end of striving, and not as the foundation of existence, the Absolute." Buddha taught neither annihilation nor self-lessness which were the products of later scholasticism.

STEN KONOW.—*Note on a Kharoṣṭhī Akṣara.* The note deals with the interpretation of a sign found in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions discovered in Chinese Turkestan. The sign has been differently deciphered to be a compound letter standing for *tsa* or *tśa.* Prof. Konow inclines to the view that the shape of the letter represents *tś* rather than *ts* as understood by Prof. Rapson.

L. DE LA VALLE´E POUSSIN.—*A´ propos du Cittaviśuddhiprakaraṇa d' Āryadeva.* Prof. Poussin discusses in this paper some important doctrinal matters mentioned in the work *Cittaviśuddhi* of Āryadeva published by Mr. H. P. Sāstrī in the *J.A.S.B.*, lxvii, pt. i, pp. 175-84 (1898).

SYLVAIN LÉVI.—*Un nouveau document sur le bouddhisme de basse époque dans l'Inde.* Prof. Lévi secured a fragmentary ms. containing an account of the rituals of the Tantrik cult of the Vajrayoginī. The ms. furnishes us with some information about the teachers and their disciples through whom the cult has been transmitted. This serves as a source of information to Tāranātha's history of Buddhism. The fragment reproduced in this paper with its translation gives important information about Nāgārjuna.

G. MORGENSTIERNE.—*The Name Munjān and Some Other Names of Places and Peoples in the Hindu Kush.*

PETER S. NOBLE.—*A Kharoṣṭhī Inscription from Endere.* Notes and comments are made on the words of the inscription no. 661 in the second volume of the *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions.*

C. M. RIDDING.—*Professor Cowell and his Pupils.*

KASTEN RÖNNOW.—*Viśvarūpa.* This is an attempt at ascertaining the character of Viśvarūpa Tvāṣṭra on the strength of the Vedic passages containing his name. The writer concludes : "The name Viśvarūpa, an appellative of Tvaṣṭar and of certain serpent demons alike, must allude to their power over the cattle and its procreative activities."

AUREL STEIN.—*On the Ephedra, the Hūm Plant, and the Soma.* The view is expressed that although the broken twigs found as

burial deposits in the various graves of the Lop desert in Central Asia have been identified to be the fragments of the twigs of *Ephedra* known by the name of *Hūma* in the border tracts of Persia and Afghanistan, and although the same plant is now used as the sacred *Homa* in the rituals of the Parsis of India, *Ephedra* cannot be the *Soma* of the Veda and *Haoma* of the Avesta, because of its bitter taste with no exhilerating effects mentioned in those ancient texts. It is conjectured that the wild rhubarb growing on the highest portions of the ranges stretching along the border of Northern Baluchistan and the Afghan provinces of Kandahar and Ghazni may have yielded the Soma drink of the ancient Āryas.

E. J. THOMAS.—*Gandhayukti in the Lalitavistara.* The item *gandhayukti* in the list of arts found in the *Lalitavistara* and some other works is, according to the present writer, a 'half-Sanskritised Prākṛt form' of *granthayukti* meaning book-making. The expression should not be taken to signify 'odour-mixing' as generally done.

R. L. TURNER.—*The Future Stem in Aśoka.*

J. PH. VOGEL.—*The Head-offering to the Goddess in Pallava Sculpture.* That the sacrifice of one's own head to a goddess was a well-known *motif* both in Sanskrit literature and Pallava sculpture is shown from stories in works like the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, and also from the figures found in temples like those of Māmallapuram. A figure kneeling at the feet of a goddess grasping a tuft of hair with its left hand and holding a sword with the right is interpreted to be in the attitude of offering its own head to the goddess.

M. DE Z. WICKREMASINGHE.—*On the Etymology and Interpretation of certain Words and Phrases in the Aśoka Edicts.*

A. C. WOOLNER.—*The Ṛgveda and the Punjab.* The view that the principal settlements of the Aryans were in the country of the Sarasvatī south of the modern Ambala and that the bulk of the hymns of the Ṛgveda was composed there is controverted here on the grounds that the phenomena described in the Ṛgvedic hymns are equally visible in the other parts of the Punjab. That the Aryans knew the whole of the Punjab and occupied its best parts is regarded possible by the writer of the note.

Indian Antiquary, September, 1931

W. H. MORELAND.—*Notes on Indian Maunds.*

BIREN BONNERJEA.—*Prāyaścitta, or Hindu Ideas on the Expiation of*

Sin. In this article, which is continued from the preceding number of the Journal, various forms of prāyaścittas are described with the remark that the Hindu modes of expiation of sins reveal their magical character having nothing to do with true repentance.

A. VENKATASUBBIA.—*Aṭhabhāgiye.* This is the first instalment of a paper attempting at an explanation of the word *aṭhabhāigye* occurring in Rummindei Pillar Inscription of Aśoka.

PRAN NATH.—*Was the Kauṭalīya Arthaśāstra in Prose or Verse?* According to the writer the original text of the *Arthaśāstra* was in verse.

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society,

vol. XVII, 1931

G. RAMADAS.—*Mandasa Plates of Anantavarmadeva, Śaka* 913. These form a set of copper-plates of the time of Anantavarmadeva (which, according to the writer, is not the name of a king but an imperial title), of the family of the Gaṅgas. The gift is made by Dharmakhedi of a village called Madhipatharakhanda in Mahendrabhoga to an individual called Erukulajādan. The characters of the inscriptions present a mixture of Nagari, Grantha, Telugu and Oriya. The part of the inscription is given with an English translation.

N. TRIPATHI.—*The Jaypura Copper-plate Grant of Dhruvānanda Deva.* The writer gives only a list of corrections of the reading of the text of the above grant published in the *JBORS*, XVI, pp. 457-72.

J. C. DE.—*A few Observations on the Hindol Plate of Śubhākaradeva.*—Mr. De suggests some improvement on the reading and translation of the above inscription published in the *JBORS*, March, 1930, pp. 69-83.

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR.—*Dravidic Names for 'Palms'.* Mr. Aiyar has shown "how far one set of Dravidian forms for 'palmyra' and 'palm-like trees' may be regarded as native" and "the connection between Indo-Aryan *tāla* (palmyra) and the Dravidian forms with the same meaning."

UMESA MISRA.—*Mīmāṃsāśāstrasarvasva* of Halāyudha. This issue contains an edition of the text up to the 3rd adhikaraṇa of 2nd pāda of the 2nd chapter.

Journal of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society,

vol. VII, nos. 1 and 2

SIR CHARLES FAUCETTE.—*Gerald Aungier's Report on Bombay.* This is a report of the earliest British administration in India in the form of a letter addressed by Gerald Aungier, Governor of Bombay, in 1673 to the Court of Directors of the East India Company in England. It presents a statistical and descriptive account of the Island of Bombay, and its inhabitants, fortifications, systems of government, trade resource etc.

PADMANATHA BHATTACHARYYA.—*Pañcamahāśabda in Rājataraṅgiṇī.* In support of Sir A. Stein's view that the expression "pañcamahāśabda" in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* means five offices distinguished by the term "great," this note supplies evidences from the work itself and opposes Dr. S. K. Aiyangar who, on the strength of the evidences of the Southern usage of the expression, has taken it to mean five great sounds, i. e., a band playing on five musical instruments, accompanying a high official.

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INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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Edited by
NARENDRA NATH LAW

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VARENDRA RESEARCH SOCIETY, RAJSHAHI, BENGAL.

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* The number of page commencing from 629 should be 709 instead of 629 and the subsequent pagination should be corrected accordingly, i.e. 80 is to be added to each page number. We regret that this error has crept in.

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The Sea and Land Travels of a Buddhist Sādhu in the Sixteenth Century

Modern researches have shown that Mahāyāna Buddhism continued to exist in India up to quite recent times. Mr. N. N. Vasu, Mm. Haraprasāda Śāstrī and others have pointed out the existence of Buddhist schools in Orissa and Bengal up to the XVIIIth century ; the *dharma*-worship in some parts of Bengal and Behar betrays even now its Buddhist origin. The Bengali literature of the XVth and XVIth centuries contains a large number of texts which testify to the existence at that time of various, more or less degenerated, Buddhist centres in Bengali countries. Caitanya himself is said to have converted large communities of Buddhists. If the authenticity of the *Karcā* of Govinda Dās was beyond any doubt, we could prove the existence of Buddhist schools and paṇḍits in South India at the time of the great Bengali Vaiṣṇava mystic. His discussion with the Buddhist paṇḍit Rāmagiri and the latter's conversion is in fact reported there.[1] It will not appear out of place to have recourse to a Tibetan source of the XVIth century which brings in some new information about these later periods of Mahāyāna Buddhism and at the same time gives us an idea of the geographical knowledge of Indian and extra-

1 Cf. *Karcā* ed. by D. C. Sen (new edition), p. 27. In the Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy ending March 1927 an inscription of 1580 mentions the erection of a Buddhist temple by the Nāyaks of Tanjore.

Indian countries as it circulated among the Tibetan monks. I refer here to the biography of Buddhagupta (*Sañs rgyas sbas pa*) the *guru* of Tāranātha. Tāranātha himself collected the materials for his book from his master during the latter's travels to Tibet, and embodied them in a short biographical note called: *Grub c'en bu-ddha-gu-ptaḥi rnam t'ar rje brtsun ñid žal nas gžan du rañ rtog gi dri mas ma spags paḥi yi ge yañ dag pa*, the importance of which is chiefly geographical.

Buddhagupta was, as many of the Indian sādhus always have been, a great traveller. He visited many places in India and even outside India in far away countries in order to find traces of Buddhism and of Buddhist remains. We cannot say that his information is always exact; in this kind of writings we cannot expect to find everywhere that historical preciseness of detail which we demand from modern authors. These Indian and Tibetan saints lived in a kind of mythical atmosphere which gives a peculiar colour to all their experiences; the truth for them is not about external facts but rather about the meaning that they have for them or the ideal significance that they attach to them. Anyhow this biography is the first Tibetan document that we came across up to now in which information is found about a large number of countries outside India proper, and in a certain way it sheds some side-light upon the geographical knowledge and the trade routes of India in the XVIth century.

The importance of our text for the history of the geographical notions of the Tibetans seems therefore to be of no little moment. It is perhaps the only Tibetan treatise, at least to our knowledge, in which we find a great deal of direct information about some places in India and chiefly outside India proper which are not usually connected with Buddhist canonical tradition. This explains why Blo bzañ dpal ldan ye śes, while writing his *Śam-bha-laḥi lam yig*, practically copies from our text when he mentions countries as a rule not registered in the canonical literature, proving indirectly that he considered the little book of Tāranātha as the most complete and reliable treatise on the subject. I must also add that the readings of our text are generally more correct than those of the *Śam-bha-laḥi lam yig*, which are therefore to be accordingly modified.[1] Our source moreover shows

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1 The geographical literature of Tibet concerned with India and foreign countries has not yet been studied chiefly on account of the scarce materials available in European libraries. Many of the *gsuñ*

that at the time of Buddhagupta India had not yet forgotten those great links of cultural relations which Buddhism had established between her and far away countries from Africa to Java.

The Buddhist culture of Buddhagupta was exclusively Tantric; no mention of a śāstra whatever is to be found in his biography. We must reasonably expect that at a later date, as that of Buddhagupta, the inter-connection between the Buddhist and Śaiva sects was even greater than it had been before. It must have been very difficult to draw a line of distinction between the followers of the two schools. The *Siddha-sampradāya* is common to the Buddhists as well as to the Śaivas, and Gorakṣa is even now a great saint for both the communities. Characteristically Hindu gods and ideas were creeping into declining Buddhism. This fact is worthy of notice because it will help us very much when we want to ascertain the peculiarities of the system of Tāranātha, inasmuch as there is no doubt that, whatever might have been the further developments of

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ḥbum or collected writings of the Tibetan polygraphs contain some sections geographically very interesting, e.g., the very important chapters on China included in the writings of the fifth Dalai Lama, the *Śam-bha-laḥi lam yig* edited by Grünwedel and included in the works of the great Paṅ-c'en blo bzaṅ dpal ldan ye śes. Gloṅ c'en is said to have written a general description of India, which I have not been able to see as yet and which anyhow must be a compliation because the author never went to India. Geographical information is also contained in the astrological works such as the *Vai dūr-ya dkar po* and the *Vaidūrya gya' sel.* Nor must we forget the various *rnam t'ar*-s or biographical accounts, chiefly, of the locāvas or translators who came down to India. Some of them contain real itineraries such as the *rnam t'ar* of Ur gyen pa or of Stag tsaṅ ras pa. Many a useful information can be gathered from the guides for pilgrims such as the *Jam bu gliṅ spyi bśad* (on which see Waddell, *Lamaism*, p. 307 and *Proceedings*, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1893) or the other one for the visitors of Nepal: *bal yul mc'od rten ḥp'ags pa śin kun daṅ deḥi gnas gźan rnams kyi sa dkar c'ag mdor sdus.*

I must add to the list the grographical dictionary in six languages printed in China by order of K'ien lung called *K'in-ting si yu t'ung wen chi* upon which see Von Zach, *Lexicographische Beiträge*, I, p. 83 and III, p. 108 and Laufer, *Loan words in Tibetan*, p. 434.

his school, he meant to reform and impart a new life to Tibetan Buddhism. It is quite certain that his meeting with Buddhagupta exercised a great influence upon the formation of his mind. The learning and the experience of his Indian *guru*, and his explaination of some of the most sacred rituals and a great deal of the exoteric literature of Mahāyāna as expounded in India, impressed the young lama and gave the first impulse to a new line of thoughts. It seems to me that his coming across Buddhagupta represents a moment of the foremost importance in the mental and religious evolution of Tāranātha. Blo bzañ dpal ldan ye śes also calls him the disciple of the Indian yogin (*Śam-bha-laḥi lam yig*, pp. 29, 49). Tāranātha himself begins his *Bkaḥ babs bdun ldan* by invoking with great reverence his great guru (*Edelsteinmine*, p. 9, cf. p. 116) of whom mention is also to be found in another work by the same author, viz., the *Gsañ baḥi rnam t'ar* in which the dream is narrated that foretold his imminent meeting with Buddhagupta. There can hardly be any doubt that many an information embodied in the *Bkaḥ babs bdun ldan* is directly derived from the teachings of Buddhagupta who is there considered as belonging to the Gorakṣasampradāya. This connection between Tāranātha and the Nāthapanthins, though of a specific Buddhist branch, is worthy of notice. Through Buddhagupta, one of the last if not the last of the Buddhist apostles into Tibet, Śaivaism more than Buddhism was finding its way into the "country of the snows." I shall not translate the entire text but shall give its résumé rendering into English those portions only which have a larger interest for us.

Buddhagupta was born in Indraliṅga near Rāmeśvara in South India, in the family of a rich merchant, whose name was Kṛṣṇa. He was initiated into the yoga by an ascetic called in our text Tīrthinātha, a name which must be corrected into Tīrthanātha as evidenced by its Tibetan translation *ḥbab stegs mgon po* to be found in the *Bkaḥ babs bdun ldan*, p. 16. This Sādhu is said to have been a contemporary of king Rāmarāja, who may be identified with Rāmarāja of Vijayanagara (1542-1565) of Talikoṭa fame or rather with his cousin Rāmarāja Viṭṭhala, who was Viceroy in the South and a contemporary of Viśvanātha, the Nāyak of Madura. It was Tīrthanātha who initiated him into the doctrines of the Siddha Gorakṣanātha together with two other nāthas, Brahmanātha mentioned also in the *Bkaḥ babs bdun ldan* (p. 116) and Kṛṣṇanātha whom he met in North India during his pilgrimage to Delhi (ṭi li) Vikrama-

Haridwār (Ha ri dhā ra = Haridvāra).[1] He learned and practised the *mahābaddhā* and the *svasambaddhā* mudrā (see *Gorakṣa-saṃhitā*, I, 66, 67 and *Haṭhayoga-pradīpikā*, Bengali ed., III, p. 111) that is those special methods of prāṇāyāma, which were expounded in the Haṭha-yoga and those Tantras, Śaiva as well as Buddhist, which are connected with the same order of ideas. I refer chiefly to the *Sahaja-siddhi* class of Tantras which were specially followed by the Siddha-sampradāya and through this and its texts exercised a great influence upon Lamaism. At the time of Buddhagupta it seems that the school of Gorakṣa was greatly flourishing in India, though it was divided into a series of sub-sects, the peculiarities of which we are not yet in a position to determine. Their names are presereved in our text, and so far as I know some of them have not yet been met with in other sources :

(a) Nāthapanthin which has many followers in India even now.

(b) Bakṣapanthin.

(c) Gopālapanthin.

(d) Pāgalapanthin (pa ga la) from *pāgal* (mad man) which may have been suggested by the strange ways of these yogins, cf. the Bāuls of Bengal perhaps from *vātula.*

(e) Āyi-panthin.

(f) Colipanthin (tso li), viz., Coliyāpanthin (vide Akṣaya Kumar Datta, *Bhāratavarṣīya-upāsaka-sampradāya,* p. 119).

(g) Hodupanthin (ho du).

(h) Dhvajapanthin (dva za).

(i) Veragipanthin (bhe ra gi) from Vairāgin, ascetic. Cf. the name of Vairāgināthа given in the list of the Siddhas up to Āryadeva.

(l) Maṅgalanāthapanthin.

(m) Pathopanthin (pa tho).

(n) Sattanāthapanthin (from *sapta* ?).

There was also another rather dissident sect more strictly Buddhist called Naṭeśvarīyogins (nā. ṭe so ri) to which Tīrthanātha, Brahmanātha and Kṛṣṇanātha, the gurus of Buddhagupta belonged, and which must therefore also be connected with Tāranātha.

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1 The spelling Haridhāra shows that Tāranātha followed the spoken pronunciation and that even Sanskrit names were reproduced as they sounded in the vernaculars. Cf. also *dīpa* often used in our text for *dvīpa*, *bheragī* for *vairāgin* ; *naṭesori* for *naṭeśvarī* suggests a Bengali pronunciation.

Then the account of the travel begins. From the Himālaya, where, as we saw, he had been on pilgrimage, he went down to Māru (Rājputana) and spent some time in Rāṭhor (ra ṭhor). Then we find him in Nagaraṭaṭa, and in Mūlasthāna (mo la tā na, Multān) and to the north up to Kābul (ka bhe la), Khorāsān (kho ra sā na) and a place called in our text ba. ja. sa. na, Goṣa,[1] Urgyan, which corresponds, as is known, to Uḍḍīyāna of the Sanskrit sources. The question concerning the localization of this country has been recently summarized by Dr. Bagchi in an article which gives the actual state of our knowledge about this province which played such an important part in the history of Buddhism and Tāntrism.[2] Without anticipating the results of my further investigation of the problem in the light of very important Tibetan itineraries recently found by me in some Western Tibetan monasteries I shall only say that Buddhagupta locates Urgyan, Uḍḍīyāna in Ghaznī. Then he went to Urgyan in the west. The Sanskrit name of the country is Au ṭi ya ṇa, but in the original language is Or gyen ; since the pronunciation of *ṭa* and *ra* is similar it becomes like Or-ya-na. Now in the country itself in the language of the Muhammadans (kla klo) it is known to every body as Ghaznī (ga dsa ni). He went to all the great places such as the cave of Kambala-pā, the ruins of the palace of Indrabhūti,[3] the mountain Ilo.[4] Then he stopped for one month in the town of Dhūmasthira—in Tibetan, the place of the smoke (du

1 Goṣa is perhaps Khost, kuo.si.to, of Yuan Chwang.Bajasān, which might also be a clerical mistake of the copyist for Bajastān, suggests Bagistān a town in the province of Khorāsān in Persia. It is difficult to understand how these countries are in the north while Urgyan is said to be in the west. Did Buddhagupta go to Persia before and then, after returning to India, proceed to Urgyan ? We should expect otherwise, east instead of west of Khorāsān.

2 *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. VI, no. 3, pp. 580ff.

3 The story of Kambala and Indrabhūti is narrated in the life of the eighty-four Siddhas (translated by Grünwedel, *Geschichten der vier und achtzig Zauberer* and in the *Bkaḥ babs bdun ldan* translated by the same author.

4 The form Ilora parvata found in the *Sam-bha-laḥi lam yig* is manifestly wrong and is not supported by any source. Cf. *Edelsteinmine*, p. 58.

baḥi gnas) in the very centre of the country. Generally speaking, the surface of this valley in the centre of Orgyan which is surrounded by the ravines and the woods of the mountains is large enough for two days' march from west to east and for four days' march from south to north. This country is surrounded by three lakes in the east, south and north.[1] Then he proceeded to the north to Balkh (Bha. lag. kha), Kashmir (Kha che) where he visited some sacred places of pilgrimage for the heretics such as Śāradātīrtha and Nāradatīrtha (na ra dha),[2] then he travelled up to Dā ra ta bo ṭa, viz., Dard-Tibetan country and to Kas kā ra, i.e., Kashgar. The Dard-Tibetan country must be the district of Kargil (Purig) and Ladak. It is therefore evident that Buddhagupta crossed the Zojila, visited the district of Purig which quite possibly was not yet at that time completely converted to Islamism as it is now, went westwards to Leh, a purely Buddhist country and through the Kardog Pass and Nubra reached Kashgar. The Sanskritic name for Purig and Ladak shows that even when referring to countries well-known to Tibetans, Tāranātha strictly followed the information of his *guru*, preserving the Indian name of provinces which were under the direct influence of Tibet. The name for Ladak is, as is known, either Mar yul, or in recent sources, Maṅ yul.

Back to India he met his *guru* and passing through Delhi he proceeded to Bhīmeśvara where he stopped for some time in a ruined temple of Īśvara (dbaṅ phyug). After having visited some other

1 The central lake is called Dhanakoṣa in other sources.—de nas nub phyogs Orgyen du phebs/ sans kri taḥi skad du Au ṭi ya ṇa/ raṅ bźin skad du Orgyan zer/ ṭa daṅ ra ḥdon tshul ḥdra min yod pas/ (I think that 'min' is out of place here) or ya ṇa zer ba ḥdra cig yod.......da lta de phyogs raṅ na Kla kloḥi skad du grags pa kun gyi go ba la/ yul ga dza ni zer ro/ grub chen lva baḥi na bzaḥ can gyi phyug pa daṅ/ rgyal po yin ta bhu taḥi pho braṅ gyi sul daṅ/ ilo par ba ta źes bya baḥi gnas chen rnams su phebs/ Ur gyan gyi gnas mthil dhu ma sthi ra ste du bai gnas źes bya baḥi groṇ khyer źig zla gcig tsam bźugs/ spyir Orgyen gyi gnas mthil der roṅ daṅ nags ḥthug pos skor baḥi dbus na thaṅ khor tsam śar nub du ñin lam gñis tsam/ lho byaṅ du bźi tsam/......gnas ḥdi śar daṅ lho daṅ nub rnams mtsho gsum gyis bskor.

2 On Śāradātīrtha cf. *Rājataraṅgiṇī* translated by Stein, II, pp. 280, 486 and passim. Nāradatīrtha is unknown to me.

small places in the south he started again for Rājputāna (Māru) where he saw the temple of Hevajra founded by Padmavajra; then we find him in Ābu, Saurāṣṭra, Kaccha (ka tsa), then back again to Saurāṣṭra and properly in Somanātha where he visited the Śiva-liṅga and a statue of Virūpa. Then he turned his steps towards the south and peregrinated through Marāṭhā, Khāndesh (khā na de sa), Tam pa la, Vijayanagara (very often in India itself written Vidyānagara), Karṇāṭa, Triliṅga, Trimalla, Kāñcī (tsan tsi), Malabar (ma lyar), Koṅkaṇa, tsā ri dra, Marvār, tsai va la, (corr: *ra* for *va*: Ceraḷam, Kerala), ni tsa ma sa (but *Śam-bha-laḥi lam yig*: Nicambara, ni tsa mbra ha), tsan dra du ra, Pañcabhratāra (pañca-bha tā ra) that is Pañcadrāviḍa, Cola-maṇḍala (tsa ra maṇ ṭa la), (Mora maṇṭala) Moliyār maṇḍala, Jalamaṇḍala, Talamaṇḍala, Toṇḍaimaṇḍala (tuṇṭa man ṭa la), Bhogamalabar, Kaliṅga.

"Then in Koṅkaṇa he embarked and went to the west up to an island called *ḥgro ling* in Sanskrit *Dramiladvīpa*. In the language of the Muhammadans, the barbarians, and [the inhabitants] of the small island, it is called *la sam lo ra na so* (in *Śambh*: sam lo ra na so). In that island the teachings of the *guhyamantras* are largely diffused. He heard these from a paṇḍit called Sumati who had acquired the mystic realizations (abhijñā), the mystic power of the Saṃvara (tantra) and of the Hevajra (tantra) and then he learnt the detailed explanation of the Hevajratantra. This Hevajratantra belongs to the system of the Ācārya Padmasambhava. Generally speaking, the tradition of the fourfold tantras is still uninterrupted in that island, and if we except the sublime and largely diffused Kālacakratantra, whatever is in India is also there such as the (Vajra-) kīlatantra and the Tantra of the daśakrodhas, many Heruka-tantras, Vajrapāṇi, mkhaḥ ldiṅ (Garuḍa), Māmākī, Mahākāla, etc. Then the sublime order of Hayagrīva which is largely spread in India is to be found there. Moreover there are many sacred teachings (chos) belonging to the Tantras expounded by Padmasambhava. Though the community is numerous, the rules of the discipline are not so pure. The monks wear black garments and usually drink intoxicating liquors.........Then he embarked again with some merchants and went to Śaṅkhadvīpa (in Tibetan, duṅ gliṅ, the island of the conch-shell). There he remained some time in a mountain, rich in medicinal herbs and called bde ḥbyuṅ gi gnas (Śambhusthāna). There he saw many men with human face and the nose [big] as that of the elephant coming from an island called *Gajanāsa*.

Then he went to the south to the island Pa la ta, and from there sailing again towards the east, he reached Siṃhaladvīpa (Ceylon) where he remained five years. In a plateau in the country called Kan ṭa la (kandi) in the middle of a thick forest there is a cave in a rock. There the great ācārya Śāntipā, when he went to Siṃhaladvīpa, practised the mystic exercises.[1] His name is Yaṣākāraśānti which in Tibetan means glory-mine-peace.

Where Buddhagupta embarked is not mentiond in our text; perhaps it was in Goa or in Choul or in Dabul which are known to have been harbours on the mercantile route on the Koṅkaṇa shore. Nor can the islands that he touched be easily identified for the simple reason that their names are not to be met with in other sources known to us.

Our difficulty is increased by the fact that the distance is not given

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1 de na koṅku na nas rgy mts'o la nub p'yogs su gru btaṅ nas byon pas / 'gro gliṅ ste / rgya skad du ta mi ḍo dvipa źes par p'ebs / 'di la kla klo yaṅ yul mt'ai mi daṅ gliṅ p'ran rnams kyi skad du lam lo ra na so zer gyin gda / gliṅ de na gsaṅ sṅags kyi bstan pa c'es dar ba yod/mṅon śes daṅ ldan pai slob dpon su ma ti źes bya bai paṇḍita gcing la bde mc'og daṅ / dgyes rdor gyi dbaṅ gsan nas/ dgyes rdor gyi rgyud la bśad pa 'ṅ źil rgyas su gsan / dgyes rdor 'di slob dpon padma 'byuṅ gnas kyi lugs yin ciṅ / spyir gliṅ de nas rgyud sde bźi kai bka' ma c'ad pa daṅ / k'yad par bla med c'es dar dus 'k'or ma gtogs rgya gar na yod pa p'an c'er de na yod / p'ur bu daṅ k'ro lo bcui rgyud daṅ he ru kai rgyud maṅ po daṅ p'yag na rdo rje daṅ mk'a ldiṅ daṅ / ma mo daṅ nag po c'en sogs daṅ rtan mgrin bla med kyi rigs rgya gar na maṅ ba maṅ po yaṅ de na yod pa daṅ / slob dpon pad ma abyuṅ gnas nas brgyud pai c'os kyaṅ maṅ bar yod 'dug / rnams gos nag gyon pa p'al c'er c'an t'un ba sogs / par dge 'dun maṅ po yod kyaṅ 'dul bai lag len dog po med de / dge sloṅ adug go/.........de na (read de nas) slar ts'oṅ pa daṅ lhan gcig gyur bzugs nas śaṅ k'a dvi pa ste / duṅ gi gliṅ du p'ebs / de nas bde adyuṅ gi gnas śes bya ba ri bo sman sna ts'ogs skye ba źig 'dug / der t'og cig bźugs gliṅ de na ga dza nā sa zes bya bai gliṅ nas 'oṅs pai mi la sna glaṅ po c'e lta bur yod pa maṅ po gzigs / de nas lho re byon pa la pa la ta źes bya bai gliṅ du p'ebs / de nas śar p'yogt su gru btaṅ bas siṅga / lai glin du p'ebs te der lo lṅa tsam bźugs /......kan ṭa la źes bya bai yul źig gi p'u / nags t'ug po źig gi dbus na brag p'ug 'dug / de na slob dpon c'en po śanti pas singalii yul du p'ebs pai dus kyi dṅos slob / yaśā ka ra śanti bod kad du grags pai 'byuṅ gnas źi ba źes bya ba.

nor the days he spent in the sea are recorded. But if we consider that he sailed in Koṅkaṇa and that he landed at Ceylon we have a line of navigation which either went along the coast or passed through the Laccadives; but I think that this second alternative is less probable, because it would imply a rather long deviation.[1]

Nor can I suggest any definite identification as regards the first island alluded to in our text, called Dramiḷadvīpa, the island of the Dravidians or Samloranaso; we must not necessarily think that this island is in the middle of the ocean and far away from the coast. It may as well be one of the small islands along the Koṅkaṇa country. One may think of Goa itself where traces of Buddhism are to be found up to recent times and which was known to Arab sailors under the name of Sindabūr or Sandabūr.[2] The mention of Muhammadan inhabitants of the country does not contradict this identification because we know that even before the time of Buddhagupta they had settled there. What on the other hand we know from Ibn Batuta about Islamism in the Laccadives seems also to exclude *a priori* that we have to search there for the island Samloronaso spoken of by Buddhagupta as a good centre of Buddhist studies. All these facts seem therefore to point out that the islands visited by our Sādhu are to be searched for along the coast from

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1 Śaṅkadvīpa.

The Laccadives and the Maldives were known to Chinese sources as "the islands of the ocean of the streams". They were not rarely touched by the ships of foreign traders. Cf. also Ibn Batuta who speaks of the goods exported from these islands to China, India and Arabia.

2 I am afraid that the followers of Padmasambhava in black dress have no connection whatever with Buddhist sects. There is in fact no trace of such a black colour being used by Buddhist priests. It is perhaps not impossible that some Christian monks, probably Portuguese, were mistaken by Buddhagupta for Buddhist śramaṇas. It is to be noted in this connection that even Buddhagupta does not fail to remark a great discrepancy in the monastic rules between the usual Buddhist monks and the so-called disciples of Padmasambhava. Moreover they are clearly said to belong to an order. Drinking of wine, if now common among the rñim ma pas in Tibet seems, so far as we know, to have been not practised in India except for ritual purposes.

Goa to Cape Comorin. From there [Ceylon] he went to a small island called Uliṅga[1] and then joining some merchants of this place he proceeded to another small island called Amuga at a distance taking about one month of navigation from Ceylon. There he embarked on a big boat having five thousand men on board ; this is at least the number we read in the text, but it is evident that we are confronted either with an exaggeration of the narrator or of the writer or with a clerical error. No vessel was able to carry more than some hundred men. After about four months of navigation to the south he reached a country called Dzha mi gi ri (Jhāmigiri).

There are two towns, one in the north and one in the south, the distance between them being of about seven days for a traveller. Between these two towns there are three mountains and on the top of one of them there is a golden cave which spreads light at night. He remained there one year. In that island there is the throne of ācārya Nāgārjuna said to have been used by him when he went there. There are also many images of the Blessed One and many temples.[2]

"Thence he joined some merchants going to some small islands to the east and after one month of navigation he reached an island in which there was Potala, the king of the mountains. According to some this is the small Potala. Anyhow it is evidently the Potala on the land accessible to men. There he visited a rock-crystal cave, the place sacred to Maṇibhadrakumāra, then the place sacred to Bhrūkuṭī, the cave of the golden face of the Asura, the place sacred to Tārā and the places sacred to Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Mahendra, each one with a self-created temple in the mountain. Moreover he visited the place where it was possible to have the vision (of the god).

1 For Uliṅga Śambhalai Pam yig reads Umāliṅga. Buddhagupta adds that he was the only Indian to be there ; anyhow, it seems to me that these two islands, we do not know (in what direction from Ceylon), must have possessed rather big harbours and been on the trade route if Buddhagupta was able to embark there on a big ship.

2 Groṅ K'yer c'en po lho byaṅ gñis snaṅ źiṅ / de gñis re rei sraṅ bar lam ñi ma bdun tsam re 'gro dgos pai lam yod pa / groṅ k'yer gñis kyi par na ri lho byaṅ du gsum tsam źig 'dug pai gcig gi rtse mo na mts 'an mo 'od 'p'ro bai gser gyi brag c'uṅ du źig kyaṅ snaṅ gsuṅ / der lo gcig lhag tsam bźugs śiṅ gliṅ de na slob dpon klu sgrub p' ebs pai bzugs k'ri daṅ bcom ldan 'das kyi rdo sku c'en po maṅ po daṅ lha k'aṅ maṅ du yod/

He also made the *pradakṣiṇa* of the mountain. There was the celestial wood famous as the place of Mañjuśrī and the water falling down from that was really running there. He bathed in this water and made the *pradakṣiṇa* of the various places round the top and the neck of the mountain. There are also one hundred mountains with rock-crystal peaks and caves of diamond the height of which cannot be imagined. When one comes to this island all impurities are so to say purified. The people of this island have no Buddhist or non-Buddhist religion nor are they Muhammadan. With the exception of the little ones there are no towns. There is a temple of Buddha which was made in former times. For protecting the boundary of the houses there are many *yantras* made by magical art which do not exist in India. In this island he saw men whose body was covered by their ears. They came from other islands".[1] *Jhāmigiri* is one of those adaptations of foreign names to Sanskrit or pseudo-Sanskrit forms which are so common in the geographical terminology of India. If we do not take into consideration the word, *giri*, mountain, which, just as *kūṭa*, generally means a hilly country

1 de nas śar p'yogs kyi gliṅ p'ran 'gar 'gro bai ts' oṅ pa rnams daṅ lhan gcig gru śar draṅ t'aṅ du btaṅ ste/ zla Jcig tsam p'ebs pa na/ rii rgyal po ṭa la ka yod pai gliṅ dup'ebs/ k'a cig 'di po ṭa la c'uṅ ba yin zer ba'ṅ yod/ gaṅ na'ṅ mii 'gro bai spyod yul gyi po ṭa la ste 'di k'o nar mṅon no/ nor bzaṅ gźon nui gnas śel gyi p'ug pa daṅ/ k'ro gñer can mai gnas daṅ/ lha ma yin gyi sgo gser gyi p'ug pa daṅ/ sgrol ma gnas daṅ/ ts'aṅs pa daṅ/ K'yab ajug daṇ dbaṅ c'en poi gnas ri bo raṅ abyuṅ gi lha k'aṅ dari bcas pa re re/ gźan yaṅ mjal du btub pai gnas p'al c'er mjal/ ri po ṭa la ñid la'ṅ skor ba źig mdzad/ apags pa ajam dpal gyi gnas su grags pa nam mk'ai ṅos la nugs ts'al daṅ/ de nas abab pai c'u dṅos su abab pa yod de/ de la k'rus kyaṅ mdzad gsuṅ/ po ṭa lai ri c'en poi mgul t'ug par nagas sna ts'ogs 'dug pa bskor bar p'ebs/ rtze mo śel ma rdo rjei brag ri rgya dpaṅs tsam bsam gyis mi k'yab pa yod pa gliṅ dei mi kun la da lta p'yi naṅ kla klo sogs grub mt'u' gaṅ yaṅ med/ mi groṅ yaṅ t'an t'un ma gtogs mi 'dug/ sṅon dus bźeṅs pai saṅs rgyas pai lha k'aṅ yod 'jam bu gliṅ na med pa la/ las las grub pai 'k'rul 'k'or maṅ pos k'yim gyi mt 'a' bsruṅ ba 'ba' źig 'dug/ gliṅ 'dir gliṅ gźan nas 'oṅs mi rna bas lus t'ams cad gyog t'ub pa maṅ po gzigs/

and cannot therefore be considered as an essential part of the word, the element Jhāmi is left. If we remember the direction of the travel of Buddhagupta and the duration of his navigation we are bound to admit that the place where he landed and was called Jhāmi must be somewhere in the African shore or near to it. The name *Jhāmigiri* points out unmistakably to the country of the Zanj, that is, Zanzibar known also to Chinese sources as Ts'ong pa, which played a prominent part in the commercial communications of the period with which our source is concerned; but we must not forget that the "country of the Zanj" was generally called the eastern African shore.[1] One may object that even the people of Madagascar are in some Arabian writings referred to under the general designation of Zanj, the common name for "the black people"; but Zanj is nowhere given as the name peculiar to the island as is the case with Zanzibar or Eastern Africa. Moreover the country of Jhāmi is here described as being rather small, its length not exceeding seven days' journey. On the contrary, the next island on the south of Zanzibar where Buddhagupta proceeded and which is described as being very great seems to correspond even in its geographical position with Madagascar. If this identification is, as I think, correct, it will be interesting to note that at the time of Buddhagupta, Madagascar was known in India as Potala, though its being considered as the abode of Avalokiteśvara and heard of as a kind of a fairy-land seems to show that the intercourse between that island and India was indirect and very rare. It will not, in this connection, appear out of place to remember that the researches of Ferrand have shewn that Indian culture left its traces in Madagascar and that even Sanskrit elements were introduced into Malgash language through the intercourse of sailors and settlers from Java. This means that for some time the island was within the reach, direct or indirect, of Indian culture. It also supposes that some information of the country reached India. It is quite possible that in the course of the centuries Potala as the seat of Avalokiteśvara shifted to this or that place, according to the beliefs of the various communities and the spreading of the geographical knowledge; but we cannot *a priori* exclude that Potala of the Buddhist tradition

1 On Madagascur and its relation to India and Insulindia cf. Gabriel Ferrand *les K'ouen louen et les anciennes navigations*, in Journal Asiatique 1929. cf. also Journal Asiatique 1924, p. 240 and *Enciclopedie de l'Islam*, Madagascar, pp. 64 ff.

was originally connected with some real island, even if afterwards the legendary character of the country took the upperhand. In the present case we are not in a position to establish how an island known to India through sailors and semi-Indian colonies turned into the abode of the god. Anyhow we find even in our text mention of some features which in various and independent traditions are connected with Potala and Madagascar at the same time. The rock-crystal cave in the centre of the island may perhaps be connected with the story told to Yuan Chwang by some Ceylonese monks, and according to which some thousand *li* to the west of Ceylon, there was the "great-precious-substance-island" where there is a bright shining mountain; but we have seen that our text knows of a similar mountain in the country of Zanzibar already alluded to. As we saw, Potala is the name of the country, but chiefly of the mountain which is the abode of the god; now according to the Arabic sources in Madagascar there is the famous mountain of Komr which gives the island its name and from which the Nilus was supposed to spring forth. We find the same mention of a holy river running down from Potala in our text as well as in the description of Potala as we read it in Yuan Chwang. The existence of a sacred mountain and a sacred river seems therefore to be intimately connected with Potala, or rather the various Potala. In Potala Buddhagupta embarked again and after a very long navigation he reached Javadvīpa whose name is translated in our text as "the island of the barley" (*nas*). This means that the two places were connected by usual sea-routes and therefore proves once more the proposed identification of Potala of Buddhagupta with Madagascar, because we know the regular intercourse which took place between the two islands through the medium of Malasian sailors. There existed a permanent sea-trading intensified by the Portuguese linking Java, Madagascar and Zanzibar.

In Javadvīpa he found the followers of the Śrāvaka Sendhapa and then he proceeded to a small island in the middle of the sea called Vanadīpa (Bañka ?) where he saw the cave of Padmavajra and found traces of many Tantras. Then he sailed to the north for Ceylon and afterwards to Konkan.

"There is (in Koṅkaṇa) a self-created image of Mañjuśrī in the middle of a pond. It is called Jñānakāya. The measure of the body is like a small hill and it represents the god in the reclining position. Then he saw also the *bimbakāya* which looks like a rainbow raising the stūpa of the accumulated vapour beyond touch." "Then

he embarked again and went to the south to Malabar and to a country near to it called Śambhudatta where he heard the Buddhasancāra-tantra and the Saṃvaravikrīḍita Haridarisaṅgīti and the Sahajatattva from the king Hariprabha (p'rog byed 'od) who had forded the ocean of the Vajrayāna and possessed all of the vidyās of the usual *siddhas*."[1] He met again his gurus since he wanted the *abhiṣeka* in some other Tantric systems, but as money was required for that, he undertook a collecting tour in Triliṅga, Trimalla and Karṇāṭaka, gathering a good amount of donations.

"Then he started again with the purpose of visiting the small islands of the east ; so through Jārikhaṇḍa and Jagannātha he went to Khasarpana in Buntavarta (sic) where he spent in prayer about twenty days.......Then he went to Tipura and to the highland of Tipura where there is Kasaraṅga or Devīkoṭa. For some days he remained in the temple erected by the Mahāsiddha Kṛṣṇācārya. Thence he proceeded to Ra k'an and to its places Haribhañja, Bu k'an and Bal gu. In all these countries there is a great community of monks and the Buddhist teaching is widely spread. He stopped there for a long time and heard many treatises of the sūtra class and as far as possible the law of the secret mantras from paṇḍita Dharmākṣaghoṣa of the big stūpas in the temple of Haribhañja and equally from the lay paṇḍit Parhetanandaghoṣa in the country of Bal gu. Those gurus were the followers of the Mahāsiddha Śāntipāda. Then he embarked again and went to the island of Dhanaśrī. In this island also there are very many monks. There is a great stūpa of immense proportion which is called Śrīmad-dhanyakaṭaka

1 de nu koṅka nai gliṅ du p'ebs te/ dzṅa na kāya źes bye ba mts'oi naṅ na 'jam dpal gyi sku raṅ 'byuṅ sku ts'ad ri c'uṅ tsam yod po ñal stabs su gnas pa daṅ/ bimba kā ya źes bya ba nam mk'a' la 'ja' ts' on śar ba lta bu mc' od rten gyi gzugs brñan śin tu c'e ba źiṅ gsal ba dpal du ba 'k'rigs pa reg pa med pai mc'od rten du grags pa de yin te/......slar gru btaṅ nas lho p'yogs su ma lyār p'ebṣ 'di daṅ ñe bai yul p'ran śam bhu datta źes bya ba ni rdo rje t'eg pa rgya mts'o p'a rol soṅ ba/ t'un moṅ gi grub pai rtags ci rigs pa daṅ ldan pai rgyal po p'rog byed 'od źes bya ba la saṅs rgyas mñan 'byor gyi rgyud daṅ sdom pa rnam par rtsen pa/ daṅ lhan gcig skges pai de ñid daṅ hari darii glu dbyaṅs la sogs pa c'os maṅ du gsan/

or the stūpa with the offering or *astukakāya*. Its basement has the same shape as the stūpa itself, it is surrounded by two rails in stone. It takes about one day for its *pradakṣiṇa*. On the east there is a very big town where there is enormous assemblage of merchants coming from different countries such as China, Europe (p'ren gi) and India. When he visited the *asparśa pratibimbastūpa* he saw the maṇḍala of the five kulas with Vairocana as their central essence, in the Jñānakāyastūpa the maṇḍala of the five *kulas* with Amitābha as the central essence, and in Śrīmad-dhanyakaṭaka the maṇḍala of the five *kulas* with Akṣobhya as the central essence. Then together with some merchants he visited some very small islands such as another island in the middle of the sea called Potala, the island Paigu, an island occupied by the Europeans in which many medicinal herbs such as *jāti* and *lesi* are produced. Sadhadīpa the great Suvarṇadvīpa, the small Suvarṇadvīpa, Sūryadvīpa, Candradvīpa, Sarvadvīpa."[1] Sāgara-

1 de na (read de nas) sar po'yogs kyi gliṅ p'ran rnams gzigs par bźeṅ nas dsā ri k'anta daṅ dsa gaṅ nā tha rgyud nas bhaṅga lar p'ebs/ yul bu ṇṭa bharta ru k'a sarba na mjal/ źag ñi śu tsam gsol la adebs kyin źugs/........de nas Ti pu rar p'ebs/ ti pu rai yul gyi p'u ka sa ram ga'm devi koṭai gnas yod pa mjal bar mdzad ciṅ/ grub c'en po spyod pas bzaṅs pai gtsug lag k'aṅ du źag śas bźugs/ de nas ra k'aṅ gi yul gyi naṅ mts'an ha ri pañja daṅ bu k'an daṅ sal gu rnams su p'ebs/ yul 'di rnams na dge sloṅ gi dge 'dun c'es maṅ źiṅ/ bstan pa lhag par dar ba yod pas/ yun riṅ rab re bźugs siṅ/ ha ri bhañ jai gtsug lag k'aṅ mc'od rten c'en po źes bya ba źig nas dharmā kśa gho śa źes bya bai paṇḍita c'en po źig daṅ de bźin du bal gui yul du bźugs pai par he ta nanda gho śa zes bya ba dge sñen paṇḍita c'en po źig la gsaṅ sṅags kyi c'os kyaṅ ci rigs pa gsan mdo lugs kyi gźun maṅ po źon ñan du mdad bla ma 'di kun yaṅ grub c'en bźi bai źabs kyi slob ma 'ba' źig yin gsuṅ de nas gru btaṅ ste dha nā śrī gliṅ du p'ebs gliṅ 'di na'n dge 'dun śiṅ du maṅ si źin dpal dan abras spuṅ ṅam mc'od rten dpal yon can źes kyaṅ bya ast ka kā ya źes bya ba mc'od rten c'en po ṅo bo śin tu rgya k'yon c'e bai brag ri mc'od rten gyi dbyibs can/ p'yi la rdo yi leags ri brag ri adra ba ñis rim kyis bskor ba/ ñi ma goig la bskor ba t'ebs tsam/ śar du groṅ k'yer śin tu c'e ba/ rgya nag daṅ p'reṅ gi daṅ rgya gar la sogs pai yul t'a dad pai ts'oṅ pa śin to maṅ bai ts'oṅ 'dus c'en po 'dug gsuṅ/ daṅ po rig pa med pa gzugs brñan gyi mc'od rten mjal bar

dvīpa is further mentioned in connection with the younger Kṛṣṇācārya Bhubaripa and Bhubamati (bhu ba blo-ldan). We find him again in India studying Vajrayāna at the school of various Siddhas such as Gambhīmati, Ghanatapā, Siddhigarbha, Betatikṣaṇa, Vīrabandha, Gaṅgāpā. After having spent some time in Bodh-Gaya, Banda (bam dva) where he met the king Kumārapālabhadra, and Prayāga where he saw the great yogin Śubharakṣita, he proceeded to Jagannātha, Tipura and Bhīmeśvara. "He went again to Bhaṅgala or Tipura and Ra k'an and he spent in Assam (Kāmarūpa) about one year.

Afterwards he proceeded to Tibet and went to Lhasa passing through the monastery of bSam yas ; then he visited the province of gTsan where he met Tāranātha. Having explained to him various Tantric texts and rituals, he took leave from his pupil and returned back to India passing via Kirong (skyid groṅ) on the Nepalese Himalayan range. From Nepal he came down to Bhanśyaya (Bhainsi-duhan near Bhinyashedi) in Champaram (Bettiah, tsam bā ra ṇa), the hill Khagendra and then through Magadha to Bengal and Tipura. While Tāranātha was writing his biography he heard that his guru was still living in Devīkoṭa or in some other place near it.

These long travels towards the east are not less important than the previous ones in so far as they not only show a strong survival of Mahāyāna Buddhism but also seem to indicate that the sea-relations with Insulindia were at the time of Buddhagupta not yet interrupted.

We can quite easily follow the itinerary of the Indian *sādhu* from South India to Orissa where Jārikhaṇḍa or Jarākhaṇḍa and Jagannātha are located. Buntavarta is evidently a corruptiou for Puṇḍravardhana corresponding to the districts of Bogra and Rājshahi. Khasarpaṇa cannot be exactly located, but its name seems to suggest that it is a high mountain. In fact Khasarpaṇa is known also to Tāranātha who takes it to be the seat of Avalokiteśvara but

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mdsad dus/ rnam snaṅ gtso bor gyur bai rigs lnai dkyil 'k'or daṅ dsa na kā ya ni 'od dpag med gtso bor gyur pai rigs lnai nkyil 'k'or daṅ srī dha nya kaṭaka ni mi bskyod pa gtso bor byas pai rgyal ba rigs lṅai dkyil 'k'or du gzigs/ gźan yaṅ tśoṅ pa rnams daṅ lhan cig tu byon pas/ po ṭa la zer bai rgya mts'oi rdo ri gźan cig daṅ pai gui gliṅ daṅ ja ti daṅ le śi sogs maṅ po skye ba p'ien gis adsin pai gliṅ źig daṅ sādha dhī pa daṅ gser gliṅ c'en po daṅ gser gliṅ gi min can c'uṅ ba gñis surjadhipa candradhīpa sarvadhīpa.

locates it in South India perhaps wrongly identifying it with Potalaka. The fact that Puṇḍravardhana indicates the country bordering on the sub-Himalayan range seems to point out that Khasarpaṇa was a general designation for the mountains bordering on the north Bengal. The identification of Tipura with Tipperah is self-evident. Kasarañga betrays in its Sanskrit form the name of the Khasi tribes populating the Khasi hills. Devīkoṭa is the temple of Kāmākhyā near Gauhāṭi one of the greatest centres of Tantrism in India usually included among the four foremost pīṭhas and connected in the Buddhist tradition with the Mahāsiddha Kṛṣṇācārya. Buddhist images on the road leading to the temple are visible up to now.

Ra k'an is, as known, the general designation for Burma while Haribhañja is evidently a corruption for Haripuñjaya, north of Menam near Lamphūn, Bu k'an, which can also be Pu k'an (because in the manuscript at my disposal the two letters are often interchanged). Pu k'an corresponds to Pagan, Pukam, in the Cam inscriptions, P'u kan of the Chinese travellers and writers. It is at the same time the name of a district and of a town. the ruins of which are still to be seen on the left side of Irrawaddy. Bal gu, or Pal gu is Pegu in Burma. The information which Buddhagupta gives about Burmese Buddhism is of some interest because it is a new proof that even after the conversion of King Anuruddha of Pagan, the conqueror of Pegu, Mahāyāna flourished for long time in Pagan.

Dhanaśrī corresponds to Tenasserim, Dahnasari of the Āin-i-Ākbarī. It belonged, as is known, to Siam up to the middle of the XVIIIth century and it was one of the most important trade centres in the Far East. It had a Protuguese settlement till 1641.[1] The name

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1 *p'ren gi*=later Sanskrit: *phirañga*, Hindī: *pharañgī* is not given in our dictionaries (the usual forms being *p'e ran*, *p'i lin*, *p'a raṅ*, *p'o raṅ*, on which see Laufer, *Loan words in Tibetan* n. 141). Its mention here has some importance in so far as it seems to us that the form was probably introduced into Tibet from India rather than from Persia. As regards the form *p'i liṅ*, which is now very common in Tibetan for "foreign country" or "Europe," I fully agree with Laufer that it cannot be considered as the popular pronunciation of *p'yi gliṅ*, but it is quite possible that it took the place of the original *p'reṅ gi* under the influence of that form. *P'yi gliṅ pa* is not only a foreigner but also is opposed to *naṅ pa*, "the man of the inside"

of the pagoda or stūpa which was seen by Buddhagupta near the town, is worthy of notice; in fact Śrīdhānyakaṭaka was the name, as it is known, of a famous Buddhist place in Orissa which was held in a very high estimation by Mahāyana schools. It was after that place that one of the most famous monasteries of Tibet was called, I mean the dPal ldan ḥbras spuṅs (Mt. Debung) near Lhasa. On the other side modern research seems to show that the influence of Orissa was specially felt in Siam. Nor is it out of place to notice that even our text points out the existence of a land route connecting Kāmarūpa or northern Assam with Burma. Unfortunately we find no mention as regards the itinerary followed by Buddhagupta from Gauhāṭī to Pagan, but it seems to me that the road must have passed between the Mikir and the Jaintia hills and then reached Upper Burma through Manipur. This appears to have been the shortest and the safest since it avoided the violent rivers of the Lushai hills and the head-hunting tribes of the Nāgās. Of the remaining islands only Suvarṇadvīpa may be identified with Sumatra though the problems connected with this identification are complicated by the fact that Buddhagupta knows two Suvarṇadvīpas, a small one and a big one. The mention of bSam yas is interesting in so far as it shows that Buddhagupta went into Tibet *via* Bhutān. This is suggested by the previous mention of Assam and by our knowledge of the roads between Tibet and India. It is generally believed that the usual intercourse between these two countries took place along the route, Darjeeling (rdo rje gling) and Gyantze (rgyan tshe) But this is wrong. This route is a new one as it was regularly opened in quite recent times and acquired its importance after the last Anglo-Tibetan war. But in former times there is no mention of it. There are good reasons for its being unknown in older texts. This road passes through Sikkim, and this country, populated chiefly by Lepchas, was converted to Buddhism by Lha brtsum c'enpo in the XVIIth century. The wild people of the country, the thick jungle which covered the hills and the absence of any Buddhist centre are the main reasons why the Sikkimmese road, though the shortest, was not used up to the end of the XVIIth century

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"the believer," it implies therefore not only a geographical difference but also a spiritual demarcation. Cf. in Chinese Buddhist texts *nei* and *wei*.

when Buddhism was firmly established in the country. In former times the usual route of the Indian paṇḍits to Tibet or of the Tibetan locāvas to India was through Nepal (Kirong and Kuti) where Marpa, Ras ḥbyun, Rva locāva travelled or through the Sutlej and Kulu as in the case of Ur gyan pa and Stag gtsan ras pa. Eventually even the Ladak route through the Zojila was followed, though, it appears to me, not so common as the other routes. But in all *rnam thars* and other Tibetan sources accessible to me no mention whatever is to be found of the Sikkimese route. On the other hand, the fact, that in our text mention of bSam yas is made, excludes the probability that Buddhagupta went into Tibet *via* Nepal, that is, along the route which he followed when coming back to India as it is expressly stated in our text. If he had gone to Lha sa by this way he could not have reached bSam yas without deviating from his road, since we know that bSam yas is on the road to Bhutan, a country very early converted to Buddhism and a great centre of Tibetan learning. It was in fact there that one of the most important branches of the Bkaḥ ḥgyur ba sects, that of the ḥBrug pa, had its origin and wide diffusion. Anyhow, as stated before, the mention of Assam without referring to any further movement of Buddhagupta to other places makes us believe that he started just from there. We know that there was such a route from Bhutan to Assam through Devaṅgiri and that this route was largely followed by the Tibetans coming down to India to visit the place of the Mahāparinirvāṇa of Buddha. It is in fact well established that according to some Tibetan traditions, accepted also by the author of the *Śam bha laḥi lam yig* (but the origin of which we are not yet in a position to trace), Kuśinagara was in Assam. The place seems to be, as pointed out by Waddel, the village Salkusa some nine miles north-west from Gauhāṭī on the northern bank of the Brahmaputra. Unfortunately no mention of Kuśinagara is in our text, so we cannot say whether the location of Kuśinagara, the place of the Mahāparinirvāṇa, in Assam was current among the Indian Buddhists of the 16th century.

GUISEPPE TUCCI

Fire-arms in Ancient India

(1) *Introduction*

There has been a great deal of uncertainty regarding the nature of the weapon of offence called *āgneya-astra*, frequently mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. Many have taken it to mean a gun. We shall see that it was no doubt a fiery arm, but not a fire-arm. The latter is a weapon whose charge is expelled by fire, while the former might be a fiery arrow. The word, 'astra,' means a missile, and 'āgneya', of fire. There was another weapon called śataghna, also called śataghnī, which has been interpreted as a cannon. The word literally means a weapon that can kill a hundred at one time. It was not a cannon originally, but the name was applied to it in later times. Another weapon called, nālīka, underwent similar change. Originally it was a tubular arrow, but subsequently it meant a gun. It will be further seen that there was a large number of weapons of various names, all apparently belonging to the āgneya-astra class. They were all projected by means of a bow.

(2) *Classification of arms*

Before we proceed to enquire into the nature of āgneya-astra, it will be well to take a broad view of the 'āyudha,' the weapons of offence in use in ancient India. A well-known classification consists of (1) astra, which is discharged, and (2) śastra, which is not. This is the primary classification adopted in the Agni Purāṇa, and the Śukra-Nītisāra.[1] This Purāṇa as well as the Vaśiṣṭha Dhanurveda classify them into (1) yantra-mukta, discharged from a machine, e.g.,

1 The editions of texts used in this article are: Purāṇas, Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, Calcutta edition; Śukranītisāra by Jīvānanda, Calcutta; Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, Sanskrit Text, (1st edition) by R, Śāmaśāstrī. My translations of Kauṭilya passages differ in many places from those of the translator.

stone from a kṣepaṇī (projector) and arrow from a bow; (2) hastamukta, discharged from the hand, e.g., stone and javelin; (3) muktaamukta, thrown and brought back, e.g., a spear; and (4) amukta, which never leaves the hand, e.g., a sword. This classification based on the manner of use of the arms takes no account of the weapons of defence such as the shield and coats of mail. It should be noted that there is no mention anywhere of any weapon projected by means of fire.

Kauṭilya (p. 101) gives a mixed scheme based on construction and use. It is as follows :—Heavy stationary engines, e.g., (1) Jāmadagnya, known also as mahāśara-yantra, or simply as mahā-yantra, for shooting heavy and long range arrows; (2) Parjanyaka, a water machine, probably a water-tower with hose to put out fire; (3) Portable or hand weapons with obtuse or blunt ends, e.g., gadā, a mace, triśūla, a trident, śataghna, explained by the commentator as "a big pillar with immense number of sharp points on its surface and situated on the top of fort-walls"[1]; (4) Long weapons with lance-shaped heads, e.g., śūla, a lance, kunta. a spear, śakti, a heavy dart; (5) Bow and arrow; (6) Swords; (7) Flat weapons with keen edge, e.g., kuṭhāra, an axe, paraśu, a scimitar; cakra, a disc, &c. (8) stones, hurled by hand or machine.

(3) *Divine Weapons*

There was another classification of weapons into 'divya, divine, and 'mānava,' ordinary. The divya-astras were uncommon weapons deadlier than the ordinary, the construction of which was known only to a few who possessed godly power. Divya-astras were also known as 'māntrika',

1 This description agrees with accounts found elsewhere. *Śabda-kalpa-druma* quotes an authority to say that śataghnī is a large piece of stone having iron spikes fixed into it. So also *Vaijayantī koṣa.* From the Matsya Purāṇa (ch. 117) we learn that it used to be placed in large numbers on the tops of fort-walls. Evidently it was let fall on enemies attempting to climb the wall. But in that case Kauṭilya would have placed it in the first class. The Mahābhārata (Droṇa P.) informs us that it was carried on wheels. It is perhaps on account of its portability that Kauṭilya put it under the third class. It is, however, clear that śataghnī, whether staṭionary or portable, had nothing to do with fire.

requiring 'mantra' to be uttered before its use. There was another class of weapons called 'āsura,' demonical, the construction and use of which were known to the Asuras. In later times when guns and cannons were invented, Śukra classed them as āsura. These could neither be placed among the divya-astras, which were secret, nor with the mānava-astras which were too common. In the above list Kauṭilya has mentioned only the mānava astras. There was yet a fourth class, the Rākṣasa-astras, the weapons of the wild aborigines, consisting of stone and branches of trees thrown by the hand. This class was not recognised as worthy of study.

(4) *The bow and arrow*

The bow and arrow were the most important weapons of offence dating back to the time of the Ṛg-veda, and continuing down to the sixteenth century. They figured side by side with guns for at least four centuries and are still in use among the aborigines of India who cannot procure guns for hunting. Books on archery were written in ancient times and were known as Dhanurveda, the science of the bow. The science was regarded as an offshoot of the Yajurveda and taught by Brahmin experts to their Kṣatriya pupils, who alone could lay claim to it on account of their military profession. Bṛhaspati and Śukra, Viśvāmitra and Vaśiṣṭha, Vaiśampāyana and Śārṅgadhara and perhaps many others wrote on Dhanurveda, but unfortunately most of them have been lost, and only one, that by Vaśiṣṭha, has been lately published.[1] It is to a certain extent a modernised edition of an older treatise on archery bearing the name of Vaśiṣṭha who was a celebrated teacher and said to have been the foremost writer on Dhanurveda. Fragments of the science of archery are found in many books, such as *Yuktikalpataru* by Bhojarāja, *Nītiśāra* by Śukra. The Agni Purāṇa has given in three short chapters a more detailed account which agrees in most parts with Vaśiṣṭha. Both of them appear to have borrowed their accounts from an older source.

The common name for bow was 'dhanus.' But there were distinctive names. Kauṭilya calls one made of Tāla (Palmyra palm)

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1 The Sanskrit text has been edited and translated into Bengali by Iśvara Chandra Śāstrī and published by Arun Chandra Sinha, Calcutta.

wood a 'kārmuka', of Cāpa (a bamboo) a 'cāpa', and also 'kodaṇḍa', of Dhanvan wood (*lit.* the dhanus wood, Dhāman of our vernacular, species of *Grewia* and perhaps also of *Cordia*) 'druṇa', and of Śṛṅga (horn) a 'śārṅga.' The famous bow of Arjuna was gāṇḍīva, so-called because it had prominent knots. It was probably made of bamboo. The bow of Śrīkṛṣṇa was of horn. The wood of the Dhanvan tree is flexible and straight-grained and fit for a bow, whence the name. From Vaśiṣṭha we gather that the bows were usually four cubits or six feet long. Hence a 'dhanus' became a standard measure of length. The dhanus of the gods were longer. That of Mahādeva was five and a half cubits long. The horn bow of Viṣṇu was five feet long. But the horn bows as used by men were a little shorter. These bows were used by elephant-men and horse-men, those of bamboo by chariot-men and infantry. Besides bamboo and horn, metals and other kinds of wood were used in making dhanus. The metals used are said to be gold, silver, copper and steel. Perhaps these were used to embellish the bows. The horn was procured from buffaloes and a kind of antelope called Rohiṣa and a wild animal called Śarabha.[1]

1 The animal is thus described in the Vaśiṣṭha-dhanurveda. "It has eight legs, four of which are upwards. Its horns are long. It is as high as a camel, lives in forests and is well known and hunted after in Kashmir." It is believed to be a fabulous animal, because of its so-called eight legs. This part of the description is a fiction, but there cannot be the least doubt of the existence of the animal whose flesh was eaten and which furnished horn for bows. The horn of wild buffaloes may measure more than eight feet along the curve. The question is what other animal could supply the horn for bows? It is obvious, the horn must be hollow, and we should therefore search among the family of Bovidæc. We gather from other books, that its eyes are situated higher up the head, it can be seen only in forests and can dare attack a lion and is strong enough to kill it, 'siṃhaghātin'. From *Rājanighaṇṭu* we gather that it looks like a lion (mahā-siṃha), has enormous horns, black shoulders, (perhaps black hair on the neck), is very intelligent and lives in mountainous regions. This description would tempt one to think of bison which might have been found in Kashmir. Possibly the name śarabha was Sanskritized from 'sar', a common name for the deer in use among the natives of the Himalayas. The horn of Rohiṣa and Śarabha need not be very long.

Of the various kinds of wood, Vaśiṣṭha mentions candana (sandal), vetra (rattan cane), dhanvan (dhāman), śāla, śālmali (*Bombax*), śāka (teak), kakubha (*Terminalia arjuna*), bamboo and añjana (?). But it is difficult to see how efficient and lasting bows could be made of trees like candana, śāla and śāka. Probably they were used in making mahā-yantra, the machine for hurling stones, etc. It may be noted that Tāla (Palmyra palm) is not included in the above list. Bhojarāja names only horn and bamboo. Agni Purāṇa tells us that the maximum length of a bow is six feet, medium length five feet and the minimum length four and a half feet.

For strings of the bow Kauṭilya mentions fibres of mūrvā (*Sansviera*), arka (*Calatropis*), śaṇa (*Crotalaria*), gavethu (*Coix*), veṇu (strips of bamboo), and snāyu (gut). Vaśiṣṭha recommends silk cord as thick as the little finger, and in its absence snāyu (gut) of deer, buffalo, and goat, or strips of mature bamboo tied with silk, or fibre of arka (*Calotropis*). Agni Purāṇa mentions cotton thread, muñja (the *muñja* reed), bhāṅga (*Cannabis hemp*), and snāyu (gut).

Arrows are called 'iṣu' by Kauṭilya. The word is derived from the root 'iṣ' to move. The shafts of the arrows were made from veṇu (bamboo), śara (the reed, *Saccharum arundinaceum*), śalāka (thin stick), daṇḍāsana (?), and nārāca (of iron). The points were made of iron, bone, and wood, so as to cut, pierce and thrust. It is to be noted here that the word, 'bāṇa', is not used for an arrow. Similarly Vaśiṣṭha speaks of śara (arrows) and not bāṇa, because śara was the chief material of the shaft. It is also called kāṇḍa, the reed. The reed measured two cubits or thirty-six inches, and was as thick as the little finger. The points were given various shapes for piercing, cutting, etc. They had special forms for opposing and cutting bāṇa on its way. Nārāca was a bāṇa made entirely of metals. Bhojarāja uses the word bāṇa as a general name for arrows and insists on the lightness and stiffness of the shaft, and sharpness of the point. According to him a nārāca is ribbed and the point is either sharp or rough. Vaśiṣṭha also describes nārāca which is entirely made of iron, five sided and five feathered. It is said that very few succeed in shooting a nārāca.

It seems agni-bāṇa was the result of fastening to nārāca inflammable materials. The modifications of the agni-bāṇa or āgneyāstra were known under various names. All were 'divya-astras', that is to say, uncommon weapons. Vaśiṣṭha names seven classes of divya-astras. They were Brahmāstra, Brahmadaṇḍa, Brahmaśira, Pāśupata,

Vāyavya, Āgneya and Nārasiṃha, and we are told that they had numerous forms. Unfortunately the construction is kept secret. But they were all known as 'bāṇa' and not 'śara', and required careful handling. Before discharging the arrow, concentration of attention was secured by repeating Tāntrika mantras. As to the effective range of common arrows, we are told that for the best archer it is sixty dhanus or 120 yards, for the next best 80 yards and for the worst 60 yards. But for nārāca, the distances should be 80, 60, and 32 yards respectively. A man who could pierce through metal plates half a finger in thickness, or twenty-four layers of leather was considered proficient.

(To be continued)

JOGESH CHANDRA ROY

महानाटकम्*

OUR TEXT

MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

[1]प्राचीभागे[2] सरागे[3] धरणिविरहिणी[4]क्लान्तवक्त्रे समुद्रे
निद्रालौ[5] नीरजालौ विकसति कुमुदे निर्विकारे चकोरे ।
आकाशे सावकाशे[6] तमसि शममिते कोकलोके[7] सशोके[8]
कन्दर्पे मन्ददर्पे वितरति किरणान् शर्वरीसार्वभौमः ॥६८॥[9]

*The text is continued from the previous issue, p. 627.

1 Here before this verse, A, E, F add अत्रावसरे; B, C, D, अत्रान्तरे ।

2 पश्चाद्भागे B, C, D. 3 सुरागे C.

4 सुचिरविरहिणी B, C, D; धरणिहरितक्रान्तवक्त्रे E, F. This is omitted in A, but space is left for these words.

5 निद्राणे B.

6 आकाशप्रान्तभागे B; आकाशे प्रान्तभागे C, D.

7 नागलोके RS, CS; नाकलोके B, C, D, G, H.

8 विशोके B, C, D. E, F read लोकलोकेशशोके । A drops this line as well as the next, but space is left in the Ms for them. 9 Dām. ii, 3.

OUR TEXT

MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

स्वेरं कैरवकोरकान् विदलयन् यूनां मनः खेलयन्[1]
अम्भोजानि निमीलयन् मृगदृशां मानं समुन्मूलयन् ।
ज्योत्स्नाः कन्दलयंस्तमः कवलयन्नम्भोधिमुद्वेलयन्
कोकानाकुलयन् दिशो धवलयन्निन्दुः समुज्जृम्भते ॥९९॥[2]

[3]अद्यापि स्तनशैलदुर्गविषमे[4] सीमन्तिनीनां[5] हृदि
स्थातुं वाञ्छति मान एष धिगिति क्रोधादिवालोहितः ।
प्रोद्यन् दूर[6]तरप्रसारितकरः कर्षत्यसौ तत्क्षणात्
फुल्लत्कैरवकोषनिःसरदलिश्रेणीकृपाणं शशी ॥१००॥[7]

यातस्यास्तमनन्तरं दिनकृतो वेशेन[8] रागान्वितः
स्वैरं शीतकरः करं कमलिनीमालिङ्गितुं योजयन् ।

1 खेदयन् in all Mss, except G, H.

2 PR vii, 60 ; Dām. ii, 4. The first line of this verse is dropped in A, but space is left for it.

3 A, E, F read अपि च before this verse.

4 स्तनतुङ्गशैलविषमे A, E, F, G, H.

5 वामेक्षणानां A, E, F.

6 उद्यन् दूर° A, E, F ; प्रोद्यद्दूर° B, C, D.

7 Dām. ii, 5.

8 रोषेण, all Mss, except H.

OUR TEXT	MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)
	शीतस्पर्शमवाप्य[1] सम्प्रति तया गुप्ते[2] मुखाम्भोरुहे हासेनैव[3] कुमद्वतीवनितया वैलक्ष्यपाण्डूकृतः ॥१०१॥[4]
	श्रीरामः सखीं प्रति।[5]
	कर्पूरैः किमपूरि किं मलयजैरालेपि किं पारदै- रक्षालि स्फटिकान्तरैः किमघटि द्यावापृथिव्योर्वपुः। एतत्तर्कय कैरवक्लमहरे शृङ्गारदीक्षागुरौ दिक्कान्तामुकुरे चकोरसुहृदि प्रौढे तुषारत्विषि ॥१०२॥[6]
	पञ्जरस्था सारिका[7] सखीनां स्वमन्दिरगमनाशिषं[8] पठति।
	चक्र[9]क्रीडाकृतान्तस्तिमिरचयचमूस्फारसंहारचक्र[10]

1 ०स्पर्शमवेत्य A.

2 रुद्धे A; मुक्ते E, F.

3 हास्येनैव A, B, C, D.

4 Dām. ii. 6.

5 अथ सखीं प्रति श्रीरामः B, C, D.

6 Dām. ii, 7.

7 मन्दिरसारिका G, H.

8 स्वगृहगमनव्याजाशिषं B, C. D; स्वमन्दिरगमनायाशिषं A, E, F.

9 शम्भोः E, F.

10 ०चक्रः D.

Our Text	Madhusūdana's Text (Jīvānanda's Ed.)
	कान्तासंयोग[1]साक्षी गगनसरसिजो राजते राजहंसः । सम्भोगारम्भकुम्भः[2] कुमुदवनवधूरोध[3]निद्रादरिद्रो[4] देवः क्षीरोदजन्मा जयति रतिपतेर्बाणनिर्माण[5]शाणः ॥१०३॥[6]

1 J notes the alternative reading सम्भोग, which is given only by H and RS.

2 ०गारम्भकाले A, E, F. 3 कुमुदवरवधूरोध B, C, D, G.

4 Is it possible that this verse is composed by the poet Nidrādaridra? One verse of this poet is quoted in *Subhāṣitāvali* no. 1362 = *Śārṅga-dhara-paddhati* no. 3454, and this verse also bears the poet's signature in the same manner as in the verse under consideration. This trick is not unusual: cf. *Kavīndra-vacana* nos. 274, 518.

5 निर्वाण B,C, D, G.

6 Dām. ii. 9. After this verse, A, E have the following comment: चन्द्रबिम्बशाणोत्तीर्णाः कामबाणाः सीताराम-चन्द्रौ प्रविष्टा इति ध्वनिः ॥

OUR TEXT

MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

सखीषु गतासु ।[1]

अङ्के कृत्वा जनकतनयां द्वारकोटेस्तटान्तात्[2]
पर्यङ्काङ्कं[3] विपुलपुलकां राघवो नम्रवक्त्राम् ।
बाणान् पञ्च प्रवदति जनः पञ्चबाणोऽप्रमाणै-
र्बाणैः किं मां प्रहरति[4] शनैर्व्याहरन्नानिनाय[5] ॥१०४॥[6]

अन्योन्यं बाहुपाशग्रहणरसभराशीलिनोस्तत्र यूनो-
र्भूयो भूयः प्रभूताभिमतफलभुजोर्नन्दतोर्जात एषः ।
संसारो गर्भसारो नव इव मधुरालापिनोः कामिनोर्मा
गाढं चालिंग्य गाढं स्वपिहि न हि न हीति च्युतो बाहुबन्धः॥१०५॥

वक्त्रे ततः फणिलतादलवीटिकां स्वे
विन्यस्य चन्दनघनावृतपूगगर्भाम् ।

1 Omitted in B, C, D.

2 द्वारकोष्ठ्यान्तरस्थां B, C, D.

3 पर्यङ्काङ्के B, C, D, G ; पर्यस्ताङ्गीं A.

4 प्रभवति A.

5 व्याहरन् व्यानिनाय A. E, F ; बलाद्व व्याहरंस्तां निनाय B, C, D.

6 Dām. ii, 10.

OUR TEXT

MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

रामोऽब्रवीदयि गृहाण मुखेन बाले
तच्छद्मना तदधरं मधुरं प्रपातुम् ॥१०६॥

मन्दं मन्दं जनकतनया तां चतुर्धा विधाय
स्वैरं जह्रे तदधरमधु प्रेमतो मीलिताक्षी ।
मेने तस्यास्तदनु कवलात् धर्मकामार्थमोक्षान्
रामः कामं मधुरमधरं ब्रह्म पीत्वापि तस्याः ॥ १०७ ॥[1]

सुप्तायां सीतायां रामः ।[2]

भातिस्म चित्तस्थित[3]रामचन्द्रं संरुन्धती निर्गमशङ्कयेव ।
स्तनोपरि स्थापितपाणिपद्मा च्छद्माप्तनिद्रा[4] हरिणायताक्षी[5]॥१०८॥

1 Nos. 105, 106, 107 = Dām. ii, 12, 13, 14. These verses are omitted by all Mss and printed editions, but are probably taken from Dām. by J.

2 Omitted in B, C. D.

3 RS notes also the reading चित्तस्थिर ।

4 ०पाणिपद्मासनिद्रा B, C, D ; छद्मान्तनिद्रा F, F.

5 Dām. ii, 15.

Our Text	Madhusūdana's Text (Jīvānanda's Ed.)
	तत्र सीतावक्षःस्थलस्थं भ्रमरमवलोक्य ।[1] मदनदहनशुष्यत्क्लान्त[2]कान्ताकुचान्त-[3] हृदि मलयजपङ्के गाढबद्धाखिलाङ्घ्रिः । उपरिविततपक्षो लक्ष्यतेऽलिर्निमग्नः[4] शर इव कुसुमेषोरेष पुङ्खावशेषः[5] ॥ १०६ ॥[6] अत्रावसरे ।[7] पृथुलजघनभारं मन्दमान्दोलयन्ती मृदुचलदलकान्ता प्रस्फुरत्कर्णपूरा ।

1 तत्र सीतावक्षःस्थले सानन्दमिन्दीवरमवलोक्य A ; तत्र सीता वक्षसि सानन्दमिन्दीवरमवलोक्य E, F ; अत्र सीतास्तनमध्ये चन्दनगन्धपतितभ्रमरमवलोक्य B, C, D.

2 कान्त for क्लान्त B, C, G. 3 ०कुचान्ते B, C, D, G, H.

4 लक्ष्यते किन्न मग्नः A ; लक्ष्यते किं निमग्नः E, F.

5 कुसुमेषोः पुङ्खमात्रावशेषः A, E, F.

6 Dām ii, 16.

7 Omitted in A, D, E, F ; B, C read instead किं च ।

OUR TEXT

MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed)

प्रकटितभुजमूलादर्शितस्तन्यलीला
प्रमदयति पतिं द्राक् जानकी व्याजनिद्रा[1] ॥ ११० ॥

श्रीरामपादाः ।[2]

निद्राणस्त्रीनितम्बाम्बरहरणरणन्मेखलारावधाव-
त्कन्दर्पाबद्धबाणव्यतिकरतरलाः कामिनो[3] यामिनीषु ।
ताडङ्को[4]पान्तकान्त[5]ग्रथितमणिगणोद्गच्छदच्छच्छटाभि-[6]
र्व्यक्ताङ्गास्तुङ्गकम्पा जघनगिरिदरीमाश्रयं ते श्रयन्ते[7] ॥ १११ ॥[8]

जानकी प्रबुद्धा ।

स्पृहयति च बिभेति प्रेमतो बालभावा-
न्मिलति सुरतसङ्गेऽप्यङ्गमाकुञ्चयन्ती ।

1 Dām. ii, 17.

2 Omitted in A, which also omits the following verse no. 111.

3 Dropped in B, C ; कामिनी G, H.

4 सातङ्को A, E, F. 5 ०कान्ता A, E, F.

6 ०दच्छप्रभाभिः A, E, F. 7 ०दरीमार्गमत्राश्रयन्ते A, E, F.

8 Dām. ii, 19.

OUR TEXT

MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

अहह न हि न हीति व्याजमप्यालपन्ती
स्मितमधुरकटाक्षैर्भावमाविष्करोति ॥ ११२ ॥[1]

श्री[2]रामः सानन्दं जानकीवाग्विलासमुल्लासयति[3] ।

वाचां गुम्फेन रम्भाकरकमलदलोदारसञ्चारचञ्च-
त्तन्त्रीसञ्जातमञ्जुस्वररणन[4]शतोद्गारतारा[5]क्षरेण ।
प्रत्यग्रोन्निद्रनाकद्रुमकुसुमनवामोदसम्मोद[6]मैत्री-
पात्रीभूतेन धात्रीं युवतयति[7] चिरस्थाविरां रामराज्ञी[8] ॥११३॥

1 Dām. ii, 20. 2 Omitted in A, E, F.

3 जानकीं वाग्विलासयति B, C, D.

4 ०मञ्जुस्मररभस A, E, F.

5 ०शतोद्गारभारा E, F; A drops these words but leaves space for them.

6 संवाद for सम्मोद A, E, F, G, H, which reading also noted by J and RS.

7 छरतयति A, E, F, G.

8 Dām. ii, 22. This verse is omitted in B, C, D.

OUR TEXT	MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)
	अपि च ।[1]
	अरण्यं शारङ्गैर्गिरिकुहरगर्भाश्च हरिभि- र्दिशो दिङ्मातङ्गैः श्रितमपि वनं पङ्कजवनैः । प्रियाचक्षुर्मध्यस्तनवदनसौन्दर्यविजितैः सतां माने म्लाने मरणमथवारण्यशरणम्[2] ॥ ११४ ॥[3]
	अयि प्रिये पश्य
	दृष्ट्वा मुखं ते सरसीरुहाणि भृङ्गाक्षमालां जगृहुर्जपाय । एणीदृशस्तेऽप्यवलोक्य वेणीं भोगं[4] भुजङ्गाधिपतिर्जुगोप[5] ॥११५॥[6]

1 Omitted in B,C, D.

2 ०मथवा दूरसरणम् A, E, F ; ०मथवा दूरगमनम् B, C, D ; ०मथवा दूरशरणम् G, H. J and RS note also the reading ०मथवारण्यगमनम् ।

3 Dām. ii, 23. 4 भुजं A ; भङ्ग' B, C, D, E, F.

5 Dām. ii, 24.

6 After this verse, G reads तरङ्गय दृगङ्गने which occurs in BR iii, 25 (= *Viddhaśāla-bhañjikā* iii, 27 = *Bāla-bhārata* i, 31.

OUR TEXT

MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed)

दृष्ट्वा सुवर्णं[1] दहने स्वदेहं[2] चिक्षेप वर्णं[3] तव दन्तपङ्क्तिम् ।
विलोक्य तूर्णं मणिबीजपूर्णं[4] फलं विदीर्णं किल दाडिमस्य ॥११६॥[5]

वदनममृतरश्मिं पश्य कान्ते तवोर्व्या-
मनिलतुलनदण्डेनास्य वार्धौ विधाता ।
स्थितमतुलयदिन्दुः खेचरोऽभूल्लघुत्वात्
क्षिपति च परिपूर्त्यै तस्य ताराः किमेताः ॥ ११७ ॥[6]

सीता सपरिहासम् ।

रमण चरणयुग्मं तावकं भावयित्वा
मधुरगिरमुदारं रामदासी ब्रवीमि ।
कृतमपि गुरु धात्रास्वाद्य निर्णीयतां मे
वदनममृतरश्मेर्मण्डलं वा प्रियेण ॥ ११८ ॥[7]

1 सुवर्णां A.   2 दहनेषु देहं B, C, D.

3 रुक्मं A, E, F.   4 मणिबीजपूरं B, C, D.

5 Dām. ii, 25.

6 Cf. a similar verse in *Anargha-rāghava*, vii, 81.

7 This verse, with its headnote, as well as no. 117, is omitted in all Mss and printed editions. They occur as Dām. iii, 26 and 27 from which source J probably includes them.

OUR TEXT

MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

[1]सीतां मनोहर[2]तरां गिरमुद्गिरन्ती-
मालिंग्य तत्र बुभुजे परिपूर्णकामः ।
रामस्तथा त्रिभुवनेऽपि यथा न कोऽपि[3]
रामां[4] भुनक्ति बुभुजे न च भोक्ष्यतीशः ॥ ११९ ॥[5]
मृदुसुरभिसुवर्णस्फीतकक्षापुटोद्य-
ल्ललित[6]भुजलतायाः सम्पुटालिङ्गितायाः ।
सुरतरसवशाया राघवस्य प्रियाया
हरति हृदयतापं कापि दिव्या स्तनश्रीः[7] ॥ १२० ॥[8]
आगामिदीर्घविरहं चिरमाविरासीत्
ज्ञात्वेव रङ्गभवनेऽद्भुतकामकेलिः ।

1 The following headnote is added before this verse: रामः सानन्दम् A ; श्रीरामचन्द्रः सानन्दम् B, C, D ; श्रीरामः सानन्दम् G, H.
2 मनोरम B, C, D. 3 त्रिभुवनेऽपि च कोऽपि रामां A, E, F.
4 कामं A, E, F. 5 Dām. ii, 28. 6 ०ल्लसित G, H.
7 मुखश्रीः A, E, F.
8 Dām. ii, 29. This verse is missing in B.

OUR TEXT	MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)
	श्रुत्वा तथा गिरमपूरयदुल्लसन्ती-[1] मुद्गीर्णकर्णरमणां चरणायुधानाम् ॥ १२१ ॥[2] एष श्रीलहनूमता विरचिते श्रीमन्महानाटके वीरश्रीयुतरामचन्द्रचरिते प्रत्युद्धृते विक्रमैः । मिश्रश्रीमधुसूदनेन कविना सन्दर्भ्य सज्जीकृते वैदेहीसुरताभिधो[3]ऽत्र गतवानङ्को द्वितीयो महान् ॥ १२२ ॥[4] इति द्वितीयोऽङ्कः समाप्तः ।

1 श्रुत्वा गिरं रतमपुरदुल्लसन्ती B, C ; श्रुत्वा तथापि गिरमपूजय-दुर्विपुत्री A, E, F ; श्रुत्वा तथा गिरमपूयजदुल्लसन्ती G, H.

2 Dām. ii, 36.

3 This very naming of the Act indicates that the erotic elaboration in it was a later addition by Madhusūdana.

4 E, F read only एष श्रील इत्यादि without repeating the first two lines.

OUR TEXT	MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

तृतीयोऽङ्कः

भुक्त्वा भोगान् सुरम्यान्[1] कतिपयदिवसान्[2] राघवो धर्मपत्न्या
सार्धं वर्धिष्णुकामः श्रवण[3]मुनिपितुः प्राप हा शापकालम् ।
धत्तेऽकस्माद्विवस्वान् मलिनकिरणतां हा महोत्पातहेतो-
रुल्कादण्डः प्रचण्डः प्रपतति नभसः कम्पते भूतधात्री[4] ॥ ११३ ॥
दिग्भागो धूसरोऽभूदहनि बहुतराः स्फार[5]ताराः स्फुरन्ति
स्वर्भानोर्भानवीयं ग्रहणमसमये रौधिरी शक्र[6]वृष्टिः ।
मध्याह्ने ध्वाङ्क्षघोषः[7] श्वगणरुतमतिस्फीतफेरुप्रचारो
वारं वारं गभीरः प्रलय इव महाकालचीत्कारघोषः[8] ॥ ११४ ॥[9]

1 दुरङ्गान् A, E ; भोगान् त्रिवर्गान् B, C D.
2 कतिपयदिवसं all Mss.
3 पितरि D ; च्यवन G.
4 Dām. iii, 1.
5 बहुतरस्फार A, E, F.
6 रक्त B, C, D.
7 मध्याह्नोऽध्वांस्यशेषः A, F, F ; मध्याह्नोऽध्वांस्यकाशः G.
8 ०चीत्कारघोरः A, E, F.
9 Dām. iii, 2.

OUR TEXT

अथ रामाभिषेके[1] सुमन्त्रवचनम् ।[2]

स्वीयां जरामुपगतामवलोक्य राजा
रामं च राज्यवहनक्षममाकलय्य ।
राज्याभिषेकपरमोत्सवमस्य[3] कर्तु-
मादिष्टवान् पुरजनाः कुरुत प्रमोदम् ॥ ४२ ॥

1 This phrase is given only by F and H.

2 A and F read instead दशरथवाक्यम् ।

3 ०माशु B.

MADHUSŪDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

अत्रान्तरे दशरथस्य चेष्टा[1] ।

रामे नयचर्यं दृष्ट्वा लोकधर्मसहं च यत्[2] ।
यौवराज्याभिषेकाय नृपे मतिरभूत्ततः ॥ ११५ ॥[3]

सुमन्त्रो बहिर्निःसृत्य नागरान् प्रति ।[4]

स्वीयां जरामुपगतामवलोक्य राजा
रामं च राज्यवहनक्षममाकलय्य ।
राज्याभिषेकपरमोत्सवमस्य कर्तुं
व्यादिष्टवान् पुरजनाः कुरुत प्रमोदम् ॥ ११६ ॥[5]

1 This line is omitted in A, E, F, G, H; B, C, D read अत्रान्तरे दशरथे ।

2 लोकधर्मरतं च तम् B, C, D.

3 This verse is omitted in A, E, F.

4 Omitted in A, E, F; H reads सुमन्त्रो नागरान् प्रति ।

5 This verse is omitted in A, E, F.

S. K. DE

Kulaśekhara Āḻvār and his date

I

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar observes in his *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religions* that 'there is nothing to show that Vaiṣṇavism had not penetrated to the Tamil country about the first century after Christ." If, as I have attempted to show elsewhere, some of the extant *Saṅgam* works are not posterior to the second century A.C., we may make the affirmative statement that among the religions prevalent in South India in the first century after Christ, Vaiṣṇavism was one of the most prominent. *Tol Kāppyam*, which is generally regarded as supplying the basic grammar for the works of the Saṅgam period in Tamil literature, and consequently as the earliest Tamil work in existence, has a section devoted to *Agattinai*, or the grammar of subjective life with special reference to love and happiness in the Tamil country ; and there we are told that one of the regional varieties of the Tamil country is *Mullainilam* or pastoral land, of which the guardian deity is *Māyōn* or Viṣṇu. In *Paripādal*, a collection of ancient Saṅgam lyrics, which, thanks to the indefatiguable zeal and labour of the great Tamil scholar, Mahāmahopādhyāya V. Svāminātha Aiyar, has been published though not in its complete form ; six out of the twenty two lyrics now available are devoted to the praise of Viṣṇu. Other evidence from early Tamil literature may also be cited ; but this will suffice to show that Vaiṣṇavism was among the accepted religions of the Tamil population in the first century of the Christian era.

South Indian Vaiṣṇavism has produced great men at different epochs. In the words of Guizot, 'no one can say why a great man appears at a certain epoch ; that is a secret of Providence, but the fact is not, therefore, less certain.' The agency of great men has been, from the earliest days of history, among the most important of the civilizing agencies of the world ; and among the great men who have contributed to the cultural development of South India, there is none whose name is more reverently cherished than the Śaiva and the Vaiṣṇava saints of the Tamil country. These saints come from both sexes and from all castes, the Pañcama included ; and this interesting fact establishes that Hinduism in South India recognises, not only

in theory but also in practice, that access to sainthood and spiritual union with God by way of faith and discipline could not be foreclosed by hereditary caste disabilities. The Vaiṣṇava saints, who are twelve in number, are collectively known as the Āḷvārs, a term which literally means *those who are drowned* (in devotion to or love of God). As their writings show, their devotion was of an absorbing character, and in it they found the fulfilment of life. Their poems, which are among the most moving and most musical songs of devotion in Tamil, are collectively called *Nālāyira-Prabandham* or the four thousand lyrics of divine praise.

Kulaśekhara was born in Tiruvañci-Kaḷam, the ancient capital of the Cera kingdom, and the Vañci of the classical Tamil writers. He is the saint that the Bhāgavatam alludes to in the following śloka as having his birth place in the country through which the 'westward flowing Mahānadā' or Periyār, as it is locally called, runs :

क्वचित् क्वचिन्महाराज द्रविड़ेषु च भूरिशः ।
ताम्रपर्णी नदी यत्र कृतमाला पयस्विनी ॥
कावेरीच महापुण्या प्रतीची च महानदी ।

(*Bhāgavata*, xi, 5. 39-40).

He was the only kṣatriya among the Āḷvārs, and was a reigning king of Kerala. We learn from *Perumāḷ-Tiru-Moḷi*, the section of *Nālāyira-Prabandham* consisting of his lyrics, that in course of time he became, besides being the lord of the Cera kingdom, also *Kolli-Kāvalan*, *Kūdal-Nāyakan* and *Koḷi-Kon* ; in other words, he became the suzerain of the whole of South India, including the kingdoms of Pāṇḍya and Coḷa. (Vide *Perumāl-Tiru-Moḷi*, I. 11 ; II. 10 ; VI. 10 ; IX. 11 ; X, 11). It is not so much as a victorious warrior and conqueror of kingdoms that he has been remembered by posterity ; it is as a Vaiṣṇava saint that his name "shines with prevailing glory in the world." The *Bhāgavata-Māhātmya*, which according to Grierson is of considerable authority, states that Southern India is the birth place of the religion of *Bhakti* ; and even in the birth place of Bhakti, Kulaśekhara's faith and devotion were regarded as so great that he, alone among the Āḷvārs, has been honoured with the title of *Perumāḷ*. Even when in the plenitude of regal power and circumstance, he realized that all wordly pomp and splendour was but *vanity of vanities* and vexation of spirit, and yearned with unconquerable fervour to be with God.

Like all truly devotional people, Kulaśekhara Āḷvār was a mystic. It has been well said by a writer that mysticism is a temper rather than a doctrine. It is a state of feeling which shows itself in man's endeavour to grasp and enjoy the divine essence, and feel the beatitude of actual communion with the Supreme Being. It is the state of feeling that one experiences when one realizes that man in God is one with God in man. To the mystic, God is an experience; and his aim is to become like God and attain the bliss of union with Him. Life is to him a constant endeavour and aspiration to live in God; and such was it to Kulaśekhara Āḷvār. There is a very beautiful and interesting story told about him. The Rāmāyaṇa was his favourite study, and Rāma as God incarnate was the deity he adored. One day, when the court *paṇḍit* was expounding the portion of the epic which describes the fight of Rāma with Khara and his Rākṣasa hordes, the king cried in frenzy: 'My Rāma is fighting alone. Rise, my valiant soldiers, and march with me, to help him on the field of battle'. On another occasion, when the portion relating to the carrying away of Sītā by Rāvaṇa was read, the king was so much beyond himself with righteous wrath, that he exclaimed: 'How can I rest idle here? I shall forthwith cross the ocean, slay the wicked Rāvaṇa, and restore my mother Sītā to her lord.' Our critical intellect will rail at such exhibitions of emotion as indications of incipient insanity; and that is because the merely intellectual man fails to appreciate or understand the mystic's intensity of feeling. The man that is proud of his intellect is unfortunately a stranger to transcendental feeling. He can chop logic; but what Schelling calls intellectual intuition is unknown to him. Even to him, however, come periods of life when, in spite of his preconceived derision for spiritual experiences, the 'mystic germ' in him asserts itself. William James writes: "Especially in times of moral crisis, it comes to me, as the sense of an unknown something backing me up. It is most indefinite, to be sure, and rather faint. And yet I know that if it should cease, there would be a great hush, a great void in my life." Let us recognize that intellectual perception can apprehend only material objects, but spiritual experiences can be apprehended only by spiritual vision. Kulaśekhara was drowned in God-love, which alone was real to him. To him, the patent of kingship was derived, not from the prowess of his arms or the extent of his empire, but from lowly service rendered to God and His devotees.

Filled with God-love as he was, it is no wonder that Kulaśekhara

yearned, amidst the distracting duties of his kingly office, for the day when released from his responsibilities as a temporal monarch, he might consecrate his life entirely to the service and glory of the Lord in all the humility of devotion and in the hallowed company of the blessed devotees. In the opening section of the *Perumāḷ-Tiru-Moḻi*, he expresses his longing in these plaintive words :

> When will the day arrive for me to see
> With melting heart the shining moon-like face
> And lotus eyes of Him, the ocean-hued,
> Who on the serpent couch in Raṅgam lies,
>
> *Permuāḷ-Tiru-Moḻi*, I. 6.

The day did at last come. His infatuation for Vaiṣṇava-*bhaktas* which was daily growing in intensity, at last drove his minister to the verge of despair ; and with the object of redeeming him, as they thought, from his religious craze, they adopted the subterfuge of falsely accusing some Vaiṣṇavas, who were the king's guests, of theft of a crown jewel. The stratagem failed, however ; for it is said, Kulaśekhara vindicated his invincible faith in the rectitude of the Vaiṣṇavas by boldly going through the dangerous ordeal of plunging his hand into a pot containing a live cobra and drawing out the venomous reptile, without himself sustaining any injury. The conduct of the ministers hastened his renunciation. He gave up his 'power, pre-eminence, and all the large effects that troop with majesty', and exchanged the sceptre for the pilgrim's staff. He set out for Śrī Raṅgam and other holy places, and did not return to his royal city ; and he passed away in his 67th year at Mannār-Koil, near Brahmadeśam, a few miles from Ambāsamudram, a station on the South Indian Railway in the Tinnevelli district. It may be that we know little of Kulaśekhara as a king ; but as a Vaiṣṇava saint, the Perumāḷ's name will burn for ever on the leaf of fame.

II

When did the Āḷvār live ? Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyengar places him in the 6th century ; the late Mr. Swamikannu Pillai assigns him to the 8th century ; Mr. Gopinatha Rao and Mr. Ramanatha Aiyar seek for him in the 9th century, each, however, for a different reason. The subject obviously requires further examination.

Fortunately, epigraphy fixes the lower limit of the Āḷvār's date. An inscription of the 18th year of the Coḷa king, Kulotuṅga I, i.e., of 1088 A.C., makes provision for the recital, at the Vaiṣṇava temple at Śrī Raṅgam, of section 2 of Perumāḷ-Tiru-Moḷi, which begins with the expression *Teṭṭarum Tiral-Teninai*, and another inscription of 1050 A.C. belonging to the reign of Coḷa Keraḷadeva, also provides for a similar recital from the Āḷvār's lyrics. At Mannār-Koil where the Āḷvār breathed his last, there exists a temple known as Kulaśekhara-Āḷvār-Koil; and the mural inscriptions there show that the temple was consecrated to the memory of 'Āḷvār Śrī Kulaśekhara Perumāḷ' by one Vāsudevan Kesavan of Mullappaḷḷi in Malai-maṇḍalam. The earliest of these inscriptions is of the 4th year of Rājendra Coḷa, or circa 1015; but we have no materials for saying how long before that inscription the temple was built. To have deserved the honour of a public temple dedicated to him in the early years of the 11th century, not to speak of the arrangements made by the Coḷas for the public recital of his devotional lyrics in temples, about the middle of the century, the Āḷvār's reputation must have been established in the land a considerably long time before that period. The *Bhāgavata* refers, as we have seen, in terms of the highest praise to the Āḷvārs, and the latest attempt has been to assign that work to the 10th century; and I am informed of the existence of a Hindi translation of the work by Bhuali which is said to give the information that the translation was made in *Saṃvat* 1000 or 943 B. C.

There is good reason to believe that the *Bhāgavata* had become well-known in the begining of the 10th century. It is mentioned in Alberuni's list of Purāṇas; and Alberuni's work on India is said to have been completed in 1030. Abhinavagupta refers to the *Bhāgavata* in his commentary on the *Gītā* and he flourished in the last decade of the 10th century (Duff's *Chronology of India*; also *J.R.A.S.*, 1908, p. 59). We may, therefore, conclude that the Āḷvār's date was considerably anterior to the 10th century.

Did he live in the 9th century, as Mr. Gopinatha Rao and Mr. Ramanatha Aiyar say? The former bases his view on a fancied reference to the defeat and death of a Pallava king at Māmalla-puram in the words *Mallai-Mānagar. k. Kiṛaiyavantannai Vān Selutti* which occur in *Perumāḷ-Tiru-Moḷi*. The reference here is to the death of Kaṃsa at the hands of Kṛṣṇa; and Mallai-Mānagar here denotes Mathurā, the capital of Kaṃsa. The words occur in section 7 of *Perumāḷ-Tiru-Moḷi*, which expresses the surging emotion of Devakī

at the sight of her beloved son Kṛṣṇa who had been lost to her since the day of his birth, and who after putting to death the cruel Kaṃsa had returned to her in her prison and released her. It is strange that Mr. Gopinatha Rao should have misunderstood the passage as he has done, and tried to make history, relying on such a hopelessly broken reed. Mr. Ramanatha Aiyar has rejected the latter's attempt as futile; but he has himself, as the result of his investigation of the problem, come to the definite conclusion that the approximate date for the Āḷvār is 823-850. The reasoning on which this conclusion is based may be summarized as follows. The Travancore State Manual, vol. II (not III) states, that one Vāsudeva Bhaṭṭatiri lived about the beginning of the Kollam or Malabar era, and he wrote two *Kāvyas*, *Yudhiṣṭhira Vijayam* and *Tripuradahana*. The former work is seen to have been written when a Kulaśekhara was king. The latter work states that its author was a son of Ravi; and a commentator, *Nīlakānta* (*c.* 18th century) identifies 'son of Ravi' with a Vāsudeva. *Mukunda Mālā* is admitted by all to be Kulaśekhara Āḷvār's work; and the verse in that poem that mentions the author's name also gives, according to the reading found in the copy of the work preserved in the Trivandrum Palace Library, the information that a Ravi was the author's friend. On these premises, Mr. Ramanatha Aiyar assigns Kulaśekhara Āḷvār to the beginning of the Kollam or Malabar era.

It seems to me that every link in this chain of reasoning is weak and unsubstantial. In the first place, the only authority for the date is a statement in the Travancore State Manual. Mr. Ramanatha Aiyar relies on a story given in that work for such an important matter as the date of the Āḷvār. There is absolutely no other authority mentioned. Then there is no indication at all that the Kulaśekhara of *Yudhiṣṭhira Vijaya* is Kulaśekhara Āḷvār. Naturally one would expect that in any eulogy of the Āḷvār, his devotional fervour, and his irrepressible aspiration to live in God would be the first qualities to be mentioned; but the Kāvya tells us nothing about them, but it takes care to inform us that his terrible battle fields were extolled by poets as 'hovered over by vultures.' Then again, 'a son of Ravi' who wrote *Tripuradahanam* waits to be equated with a Vāsudeva for nearly four centuries, when a commentator comes to our assistance; but who this Vāsudeva and this Ravi are, the commentator does not tell us; nor does he tell us the source of his information. The editor of *Yudhiṣṭhira Vijaya* in the *Kāvyamālā* series suggests

that the author of that work and the king it mentions belonged to North India; and he notices the fact that a copy of the work was discovered in Kashmir, and that a North Indian poet, Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha has written a commentary on it; but this suggestion of the learned editor is lightly brushed aside as erroneous, because the Travancore State Manual says otherwise.

Then, finally there is the link sought to be obtained from *Mukundamālā*, which we are naively told is 'admitted on all hands to be the composition of the Cera king Kulaśekhara Varma *alias* Kulaśekhara Āḻvār!' Supposing that a Cera king, Kulaśekhara Varma, was the author of *Mukundamālā*, it would be incorrect to say that it is admitted on all hands to be the composition of Kulaśekhara Āḻvār. As a matter of fact, there are even among orthodox Vaiṣṇava scholars several who deny that the Āḻvār composed *Mukundamālā*. For example, Prativādi-bhayaṅkara Anantācārya of Kāñci expresses that view in his introduction to his edition of the poem; and he further tells us that many other scholars are of the same view. This poem has never been regarded as among the canonical books of the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas; and this omission is inexplicable if the Āḻvār were the author. Again the Vaiṣṇava commentators of *Nālāyira-Prabandham* have freely quoted from *Śrī Stotra Ratna, Pañcastava, Śrī Raṅga Rājastava* and other *stotras* to elucidate the verses of *Nālāyira-Prabandham*; but they have not quoted from *Mukundamālā* which again is inexplicable if the Āḻvār had written it. It is also reasonable to suppose that if it was the work of the Āḻvār, the Vaiṣṇava Ācāryas would have written commentaries on it, as they have done in regard to *Śrī Stotra Ratnam. Mukundamālā* is not among the poems ordained for recital in temples and at religious and other sacred functions. *Divya-sūri-Carita* by Garuḍavāhana, a contemporary of Rāmānuja, which is more than 9 centuries old and is the earliest work extant on Śrī Vaiṣṇava hierarchy, mentions only *Perumāḷ-Tiru-Moḻi* as the work of the Āḻvār. It is silent about *Mukundamālā*, and so too is Vedānta Deśika, who, however, mentions *Perumāḷ-Tiru-Moḻi.* Accounts of the Āḻvār tell us that his devotion to Śrī Rāma amounted almost to a frenzy; and if he was the author of *Mukundamālā*, it is reasonable to expect to find in that poem, at least a few *ślokas* in praise of Śrī Rāma. There is not, however, one such verse, while we find many verses in praise of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. In one of the *ślokas* the author uses the expression *Rāmānuja* to denote Kṛṣṇa. The allusion is, of course, to Kṛṣṇa as the younger brother

of Balarāma; but the use of the word *Rāmānuja* to denote Kṛṣṇa is not, so far as I have been able to discover, found prior to *Śrīmad Bhāgavat.* Indeed, it does not appear that even in later works this usage is common; for the *Nighaṇṭus* and dictionaries do not give this meaning. In Vaiṣṇava parlance, Rāmānuja usually denotes Lakṣmaṇa, the younger brother of Rāma; and the great Vaiṣṇava reformer of that name was himself so-called, because his actual name was Lakṣmaṇa. The use of the term *Rāmānuja* to denote Kṛṣṇa may suggest the inference that *Mukundamālā* was posterior in date to the *Bhāgavat.* In an inscription discovered in *Pagan,* which is of the 13th century, *Mukundamālā* is found quoted. In all probability *Mukundamālā* was composed in the 11th or 12th century; and I think that it was not and could not be the work of the Āḷvār.

The particular verse of *Mukundamālā*, in which the name of the author is given, is not found in all editions, for example, in the *Bṛhatstotra-ratnākara,* though that collection purports to give the entire poem. In the editions of the poem by Prativādi-bhayaṅkara Anantācārya of Kāñci, Iḷayavilli Śrīnivāsācārya of Kunṛapākkam, and Cinnāmu Raṅgācārya of Kumbakonam, the *śloka*, which appears as the concluding verse of the poem, is given as follows:—

यस्य प्रियौ श्रुतिधरौ कविलोकवीरौ मित्रे द्विजन्मवरपद्मशरावभूताम्।
तेनाम्बुजाक्षचरणाम्बुजषट्पदेन राज्ञा कृता कृतिरियं कुलशेखरेण ॥

A manuscript in the Trivandrum Palace Library gives the first two padas thus:—

यस्य प्रियौ श्रुतिधरौ रविलोकवीरौ मित्रे द्विजन्मवरपारशवावभूताम्।

and the passage is explained as meaning that a Brāhmaṇa named Ravi and a *Pāraśava* or *Vāriyar* called Lokavīra were the friends of the royal author, Kulaśekhara. It seems to me that this reading is due to the ingenuity of the commentator, who, perhaps, was not able to understand the passage as it originally stood. In the first place, it is clear from the various editions of the poem, that there is no means of determining which and how many of the *ślokas* found in each edition were really composed by the author; for the editions do not contain the same ślokas nor even the same number of *ślokas.* Thus, the Trivandrum Palace Library manuscript contains only 24 *ślokas,* and though each of the printed editions I mentioned contains 40 *ślokas,* as many as 13 of the verses found in the Trivandrum manuscript are not found in those publications. It is also seen that in regard to the *ślokas* that are common to all the editions, there are variations

in reading. We cannot, therefore, say that this particular *śloka* which is differently given in different copies and is absent from some editions of the work, had actually formed part of *Mukundamālā* as originally composed. The Trivandrum Palace Library manuscript contains after this *śloka* another *śloka* as *phalaśruti*, which is not found in the published editions. We may, therefore, easily conclude that considerable liberty has been taken with the original text by various persons. But supposing this *śloka* was in the original *Mukundamālā*, I see no reason why the reading found in the Trivandrum manuscript should be preferred to that given in the printed editions. To my mind the Trivandrum reading seems to carry with it its own condemnation. Look at the flagrant *aślīlatvam* patent in the use of *śava* in the word *pāra-śava*! Again, one of the two persons whom the king proudly proclaims as his friends is announced to be a *pāraśava*, by name Lokavīra. The annotator explains the term *Pāraśava* as meaning *Vāriyar*, a caste-name in Kerala. There is no authority for that meaning in Sanskrit usage; and *Mukundamālā* is a Sanskrit work. In Sanskrit *Pāraśava* means the son of a Brāhmaṇa by a Śūdra woman; it also means a bastard. It is a well-known term in *Smṛti* literature. This is how Manu explains it:—

यं ब्राह्मणस्तु शूद्रायां कामादुत्पादयेत् सुतम् ।
स पारयन्नेव शवस्तस्मात्पारशवः स्मृतः ॥ (ix. 178 .

Sir William Jones translates the placitum as follows: "A son, begotten through lust on a Śūdra by a man of the priestly class, is even as a corpse, though alive, and is thence called in law a living corpse." It is evident that man so begotten is a mere corpse or *śava* in the eye of the law. It is highly improbable that a king or a saint to choose him for close comradeship. Further, the *śloka* describes both friends as *Śrutidharau*; what is the appropriateness of the epithet when applied to a *Pāraśava*, even understanding the term to mean a *Vāriyar*? The reading seems to me to be fanciful. My conclusion is that *Mukundamālā* is of no use whatever in determining the date of the Āḷvār. It will thus be seen that the whole ground work on which the Āḷvār has been sought to be placed at the beginning of the Kollam or Malabar era is unsound.

It is possible to aver that the Āḷvār must have flourished before the commencement of the Malabar era. The commendatory verses in regard to *Perumāḷ-Tiru-Moḻi* are written by Maṇakkāl Nambi, who according to Vaiṣṇava accounts was born in Kali year 3933

or 832 A.C. There is no valid reason for rejecting this date, as Vaiṣṇava hagiology came to be written within a century of this date. Maṇakkāl Nambi was 50 years senior in age to Āḷavandār, whom he preceded in the spiritual headship of the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas. Between Āḷavandār and Rāmānuja, there were three generations and Rāmānuja was born in *c.* 1015. The middle of the 9th century is, therefore, not an improbable date for Maṇakkāl Nambi ; and the Āḻvār, who is the subject of commendatory verses by the Nambi, must have lived before the 9th century.

Mr. Swamikannu Pillai, professing to act on the astronomical data supplied by the *Guruparamparās* fixed 767 A.C. as the date of Āḻvār's birth. He seems to have himself rejected this date afterwards ; but be that as it may, the postulation of this date ignores the important historical fact that Kulaśekhara, though by right of birth only a king of the Cera country, was able, as we see from frequent statements found in *Perumāḷ-Tiru-Moḻi,* to acquire overlordship over the Coḷa and Pāṇḍya kingdoms and other territories in South India. These statements occur in the closing stanzas of various sections of *Perumāḷ-Tiru-Moḻi* ; and a suggestion has been made that these terminal verses are not the composition of the Āḻvār, but are additions spuriously made. This is an unwarranted suggestion. The Āḻvār has been descriptively referred to by the hagiographers as *cemcol-moḻi-nūṟṟañcum-ceppinān* i.e., he who spoke the one hundred and five faultless verses ; and Vedānta Deśika writes, referring to him : *Nan-poruḷśer Tiru-moḻi nuṟṟaiñtu-pāttu Naṅṟāka enakkarul-śei-nalki Nīye,* i.e. you have graciously sung 105 stanzas of *Tiru-moḻi* of good import. These citations make it clear that the Perumāḷ's composition consists of 105 stanzas ; and this number can be obtained only by including the last stanzas of all the sections of his *Tiru-moḻi.* Indeed, it is the practice of all the Āḻvārs to place their name or *mudrā* in the closing verses of their songs ; and we can obtain the 4000 stanzas of *Nālāyira-Prabandham* only by including in our calculation all the *mudrā* stanzas. A similar usage is also seen among the Śaiva Nayanmars. I see no reason, therefore,for regarding the *mudrā* stanzas in *Perumāḷ-Tiru-Moḻi* which contain the name and description of Kulaśekhara as interpolations. These stanzas clearly show that the Āḻvār was, besides being a king of the Cera country, also an over-lord of the Pāṇḍya, Coḷa and Kongu kingdoms.

When was it possible in the political history of South India for the Cera to have gained ascendency over practically the whole of the

southern peninsula? Not certainly in the latter half of the 8th century, which was the period of Nandi Varman Pallavamalla, Mara Varman Rājasiṃha Pāṇḍya and Jaṭila Varman Parāntaka Pāṇḍya. It must have been before the 7th century; for the Pallavas became powerful about the close of the 6th or the beginning of the 7th century, and they maintained their ascendency for a long time; and after the battle of Tiru-parambian, the Coḷas under Vijayālaya and his successors gained ascendency and they further transferred their capital from Koḷi or Uraiyar to Tanjore. In the centuries immediately before the 7th, the position of the Coḷas and the Pāṇḍyas appears to have been precarious. After the destruction of Puhār, there was a civil war in the Coḷa country, and this led to an invasion by Ceran Śenkuttuvan, who defeated the united forces at Nerivāyil, and placed his relation as the ruler of Coḷa Nādu. This, as I have endeavoured to show elsewhere, (*I.H.Q.*, vol. I) was probably in the 2nd century; and since then, for a long time we know nothing of the Coḷas, with the exception of Ko-Ceñ-Kannan. As regards the Pāṇḍyas, the Velvikudi and Cinnamannār plates help us to get some idea of their activities from Māran, the victor of Nelveli, onwards; but before him, there is a dark period, which except for the occurrence of two names after Kadunko, the restorer of the Pāṇḍya dynasty after the Kalabhra interregnum, is a blank. It may not, therefore, be unsafe to conclude that during the period we are considering, the kingdoms of Pāṇḍya and Coḷa were insignificant politically and could be overrun by a powerful invader. We may thus look for Kulaśekhara's conquest of these kingdoms somewhere before the 7th century.

The upper limit of his date is supplied by the Āḷvār himself, for he quotes in his *Tiru-Moḷi* (v. 3) from the well-known *Kural* (chap. 55, 2); and his prosody shows that he came some centuries after the Saṅgam period. The *guruparamparās* state that he was born in Kali 28, jovian year *Parābhava* in the month of Masi on Friday, *Śukla dvādasi, Punarvasu* asterism. Perhaps Kali 28 denotes the 28th year of the Kali century current when the Āḷvār was born. If so, Kali year 3628 will suit all the conditions. The year was Parābhava. The 12th Masi of that year was Friday; and from about 4 A.M. onward that day, the star was Punarvasu and from 10 A.M. the *tithi* was Suklā-dvādasi. The corresponding English date will be 29th January 527 A.C. Hence we may hold, till a more probable date is established, that the Āḷvār was born on 29th January, 527 and as he is said to have lived 67 years, his death must have taken place in 594 A.C.

K. G. SESHA AIYAR

Early Viṣṇuism and Nārāyaṇīya Worship*

III

In the Nārāyaṇīya itself (xii, 334-351), which has been called the Pañcarātra Upaniṣad, we have accounts of the origin of the system as well as of the name Ekānta-dharma given to it, enveloped though these descriptions are in the mist of legend. In the first place, we have the description of a direct communication of the doctrine, with its *purāṇa* (ancient tradition), its *bhaviṣya* (future development) and its *rahasya* (secret),[1] to Nārada in ch. 339 (*śl.* 108f.) by Nārāyaṇa himself, who vouchsafes to him as a reward for his devotion a vision of his divine self in Śvetadvīpa. The doctrine is described here as "the great Upaniṣad (*mahopaniṣad*) coming out of the mouth of Nārāyaṇa himself (*nārāyaṇa-mukhodgīta*), connected with (*samanvita*) the four Vedas and shaped or employed by Sāṃkhya-Yoga (*sāṃkhya-yoga-kṛta*)". It was named Pañcarātra by Nārada[2] and was repeated accurately by him (*yathā-śrutam*) in the abode of Brahmā, his father, to the Siddhas

The Nārāyaṇīya accounts of its divine origin.

Direct revelation of the doctrine to Nārada by Nārāyaṇa,

* Continued from *I.H.Q.*, vol. VII, no 2, p. 358.

1 *sa-rahasya sa-saṃgrahaḥ* in 346, 11. The *rahasya*, of course, refers to its mysteries or esoteric doctrines, its *upaniṣad*; but does *saṃgraha* mean "a summary", an abstract, or does it signify totality of the doctrines as in the term *karma-saṃgraha* in *Bhagavad-gītā*, xviii, 18? An attempt is made to raise the religious teaching, as revealed to Nārada, to the dignity of a Upaniṣad by an injunction (339, 126) similar to what is found in some Upaniṣads (cf. *Śvetāśvatara Up.*, vi, 22) that it is *parama-guhya* (cf. 334, 28), "the essence of all narrations" and should not be imparted to one who is not a *bhakta* of Vāsudeva (*nā-vāsudevabhaktāya tvayā deyaṃ kathañcana*). Also cf. *Bhagavad-gītā* xviii, 67.

2 *tena pañcarātrānuśabditam*, 339, 111. The phrase *anuśabdita* is obscure. Does it mean Nārada repeated the name which he heard, or does it signify that he named the Śāstra *Pañcarātra* after the Pañcarātra devotees of Nārāyaṇa? It is declared as *nāradokta* (*śl.* 137) in the sense that, although coming ultimately from Nārāyaṇa, it was promulgated by Nārada to whom it was communicated in Śvetadvīpa,

assembled there. The account is here called ancient or legendary history conformable to the Veda (*purāṇaṃ veda-sammitam*). It is the essence of all narrations, just as *amṛta* is the essence derived from the churning of the ocean (*śl.* 127). Sūrya, the sun, having heard it on this occasion, repeated it to the sixty-six thousand *ṛṣis* or sages in his train, who related it to the deities assembled on the mount Meru. Asita, the great sage[1] having heard it from these gods, told it to the fathers (*pitṛ*). Bhīṣma, who is now telling it, learnt from (the Pitṛ?) Śāntanu, his father. Its traditional character is clearly acknowledged here by the statement that this legend, connected with the sages (*ārṣeyam ākhyānam*), is 'handed down in regular succession" (*paramparayāgatam, śl.* 125, 137,141). It must also be noted that later on in 346, 10-11 and 348, 53-54 we are informed twice in exactly the same words that the *dharma* which Nārada received with its mysteries and abstracts from Nārāyaṇa himself is already told concisely in the Harigītās (*harigītāsu*), which (in spite of the plural number) is apparently intended to refer (as one can presume from 348, 8) to the *Bhagavad gītā*.

and subsequent traditional transmission.

The second account occurs in ch. 335 (*śl.* 16f.) in the course of Yudhiṣṭhira's enquiry about the strange people in the Śvetadvīpa and Bhīṣma's relation in this connexion of the legend of king Uparicara-Vasu who, in former times, was a friend of Indra and was devoted to Nārāyaṇa-Hari. Here we are told that Uparicara-Vasu in his worship of Nārāyaṇa followed the Sātvata rule (*sātvatam vidhim āsthāya*), which formerly issued from the mouth of Sūrya (*prāk sūrya-mukha-niḥsṛtam*), and offered oblations, with the remainder of which he pleased the fathers (*pitṛ*) and the Brahmins, himself partaking of

Another account of its origin in the legend of Uparicara-Vasu in the Nārāyaṇīya.

1 This may be, as Grierson notes, Asita (-Devala), the ṛṣi of *Ṛg-Veda* ix, 5 and 24. See *Bṛhad-devatā*, ed. Macdonell, ii, 157. In the Epic, however, Asita, Asita-Devala or Devala figures as a divine sage (ṛṣi) who is Śiva's brother-in-law, having married Ekaparṇā, one of the three daughters of Himavat and sister of Aparṇā-Umā. He recites the Pañcarātra to the Pitṛs. He is mentioned in xii, 318, 59 in the list of the teachers of the Twenty-fifth Principle (oddly combined with Sāṃkhya-Yoga) which he teaches to Nārada in xii, 274. See Hopkins, *Great Epic*, pp. 155f. The story of Asita-Devala and Jaigīṣavya is told in ix, 50.

what was left over. He owed his kingdom to Nārāyaṇa's favour (*nārāyaṇa-varāt*) and considered all he possessed as *bhāgavata* or coming from the Bhagavat himself. It is again repeated that following the Sātvata rule (*sātvataṃ vidhim āsthāya*) he performed all the optional (*kāmya*) and occasional (*naimittika*) sacrificial acts. The leading exponents of the Pañcarātra system (*pañcarātra-vido mukhyāḥ*) used to eat eagerly the food consecrated to the Bhagavat (*bhagavat-proktam*) in his house. The narrative proceeds to relate how Uparicara-Vasu came to be instructed in the system. The supreme scripture (*śāstram uttamam*), apparently of the Pañcarātras, was compiled and uttered with an unanimous mind (*eka-matibhiḥ*) by the seven sages (*ṛṣis*), known as the seven Citraśikhaṇḍins,[1] who were well-versed in austerities (*tapas*), and who, after worshipping Nārāyaṇa-Hari with penances for a divine thousand years, were possessed, for the good of the world, by Sarasvatī, at the direction of Nārāyaṇa himself. These sages were Marīci, Atri, Aṅgiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu and Vaśiṣṭha; with them was also the Svāyambhuva i.e. Manu. The seven holy sages, who are really the seven *prakṛtis*[2] personified, were the receptacle as well as the promulgators of the Śāstra, which is described as connected with the four Vedas (*vedaiś caturbhiḥ samitam*) and honoured with the sound of the sacred syllable *Om* (*oṅkāra-svara-pūjitam*). They composed the Śāstra after considering the world (*lokān*) and reflecting well in their minds that this was the highest good (*śreyas*), this was Brahma (neuter), this was incomparably the highest well-being (*hitam anuttamam*). The invisible Nārāyaṇa within them, after hearing it, was pleased and declared that these hundred thousand excellent ślokas would form the source of the *dharma* of the entire course of the world.[3] He further certified that they were in complete accord with the four Vedas, and that they determined the path of action (*pravṛtti*) and inaction (*nivṛtti*). He also prophesied that it would be authoritatively taught by Manu Svāyambhuva, as well as by Uśanas and Bṛhaspati, of whose teaching

Revelation of the doctrine to the Citraśikhaṇḍins and their compilation of an extensive scripture.

1 Cf. *śāstraṃ citraśikhaṇḍijam* 337, 3. It is curious that in Nārada's prose hymn to Nārāyaṇa (ch. 338), the deity himself is addressed also as Citraśikhaṇḍin.

2 As also in xii, 340, 34-35.

3 *kṛtaṃ śata-sahasraṃ hi ślokānāṃ idam uttamam/*
loka-tantrasya kṛtsnasya yasmād dharmaḥ pravartate //

it would form the basis. Uparicara-Vasu would learn it from his preceptor Bṛhaspati, but after Vasu, the doctrine would disappear.

In this strange account which is described as "the essence of all narratives", there are many things which are of interest, and we shall revert to them in their proper places; but one notable feature is the omission of Nārada's name[1] as one of the original expounders of the system to the world. It is perhaps implied that all these happened even before Nārada visited the Śvetadvīpa, the mythical abode of Nārāyaṇa, and received an exposition of the system anew from Nārāyaṇa himself. That the system was taught in different ways at different times is clear from the third account which occurs in ch. 348, 11f. where, curiously enough, Nārada himself is made responsible for the description of the modes in which the system was taught. It is strange, however, that in this account also Nārada is never mentioned as a recipient of the doctrine, until towards the end where an attempt is made to remove the inconsistency by adding that the system, whose several appearances and disappearances at different times are described here, is the same as that which Nārāyaṇa himself communicated to Nārada in the Śvetadvīpa.

A third and still more mythical account of the origin in the Nārāyaṇīya related by Nārada himself.

Nārada is said to have declared this third account before an assembly of sages in reply to Arjuna's enquiry, and Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana having heard it there, explained it to Vaiśampāyana, who now relates it to Janamejaya. In this mythical account seven different births of Brahmā are mentioned,[2] and at the creation of each Brahmā, different modes of revelation of the system from Nārāyaṇa are distinguished, the *dharma* having been lost at the end of each Brahmā. These are: (i) At the first mental birth (*mānasaṃ janma*) of Brahmā from Nārāyaṇa's mouth, Nārāyaṇa himself performed the rites of the religion. From him the religion was first received by the Phenapa (lit. 'froth-drinking') sages, who handed it to the Vaikhānas,[3]

Seven different appearances and disappearances of the doctrine.

1 The tradition of Nārada's connexion with the *bhakti*-doctrine and with the Pañcarātra survives in the ascription to him of the apocryphal *Nārada-Sūtras* on Bhakti and in the *Nārada-Pañcarātra*.

2 The seven births of Brahmā are also mentioned in 347, 40-43.

3 Grierson is inaccurate in translating the substance of the lines (*phenapā ṛṣayaś caiva taṃ dharmaṃ pratipedire| vaikhānasāḥ phenapebhyo dharmaṃ taṃ pratipedire||*) as "the latter (i.e. Nārāyaṇa) imparted

who gave the teaching to Soma, and then it disappeared. (ii) At the second birth of Brahmā from Nārāyaṇa's eye (*cākṣuṣaṃ janma*), Brahmā received it from Soma, who gave it to Rudra, who in the Kṛta-yuga taught it to the Vālakhilya[1] sages. Then it again disappeared. (iii) At the third birth of Brahmā from Nārāyaṇa's word (*vācikaṃ janma*), the sage Suparṇa received it from Nārāyaṇa himself. As he recited it (*parikrāntavān*) three times (a day),[2] it came to be known by the name Trisauparṇa. From Suparṇa it went to Vāyu, and from Vāyu to the Vighāsin sages,[3] who gave it to Mahodadhi (Ocean ?). It once more disappeared and became merged (*samāhita*) in Nārāyaṇa. (iv) At the fourth birth of Brahmā from Nārāyaṇa's ear (*śravaṇajā sṛṣṭiḥ*) Brahmā at the direction of Nārāyaṇa, received the *dharma*. called here by the name of Sātvata (348, 29-34) with its mysteries (*rahasya*), its compendium (*saṃgraha*) and its *āraṇyaka*, issuing from the mouth of Nārāyaṇa. With it he proceeded to create and arrange the Kṛta-yuga, and the Sātvata-dharma having been established pervaded the world. Brahmā then taught it to Manu Svarociṣa (the second Manu), who taught it to his son Śaṅkhapāda, who taught it to his son Suvarṇābha, the Dikpāla. Then the Tretā-yuga came, and the doctrine disappeared. (v) At the fifth birth of Brahmā from Nārāyaṇa's nose (*nāsatya-janmani*) Nārāyaṇa recited it himself to Brahmā and the teaching was then handed down in succession from Brahmā→Sanatkumāra→Vīraṇa the Prajāpati (at the beginning of the Kṛta-yuga)→the *muni* Raibhya→his son Kukṣi, the Dikpāla. It

and different modes of its promulgation and transmission.

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it to the Vaikhānasas, who drank foam". Hopkins (*Epic Mythology*, p. 178) is correct, but the *dharma* is not, from the context, "the tenets of Nārada".—Nārada in xii, 338, 4 addresses Nārāyaṇa as Vaikhānasa and Phenapācārya.

1 Candramas (=Soma) and Vālakhilya are Nārada's epithets of Nārāyaṇa (338, 4).

2 So Nīlakaṇṭha. As this difficult vow (*vratam*) is said to be *ṛg-veda-pāṭha-paṭhitam* (a phrase which is obscure unless it refers to the general conformity of the doctrine to the Veda), Nīlakaṇṭha refers to *Ṛg-veda*, x, 114, 3-5 where the word *suparṇa* (=bird) occurs ; but the relevancy of the reference is not clear.

3 Hopkins (*op. cit.*, p. 179) is perhaps more accurate in regarding this as a proper name, instead of translating it literally with Grierson as "the Ṛṣis who ate the residues of oblations".

then disappeared. (vi) At the sixth birth of Brahmā from the egg (*aṇḍaja-janmani*), Brahmā again received it from Nārāyaṇa's mouth, and it was taught in succession thus: from Brahmā→Barhiṣad sages→Sāmavedāntaga Jyeṣṭha[1]→King Avikalpana (*v. l.* Avikampana). It then disappeared. (vii) At the seventh and last birth of Brahmā from the lotus (*padmajaṃ janma*), which is the present dispensation, the system was communicated by Nārāyaṇa himself to Brahmā, and from Brahmā it passed in succession to Dakṣa→the eldest son of Dakṣa's daughter, Āditya (who was older than Savitṛ)→Vivasvat. In the beginning of the Tretā-Yuga, Vivasvat gave it to Manu, who passed it on to his son Ikṣvāku, by whom it was spread and established over the worlds. At the dissolution of the world, it is predicted, the *dharma* will go back to Nārāyaṇa.

This account is obviously mythical, although some of the names may be traced in Vedic and Paurāṇic literature. But to this is added a further statement which is interesting. We are told[2] that this

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1 *barhiṣadbhyaś ca samprāptaḥ* (*dharmaḥ* from previous stanza ?) *sāmavedāntagaṃ dvijam| jyeṣṭhaṃ nāmnābhivikhyātaṃ jyeṣṭha-sāma-vrato hariḥ||* (348, 46). The passage is obscure, but Hopkins' interpretation (*Great Epic*, p. 143, followed by Grierson) as "a priest who was acquainted with (Jyeṣṭha) Sāman (and) Vedānta; his name was Jyeṣṭha" is not convincing. Might not *sāmavedāntaga dvija*, which qualifies *jyeṣṭha* (a proper name), mean a Brahman who, has mastered the whole of Sāma-Veda).—Hari in this passage is called Jyeṣṭha-sama-vrata, just as Nārāyaṇa (= Hari) is addressed as Jyeṣṭha-sāmaga by Nārada in 338, 4.

2 *yatīnāṃ cāpi yo dharmaḥ sa te pūrvaṃ nṛpattoma|*
kathito hari-gītāsu samāsa-vidhi-kalpitaḥ||
nāradena su-samprāptaḥ sa-rahasyaḥ sa-saṃgrahaḥ|
eṣa dharmo jagannāthāt sākṣān nārāyaṇān nṛpa||
evam eṣa mahān dharma ādyo rājan sanātanaḥ|
durvijñeyo duṣkaraś ca sātvatair dhāryate sadā ||
(348, 53-55)

[It is not clear what is implied by the phrase "religion of the Yatis" here, as well as in 348, 85 unless the intention is to identify the Nārāyaṇīya (as well as the Sātvata) faith with the orthodox religion of austerities. The word Yati, however, is used in the *Bhagavad-gītā* (v, 26) to describe the spiritually purified Yogin, who practises Karma-

dharma of the Yatis is already given in a compendious form in the *Hari-gītās* (plural); that it is the same as the doctrine which was revealed directly to Nārada[1] by Nārāyaṇa with its mysteries and compendiums; that this great, original and eternal persuasion, characterised by the teachings of *ahiṃsā, vyūha, bhakti* etc. (348, 56f.) is almost incomprehensible and difficult to practise, but it is always maintained by the Sātvatas; and lastly, that it is in fact the Sātvata dharma (*eṣa te kathito dharmaḥ sātvataḥ* 348, 84). The obvious intention of this passage is to emphasise, lest one should doubt it, that the Nārāyaṇīya system is identical with the Sātvata or Bhāgavata faith expounded in the *Bhagavad-gītā*. The intention of connecting the Nārāyaṇīya doctrine with Bhāgavatism also appears in a similar passage (346, 10-11) which we have already referred to. There we are told in almost the same words[2] that the system, which was revealed directly to Nārada by Nārāyaṇa, with its mysteries and compendiums, had already been given in a compendious form in the Hari-gītās. What these Hari-gītās are[3] is not clear; but from 348,8, which tells us that the religion of the Ekāntin followers of Nārāyaṇīya is the same as that recited by the Bhagavat himself to the cheerless Arjuna in the battle-field of the Kuru-Pāṇḍavas,[4] we can infer a clear reference to the *Bhagavad-gītā*. With this object in view the traditional succession of the system from Vivasvat to

The Nārāyaṇīya faith declared in this account to be identical with that of the Sātvatas or Bhāgavatas.

Yoga and attains the final peace in Brahma. But in *Mbh.* 348, 5 the process of emancipation of the Yatis, as well as of the orthodox students of Vedas and Upaniṣads, is described as different from, and inferior to, that attained by the Ekāntins.—S.K.D.]

1 It is remarkable that there is no reference in this account to the promulgation of the doctrine by the Citraśikhaṇḍin sages and to the legend of Uparicara-Vasu.

2 *nāradena su-samprāptaḥ sa-rahasyaḥ sa-saṃgrahaḥ |*
eṣa dharmo jagannāthāt sākṣān nārāyaṇān nṛpa ||
evam eṣa mahān dharmaḥ sa te pūrvaṃ nṛpottama |
kathito hari-gītāsu samāsa-vidhi-kalpitaḥ || (346, 10-11)

3 Hopkins (*Great Epic*, p. 53) suggests, without much ground, that these were Gāthās recited by a divinity.

4 *samupoḍheṣvanīkeṣu kuru-pāṇḍavayor mṛdhe |*
arjune vimanaske ca gītā bhagavatā svayam ||

Ikṣvāku and the prediction of its subsequent disappearance are also made to conform to the account of the traditional handing down of Bhāgavatism from Vivasvat to Ikṣvāku and its subsequent loss, mentioned by the Bhagavat himself in *Bhagavad-gītā*, iv, 1-2.

Other stray and unconnected references to Sātvata or Sātvata rule, supporting this declaration.

With these declarations must also be connected the stray references to Sātvata as the name of a manifestation (*prādurbhāva*) of Nārāyaṇa in the form of Kṛṣṇa (339, 104), as well as to the Sātvata rule (*vidhi*) which Nārāyaṇa's early devotee Uparicara-Vasu is said to have followed (335, 19 and 24).[1] It is also stated that at the fourth birth of Brahmā, this religion was named and established as Sātvata (348, 29-34) with its mysteries, compendiums and *āraṇyakas*. It is curious, however, that in the two places in the same account (348, 29-34 and 348, 53-55) where the Nārāyaṇīya system is expressly identified with the Sātvata, two different modes of revelation from Nārāyaṇa are mentioned, viz., to Brahmā in the Kṛta-Yuga and to Nārada in Śvetadvīpa respectively. This was admittedly at different ages, viz., at the fourth and seventh birth of Brahmā respectively, but in both cases it is not clear why the system is called Sātvata. No particular reason can indeed be perceived except the obvious intention of establishing the identity of the two systems, even at the risk of anachronism and inconsistency. The same remarks apply also to the reference to the *sātvata vidhi* mentioned above in the passages where Uparicara-Vasu, for no other particular reason, is said to have followed the Sātvata rule in offering oblations and performing orthodox Śrauta sacrifices. The passage is remarkable because it makes a rather unwarranted and inconsistent attempt to connect the so-called Sātvata rule of Uparicara-Vasu with sacrificial religion. It is unwarranted and inconsistent because the Sātvata-dharma or Bhāgavatism (as we have it in the *Bhagavad-gītā*) does not indeed reject sacrifice as sacrifice but it either pays little respect to it (ii, 42f.), or symbolises it,[2] or else subordinates it to its doctrine of selfless work. At any rate, the

1 The phrase *sātvataṃ vidhiṃ āsthāya* occurs also independently in vi, 66, 40, where, however, there is an apparent allusion to the *vyūha*-doctrine of the Nārāyaṇīya (not found in the *Bhagavad-gītā*).

2 The idea that humam life is itself a sacrifice is not new, and is more than once expressed in the Upaniṣads; but such an idea tends to lessen the importance of sacrifice as sacrifice.

'Sātvata-rule' does not interpret sacrifice in the narrow ritualistic sense, nor does it prescribe any definite regulations for offering oblations or making sacrifices. There is hardly any point, therefore, in saying that Uparicara-Vasu in performing his optional and compulsory sacrificial acts followed the Sātvata rule, which has no direct concern with such sacrificial acts.

Similar mention of Bhagavat, Sātvata (Kṛṣṇa) and Vāsudeva in this account.

Not much capital, again, need be made of the use of word *bhagavat* for the supreme deity : for this is done rarely in the main narrative of the Nārāyaṇīya (where it is not necessary to make it bear the denotation of a proper name for Vāsudevakṛṣṇa),[1] but chiefly in the somewhat irrelevant and loosely fitted digressions in chs.340-342, where the whole topic is deliberately put in the mouth of the Bhagavat. Nor should the fanciful etymology of the term Sātvata (as a proper name) in one of these chapters (342, 77-78) or the inclusion of Sātvata (Kṛṣṇa) in the list of Nārāyaṇa's manifestations (prādurbhāva) present serious difficulties ; for the supreme divinity is named throughout Nārāyaṇa or Hari (and in one passage as Viṣṇu, 343, 20) and never, except in these extraneous passages, as Kṛṣṇa or Sātvata. In Nārada's long list of names and epithets, neither Kṛṣṇa nor Viṣṇu occurs as a name. The references to Vāsudeva occur only in connexion with the Vyūha doctrine, and an etymology is furnished by interpreting the word (as a name of the supreme god) as " dwelling above (*adhivāsa*)" or "enveloping all creatures (*sarvāvāsa*)". The *Bhagavad-gītā* ignores the Vyūha-doctrine, which speaks of four mystical cosmic forms of Nārāyaṇa and says nothing about Vāsudeva in this connexion ; if it was aware of the legends of Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha, it does not appear to have subscribed to the mystical interpretation of these persons as related to Vāsudeva in successive cosmic emanations.

1 e.g., 335,24; 339, 1,12 and 134 ; 343, 22, 54 and 55 ; 344, 12 and 23. It has not been proved that the term *bhagavat* in the Epic always denotes Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa and that it does not apply honorifically to other gods, as well as to demi-gods, sages and respectable persons of religious merit. The name itself, as we have already discussed before, was originally perhaps an epithet, like the Buddha. See Hopkins, *JRAS.*, 1911, pp. 727 f.

But the identification is slight and artificial.

It is not necessary to anticipate here what our enquiry in the following pages will attempt to bring out, but it may be stated generally that the Bhāgavatism of the °*Gītā* and the Ekānta-dharma, which Uparicara-Vasu professed or which Nārada observed and received at Śvetadvīpa, could not have been in their origin identical; nor can the one be said, inspite of many points of contact, to have been a direct development of the other.

The probable independent origin and character of the Nārāyaṇīya Ekānta-dharma.

There are many points of resemblance, but the many points of divergence are also interesting and significant. As different expressions of a *bhakti*-religion of an originally non-orthodox character, there is of course much agreement in the fundamental tenet of *bhakti* with its important implications; but neither is the teaching nor the environment the same in detail. There is throughout the Nārāyaṇīya an anxiety to connect and identify its Ekānta-dharma with the Bhāgavatism of the °*Gītā*; but the connexion is, on the face of it, slight and artificial. The passages where the identity is expressly declared are either loosely joined to the main narrative by way of addendum or an after-thought (as in 346, 10-11 and 348, 53-55), or are introduced incongruously and *ab extra* (as in 335, 19 and 24), or are not of such importance as to be taken seriously. It would at least not be critical to accept them as bearing undoubted testimony to the original identity of the two currents of an early *bhakti*-religion. One need not go so far as to hold with Hopkins[1] that the Nārāyaṇīyas were originally hostile to the Kṛṣṇa (or Sātvata)

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1 The evidence adduced by Hopkins (*Epic Mythology*, p. 214) is slight and inconclusive. In vii, 17, 31 and vii, 18, 7 the Nārāyaṇīyas (or more accurately Nārāyaṇas) are represented as battling against Arjuna and Vāsudeva; but this is because they were Gopas or Gopālas (apparently a tribe of cowherds) who were also warriors offered by Kṛṣṇa to Duryodhana (v, 7, 18f.) and accepted by the latter. There is nothing to show that they were the Ekāntins of the Nārāyaṇīya. Rönnow (*BSOS.*, v, p. 281) expresses his approval of Hopkins' remarks and cites in support xii, 339, 101, where, according to him, "it is announced that Nārāyaṇa will send a terrible visitation upon the Sātvata princes and upon Dvārakā"; but this is a misunderstanding of the text, which does nothing more than refer, in a prophetic strain, to the well-known story of the destruction of Dvārakā and the Sātvata princes, and does not give expression to "any Pañcarātra disapproval of the Kṛṣṇa cult."

cult, but there is a strong probability that the Nārāyaṇīya faith had an origin which was independent of Bhāgavatism, although in the end they were amalgamated and to all appearance presented one system of *bhakti*-religion.

The highly fabulous account of the origin of the Nārāyaṇīya Ekānta-dharma given above may be rightly taken as furnishing extremely dubious material for a sober reconstruction of its early history.

The fabulous account of the origin is probably a testimony to its high antiquity.

But even admitting its obviously mythical garb, it would not be paradoxical to state that this fantastic account probably bears testimony to the high antiquity of the faith. It is not unusual in Indian literature to fabricate piously such legendary accounts where the actual origin is lost and forgotten in the mist of remote antiquity. It is possible that the account betrays the common tendency of the Indian author towards glorifying his system by ascribing to it not only divine origin but also ancient and unquestionable authority by associating its promulgation with legendary saints and sages; but it is also possible that it embodies a current tradition of the actual existence of the system from time immemorial. Possibly it had no early expounder whose historicity was beyond doubt, unless it be a mysterious sage Nārāyaṇa, semi-historical or entirely mythical, to whom all the three accounts of origin agree in assigning the honour by raising him to the dignity of the supreme god of the system.[1] But even if there were some historical founders of the system, their names apparently perished and had to be made good by those of frankly mythical personages.

One may indeed legitimately doubt the value of the narrative as an historical document, but its importance and interest as a document of culture-history cannot be so easily denied. It does not give us

Doubtful historicity of the account, but its value in making an estimate of the character of the religious faith itself.

chronological facts or the exact lines of development, but it gives us the probable surroundings out of which the system emerged, as well as the ideas and sentiments which produced and shaped it. The Nārāyaṇīya faith could not have been a deliberate philosophical or historical religion, promulgated or preached by a definite expounder, but it must have grown naturally out of floating myths and legends and naive speculations, on which

1 In 349, 68 Nārāyaṇa is declared to be the Knower of the entire Pañcarātra (*pañcarātrāsya kṛtsnasya vettā nārāyaṇaḥ svayam*; *v. l.* *vettā tu bhagavān svayam*).

popular faiths feed and grow, the philosophical doctrines with their technicalities (such as we find in it) having coalesced with it in comparatively historical times. We shall see presently that there is in the Nārāyaṇīya system a curious reconciliation of Brāhmaṇic ritualism, Upaniṣadic monism, quasi-Sāṃkhyan dualism and Yogic mysticism with the popular worship of a personal god in an ardently devotional atmosphere and with all its paraphernalia of mythological fancy. But the speculative side, which is meant to supply a philosophical background to the religion, is an inadequate medley of varied ideas, sometimes unrelated and incongruous ; it could not have formed the essence of the deep and fervid religious feeling on which alone the system bases itself. For a proper insight into this religious feeling, therefore, we must look to its mythical side, even if it is bizzare and confusing. The myths form a part and parcel of its popular theology, and even throws interesting light on its process of absorption of independent philosophical or religious ideas. Indeed, some points characteristic of the Nārāyaṇīya theology can be best understood, not by a reference to its extraneous philosophical ideas but by a recognition of its popular mythical fancy, strangely blended as it is with such philosophical ideas.

Two accounts of the teachings of the Nārāyaṇīya, as R.G. Bhandarkar pointed out long ago,[1] can be distinguished in the above narrative.

Two mythical accounts of the teaching.

The first gives us the legend of king Uparicara-Vasu and of the partly fruitless journey of the three ascetics to the mysterious Śvetadvīpa ; while in the second we have the story of Nārada's successful visit to the same island and his vision of Nārāyaṇa who reveals the doctrine to him. In both these mythical accounts[2] the Brāhmaṇic tendency is clear. Apart from its borrowings of orthodox theosophical ideas, we find the anxiety of the faith to name some of the orthodox saints and sages, as well as the partly orthodox Nārāyaṇa himself, as sponsors of its theology; it also betrays a great respect for sacrificial acts and a clear belief in austerity (*tapas*) and *yoga*, in spite of its exaltation of *bhakti*. Does not

Influence of the Brāhmaṇic religion and theology clear in both.

1 *Vaiṣṇavism* etc., p. 7.

2 Both the accounts are clearly mythical and must be recognised as such. R. G. Bhandarkar asserts the greater historicity of the second account, because he thinks it is directly connected with Vāsudeva and and identified with the Gītā religion. But while the religion of Uparicara-Vasu in the first account is also connected with the Sātvata

Nārāyaṇa himself observe the daily rites (534, 19-22)[1] and perform perpetual austerities at this hermitage at Badarī winning reputation as *khyāta-tapas* and *mahā-yogin* (346, 3 ; 349,17)? In the cosmic form in which Nārāyaṇa appears to Nārada he is described (339, 6-10) as an ascetic and as uttering the syllable *Om,* the Gāyatrī, the four Vedas and the Āraṇyaka.[2] King Uparicara-Vasu, one of the legendary patrons and promulgators of the doctrine, is reported to have been a great sacrificer. He performs not only his optional and occasional sacrificial acts and offers daily oblations, but under the superintendence of Bṛhaspati, arranges a great Aśvamedha sacrifice in accordance with the rules ascribed to the Āraṇyakas,[3] but without any offering of sacrificial animals. It is also related that his precipitation to an underground cavern was due to his advising animal sacrifice, of which the gods were in favour but of which the sages disapproved. The gods (including Nārāyaṇa at their head) could not, of course, save him from the ascetics' curse of "the fall", but they carried nourishment to the condemned devotee who was ultimately rescued by Nārāyaṇa himself. The seven Citraśikhaṇḍins were also well versed in *tapas* and received the revelation after performing severe austerities. The three sages Ekata, Dvita and Trita obtain a vision of Śvetadvīpa, if not of its presiding god, after having performed *tapas* for a thousand years, just in the same way as Nārada does by his Yoga-powers (*yoga-yuktaḥ*).

No doubt, these legends are meant to enunciate the Nārāyaṇīya conception of the higher worth of *bhakti* as a means of divine grace and the inadequacy of mere *tapas* and *yoga.* Nevertheless, they

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rule, we have already dwelt upon the slight and external character of this connexion in both the cases.

1 On whose efficacy he waxes eloquent in ch. 345, which is however an irrelevant digression.

2 Not so in the Bhagavat's theophany to Arjuna. Nārada describes (343, 60-61) that the deity whom he saw at Śvetadvīpa was practising severe austerities there, having constructed an altar, measuring eight fingers' height, standing on one foot, with hands uplifted and face directed towards the north ! The popular belief is Yogic powers must have been at the root of such descriptions.

3 i.e., apparently of the Brāhmaṇas, of which the Āraṇyakas form later sections.

inculcate respect for *veda-kalpita vidhi*, as well as for the efficacy of *tapas* and *yoga*, up to a certain point. On the doctrinal side *nivṛtti* is praised and inculcated, but an emphasis is laid throughout on *pravṛtti* or activity in pious sacrificial works in accordance with the Brāhmaṇic rule, although it is clearly laid down that animals should not be sacrificed in the Kṛta age (340,82) and that *bhakti* supersedes everything. Not only in the legend of Uparicara-Vasu[1] but also in the discussion on *pravṛtti* and *nivṛtti* in ch 340, to which we shall revert later on, the sacrificial rites are not rejected as sacrificial rites; on the contrary, their necessity to a certain extent is enunciated, and the supreme god in one passage declares himself pleased with a sacrifice which the gods arrange in his honour in accordance with the Vedic rules (*veda-dṛṣṭena vidhinā*), and lectures on its usefulness. In these tendencies the influence, either direct or indirect, of the orthodox Brāhmaṇical religion is evident,[2] but there is also a great deal more in the faith which does not come, either directly or indirectly, from that source, and this element is certainly of greater significance.

Popular mythical elements in both are of greater significance.

1 R. G. Bhandarkar is right in stating that in the earlier stage of Nārāyaṇīya worship, as indicated by the legend of Uparicara-Vasu, the religion had not thoroughly emancipated itself from the religion of sacrifices; but it is difficult to maintain his suggestion that in the second stage it did. In both the stages the connexion is clear.

2 It is not that "reform" on conservative principles began within the Brāhmaṇical fold (Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8); but more likely, these tendencies indicate, as we have attempted to explain before, mutual influence between the hieratic and the popular religion and the result of an ultimate compromise. [It is noteworthy that even in much later times Śaṅkara does not admit the orthodoxy of the Pañcarātra system, and yet its orthodoxy is admitted by the recognition of the Epic itself. It is true that we have no direct evidence of the existence of popular sectarian religions except at a comparatively later period in the evolution of Indian religious thought, but it does not follow that the popular conception of a personal god and all its implications are later in date to the Brāhmaṇic and Upaniṣadic conceptions of a sacrificial or theosophical religion. Nor is the inference justified that the more vivid popular faith was merely grafted on the Brāhmaṇic ritual or on its impersonal and negative theology, thus introducing "a reform" in its out-of-date ideas, or that the popular faith with its superior vitality absorbed

One of the most important mythical elements of a popular character consists of the narratives of the two visits (which practically agree) to the Śvetadvīpa, once by Nārada at the instance of Nārāyaṇa himself, and again at a presumably earlier time by the three ascetics Ekata, Dvita and Trita on their own account. Since the time of Weber who appears to have started the theory by his critical investigations into the Kṛṣṇa legend,[1] the story has been utilised by some scholars[2] for asserting the indebtedness, even if veiled, of early Indian *bhakti*-religion to Christianity; but as criticism has now shewn how difficult it is to maintain the theory or attain any certain result,[3] it is not necessary for us here to advert to it and reopen the contro-

Story of the visits to the Śvetadvīpa.

Whether it indicates Christian influence on early Indian Bhakti religion.

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into itself whatever there was of living force in the other. In all probability the two lines of religious ideas existed side by side, and the epic religious systems are the fruits of an inevitable mutual compromise in which the more human element came naturally to predominate.—S.K.D.]

1 Chiefly in his classical essay on the festival of Kṛṣṇa's birth, *Ueber die Kṛṣṇa-Janmāṣṭamī*, 1867, pp. 318-324 (Eng. trans. in *IA.*, 1873-74, vols. iii-iv); also in *Indische Studien*, i, p. 400, ii. pp. 166, 398f., *Die Rāmatāpanīya Upaniṣad*, 1864, pp. 277-78 and *Die Griechen in Indien*, 1890, p. 930. Also Lassen in *Indische Alterthumskunde*, 2nd ed. ii, pp, 118-19. The question was revived by Hopkins in his essay on Christ in India in his *India, Old and New*, 1902.

2 For references to the literature on the subject see the works of Raychaudhuri, Hopkins and Garbe, and the articles of Clark and Rönnow. But see especially Grierson (art: "Modern Hinduism and its debt to the Nestorians") in *JRAS.*, 1907, pp. 317f, also *IA.*, 1908, p. 373 and the article on "Bhakti-Mārga" in *ERE*, ii, pp. 459f. (somewhat modified); Kenedy in *JRAS.*, 1907, pp. 481f. and 951f.; Garbe, *Indien und das Christentum*, 1914, pp. 196f. and in *Die Bhagavadgītā*, 2nd ed., 1921, p. 42.

3 See the fairly full summary of the general question of Christian influence in Raychaudhuri, *op. cit*, pp. 76-97, and the most recent review in connexion with the Śvetadvīpa problem by Clark in *JAOS.*, 39 (1919) pp. 230f, and by Rönnow in *BSOS*, v, (1929), pp. 253f. In addition to the arguments adduced in these writings against the theory of Christian influence, Jacobi (*ERE.*, vii, p. 196) would exclude Weber's theory by chronological considerations; for the Jaina Canons, which

versy. Clark and Rönnow[1], who have recently reviewed the question in special connection with the Śvetadvīpa problem and negatived the Christian hypothesis on that basis, have, however, made certain other points clear, which former studies of the subject obscured, because of the uncritical position they had assumed either in favour of, or against, the asserted connexion with Christianity. These two critics have brought forward enough evidence to demonstrate that the Śvetadvīpa is an entirely Indian conception of a purely mythical land of blessed existence. They have also drawn attention to certain peculiar features of this popular mythical conception which have a direct bearing on some characteristics of the Nārāyaṇīya religion.

Bearing of this entirely Indian conception on certain features of the Nārāyaṇīya theology.

The description of the Śvetadvīpa as the abode of Nārāyaṇa and its strange inhabitants is interesting from this point of view. The Śvetadvīpa or "white island", where Nārāyaṇa resides invisible even to the gods, is conceived as an earthly but mythical region, situated in the milky sea at a fantastic distance (32,000 yojanas) to the north of Mount Meru,—a mysterious and inaccessible god-land, which is peopled by popular fancy with strange supernatural beings and illuminated by dazzling supernatural lights eventually emanating from

The Śvetadvīpa represents the ordinary epic conception of a mythical inaccessible god-land,

are prior to the Christian era, build up their entire hagiology on the model of the history of Kṛṣṇa, assuming nine Vasudevas, Vāsudevas, Baladevas and Prativāsudevas. It has now been generally admitted that the word *bhakti* in its religious application is pre-Christian and that the ideas that it connotes need not have been a foreign importation. The theory that the phase of the early *bhakti* movement originated through or was influenced by contact with Christian communities in the north-west of India can no longer be maintained. The only question at issue is whether Christian ideas, chiefly from South Indian sources, influenced the much later development of the cult after the Christian era. On this question the data are scanty and hardly satisfactory. They show parallelism, but do not prove direct influence; at least, they scarcely support the hypothesis of a Christian settlement with sufficient energy to stimulate a greater religious movement which had originated and developed independently. See Carpenter, *Indian Theism* (1921) p. 264 n., 521-4.

1 References as above.

the deity himself. It is parallel to the Buddhist Sukhāvatī[1] and the Purāṇic Amarāvatī or Uttara-kuru,[2] and forms the Nārāyaṇīya version of the popular mythical conception of paradise, where the best of the Nārāyaṇīya devotees live in bliss and have a direct communion with their object of *ekānta bhakti* or monotheistic religious emotion. It is indeed the ordinary epic or purāṇic conception of heaven, but the Nārāyaṇīya theology of exalting *bhakti* over other means of salvation caused considerable modification. This is clear from the story of the expedition of the three sages, Ekata, Dvita and Trita (336, 20f.), which is really the Nārāyaṇīya version of a Ṛgvedic legend with a different motif.[3] The three ascetics make an attempt to penetrate this inaccesible god-land by means of extraordinary penance lasting over thousands of years. They are successful in obtaining a dazzling vision of the wonderland and of the refulgent devotees who worship the god there with great adoration; but their principal object of beholding the deity himself, who is hidden from them by the effulgence of a thousand suns, is denied to them. They are informed by a divine voice that the great god is not to be seen by any one who does not possess *bhakti*: "That god is not to be seen by one who is destitute of devotion (*abhakta*); that lord, invisible by a halo of light, can be seen only by those who through long years have attained a state of exclusive devotion (*kāmaṃ mahatā kālena ekāntitvam upāgataiḥ*)". The story is obviously intended to inculcate that neither austerities on which the ascetics depended, nor yet sacrifice by which Bṛhaspati sought to obtain the sight of the god, is of any avail. These means are not rejected up to a certain point, but they must be leavened by exclusive devotion (*ekānta-bhakti*) which alone makes beatific vision possible.[4]

modified by the Nārāyaṇīya ideas of Bhakti.

The only way of approach to the deity through Bhakti as illustrated by the legend of the three sages,

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1 Clark, *loc cit.*, p. 233, note 91; Rönnow, *loc. cit.*, p. 279.

2 Clark, *ibid*, p. 228; Rönnow, *ibid*, pp. 256f., 272.

3 See Rönnow, *ibid*, pp. 260f.

4 In v, 111, 19-20 (story of Gālava) the god-land in the north is declared inaccessible. In xii, 344, 4 Nārāyaṇa declares that even by *tapas* and such other means the deity is unattainable. The earlier way of approach, as is apparent from the description of Indra's Amarāvatī in iii, 43, 4-6, was through sacrifices and austerities. The Nārāyaṇīya discovers a new way of approach through

This is one of the central doctrines of the Nārāyaṇīya worship. The point is also evident in the story of Nārada's visit to, and vision of, the deity. A concession is made indeed to the time-honoured belief that those who have practised much *tapas* and *yoga* can win entrance and see the holy land (343, 22); but it is also expressly stated that Nārada was in a happier position because of his intense *bhakti* to Nārāyaṇa by which alone the vision of the deity was vouchsafed to him (339, 13; 344, 1-3). The extreme difficulty of seeing the god is emphasised by the statements that he is invisible in his essence, not only to the three ascetics but also to the gods, and even to Brahmā who is born from himself. The privilege of seeing him in certain forms is given only to the *bhakta* whom he loves (344, 3), to the Ekāntins, to Nārada, Arjuna and Vyāsa,[1] who adore him with whole-hearted love and devotion. Spiritual exercises prepare them to it, but the idea underlying the whole conception is that the mortal eye is not able to endure the divine brilliancy, nor even the "eye of knowledge" which Vyāsa attains, but that they must be endowed with "a divine eye", acquired through *bhakti*, such as Arjuna receives in the *Bhagavad-gītā* xi, 8 for a vision of the cosmic form of the Bhagavat.

and by the story of Nārada's visit and vision.

The description of the inhabitants of the Śvetadvīpa (335, 9-11; 336, 28-30; 339, 19-20; 343, 53f.) who perpetually see, sport with and worship Nārāyaṇa with *ekānta-bhakti*, also makes the point clear. These Ekāntins are, however, described as strange beings endowed with strange peculiarities. They are devoid of sense organs (*anindriyāḥ*, *sarvendriya-vivarjitāḥ*) and live without taking any food (*anaśanāḥ*, *nirāhārāḥ*); but they are said to possess winkless eyes (*spanda-hīnāḥ*),

The inhabitants of the Śvetadvīpa;

bhakti. The idea is so firmly established that in other parts of the Epic (e.g., iii, 163, 17-24) we find that Nārāyaṇa's abode is invisible even to the gods and accessible only to the Yatis who have prepared themselves by *bhakti* as well as by *tapas*, good works and *yoga*. Nārāyaṇa himself explains to Nārada (339, 12-13) that the three ascetics could not see him because he is visible only to the Ekāntika, of whom he praises Nārada as the greatest.

1 Vyāsa also appears to have visited the Śvetadvīpa, worshipped the god (339, 135-136) and received illumination on the shores of the Milk Ocean after undergoing severe austerities (340, 25-27).

heads shaped by umbrellas (*chatrākṛti-śirṣāḥ*), a white complexion[1] like the lustre of the moon (*candra-varcasaḥ*), voices like that of a mass of thunder-clouds (*meghaugha-ninādāḥ*),bones and bodies as hard as adamant (*vajrāsthi-kāyāḥ*), four symmetrical *muṣkas*[2] each (*sama-muṣka-catuṣkāḥ*), soles of feet marked by hundreds of lines (*rājīvac-chata pādāḥ*),[3] sixty white teeth (*danta*), eight tusks (*daṃṣṭrā*)[4] and many tongues with which they lick the whole sun-face.[5] They always emit a fragrance and blast the eyes of sinners with their radiance which is like that of the sun at the dissolution of a *yuga*. The description has puzzled many critics ; but it is frankly fabulous and its fantasies are eccentricities of popular imagination. The clue is probably furnished by the further statement that the white islanders are "endowed with all the *lakṣaṇas*" (*sarva lakṣaṇa-lakṣitāḥ*) ; and Clark and Rönnow are probably right in regarding these extraordinary peculiarities as the traditional *lakṣaṇas* or marks of blessedness of an emancipated, supernatural or god-like being,[6] or of a Mahā-

their fantastic peculiarities

are the product of popular mythical fancy of an emancipated or supernatural being.

1 *Śvetāḥ*, explained by Nīlakaṇṭha as *śuddha-sattva-pradhānāḥ*. Whiteness of complexion is attributed to dwellers of many mythical regions in the Epic and has obviously a symbolical meaning ; see Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 233, note 90. It need not be taken literally as referring to any white people actually living in the north,—a supposition which has misled some scholars to imagine a white continent of Christian worshippers. It must be remembered that Nārāyaṇa is a white god in the Kṛta-Yuga ; so is Viṣṇu. Whiteness is associated with light or purity, but it is also the colour of meditation.

2 For the meaning of this obscure term, which literally signifies a testicle, see Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

3 So Nīlakaṇṭha. The other reading is *rājīva-cchada-pādāḥ*, "having feet like lotus-leaves".

4 Tusk or *daṃṣṭrā* seems to be mythically associated with cosmic forms of the divine deity, e.g., in the Boar Incarnation (a cosmogonic myth) and in *Bhagavad-gītā*, xi, 23 and 25.

5 The line is obscure. It reads : *jihvābhir ye viśva-vakrataṃ lelihyante sūryaprakhyam.*

6 They are called *muni-gaṇāḥ* in 336, 50 and *śuddha-yonayaḥ* in 336, 49, as well as *muktāḥ* and *siddhāḥ* (see below), 'liberated' or 'perfected'.

puruṣa. The Lord is also said to possess the same *lakṣaṇas* of a Mahāpuruṣa (343, 36-38), and the devotees whose appearance is said to be celestial (*divyāvayava-rūpa*) seem to be either copies or images. These material characteristics of the white radiant beings, however, hardly agree (as we shall see presently) with their immaterial nature. These are, therefore, residues, not very well fitted into the spiritual scheme, of purely popular fancies of the god and his god-like saints. Their very grotesque and fabulous character would easily point to such a popular connexion.

Their spiritual nature and their modes of worship,

As to their spiritual characteristics, we are told that these divine beings are high-souled, cleansed from every sin, freed from the three *guṇas*, indifferent to good and evil, fully awakened (*pratibuddhāḥ*), possessed of auspicious strength (*śubha-sāropetāḥ*)[1] and every mark of blessedness. Elsewhere they are identified with the 'perfected' (*siddha*) or 'emancipated' (*mukta*) souls. Their worship is vividly reported (336, 36f.) by the three ascetics who visit the island, and is important from our point of view. When the three ascetics saw them, their hands were ever joined in repeating prayer (*japataḥ*) to Brahma (neuter), and their faces were turned, some towards the east and some towards the north. The *japa* (or repeating prayers or names of the deity) performed by these high-souled beings was a mental (*mānasa*) *japa*, with which (Nārāyaṇa-) Hari became very pleased, since their minds were entirely fixed on him (*ekāgra-manastvena*). Suddenly there appeared a light like the effulgence of a thousand suns.[2] The white beings, full of joy, ran towards the light, their hands folded, uttering the one word *namas* (we bow to thee). Then a loud cry was heard, as though they were occupied in offering a sacrifice (*vali*) to the great god; but nothing could be seen by the ascetics who were dazzled by the lustre and deprived of their senses. Only a great exclamation of adoration was heard: "Victory to thee, O thou of eyes like the lotus-petals! Obeisance to thee, O Creator of the universe! Obeisance to thee, O Hṛṣīkeśa, the great Puruṣa, the First-born (*pūrvaja*)!" The

1 There is no need to read, with Nīlakaṇṭha, the specialised sense of Yogic powers into this phrase, as Rönnow does (p. 270).

2 The supreme god Nārāyaṇa is also called *sahasrārcis* or *sahasra-rocis*, "the thousand-rayed one"—obviously a distant reminiscence of Viṣṇu as a sun-god.

fragrance of celestial flowers was wafted by the unsullied breeze. These men of the island, the Pañcakālajñas,[1] endowed with the highest love of the god (*paramā bhakti*) and entirely devoted to him, were worshipping Hari with mind, word and action. Undoubtedly the god appeared in the place whence the sound arose, but the ascetics were stupefied by his illusion (*māyā*) and could not see him. Then a voice told the ascetics that those white men alone, devoid of their five outward senses, were able to behold Nārāyaṇa, that the great deity could not be seen by one destitute of *bhakti* and that hidden by his halo of light, the lord could not be seen except by those who through long years have come to a state of exclusive devotion (*ekāntitva*).

not a plagiarism of Christian ideas and ideals.

There is little of deliberate metaphysics in all this, but a great deal of genuine religious emotion. The narrative, as well as the religious sentiment contained therein, is evidently the product of popular fancy and belief about the existence and godhead of a personal god, his paradise, his favoured and devoted saints and their emotional worship of love and joy. Apart from other considerations, the superficial resemblances to Christian ideas and ideals (resemblances which may not be due to direct or indirect plagiarism) need not be emphasised. The religious beliefs and their expression, in spite of their similarities, lie on different planes of thought. The mythical and religious elements in the narrative are entirely Indian and are already stereotyped in the mass of such mythical descriptions in the Epic and elsewhere. But several features of the Nārāyaṇīya belief involved therein are noteworthy, and they consist of the superimposition of the Nārāyaṇīya *bhakti* and other ideas on this general mythical conception. Apart from the extraneous idea of the impersonal neuter Brahma, to which we shall return later, the emphasis is laid mainly on *ekānta-bhakti* for a personal god. The offering of sacrifice is indeed mentioned, but the mode of worship is entirely emotional. The folding of hands, burst of joy, uttering of *namas* and hymn of adoration are all indicative of a personal feeling of intense affection or love, for which later *bhakti*-theology uses the

Emphasis on Ekānta-bhakti, and the essentially emotional nature of the worship.

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1 On the meaning of this obscure term see S. K. De in *JRAS*, 1931, p. 415.

words *anurakti*, *rāga* or *prīti*. The mention of *mānasa japa*[1] is also significant; for this *japa*, in which is involved the idea of the efficacy of *mantra* (repetition of holy words or syllables), form an important element of worship in later sectarian cults. The mention is not casual, for in 344, 26, Nārada in his worship of Nārāyaṇa is said to have performed duly a great many *japas* relating to Nārāyaṇa (*jajāpa vidhivan matrān nārāyaṇa-gatān bahūn*), just as Uparicara-Vasu in 306, 64 is said to have performed *nārāyaṇa-japas*. Similarly when Yudhiṣṭhira and his brothers became devoted to Nārāyaṇa on hearing Bhīṣma's narrative, they were engrossed in regular *japa* (*nityaṃ japya-parāḥ*) and uttered the name of Nārāyaṇa (*nārāyaṇam udīrayan*).[2] The necessity of meditation (*samādhi*)[3] for a *bhakta* is stressed in the *Bhagavad-gītā*. There are expressions in the Nārāyaṇīya also pointing to the same direction. The highest devotee is said to be *samāhita-manaska* (344, 19) or *ekānteṣu samāhitaḥ* (339, 129); and *japa* is probably one of the means for the attainment of such meditative concentration.[4]

Japa as a means to Samādhi and Bhakti.

The qualification of moral purity, in addition to such spiritual exercises, is of course demanded, and the highest devotee must be freed from every sin; but the highest qualification that is insisted upon is *ekāntitva* (334, 44; 336, 54; 346, 1), *ekānta-bhāva* (336, 28 and 50; 339, 129; 344, 19; 349, 72) or *ekānta-bhakti* (348, 71),[5] all of which signify *paramā bhakti* (336, 47) or the highest love of god and give the name *Ekāntin* or *Ekāntika* (336, 50; 339, 13, 20 and 49; 341, 34; 343, 64; 348, 1-6, 62 and 68) to Nārāyaṇa's devotees and the designation *ekānta-dharma* (348, 61) or *ekānta-gati* (348, 85) to the religion itself. Four kinds of *bhakta* are

The highest qualification needed in a devotee, viz. ekānta-bhakti.

1 This need not involve any condition of *yoga* or Yogic *samādhi*, such as Rönnow supposes (p. 270).

2 339, 134-135. So also Vyāsa here, and Brahmā in the story of Haya-śiras in 347, 37.

3 Which may or may not involve technical *yoga*.

4 The *japa* of Viṣṇu's name is inculcated in connexion with the list of his thousand names (xiii, 149), where of course the names Nārāyaṇa, Kṛṣṇa and Vāsudeva also occur.

5 As well as *ekānta-gata-buddhi* (339, 107; 343, 67) and *ekāgra-manastva* (336, 37; 339, 19).

distinguished in a passage which, occurring in the course of a long digression, may however have been expressly meant to conform to the Gītā-doctrine.[1] It speaks of the Ekāntikas as the first and best, while the remaining three (not described by any classificatory epithet) include generally those who do good works for their fruits (*phala-kāma*). This last phrase and description anticipate the central Gītā-doctrine of selfless work dedicated to the Bhagavat; but as the doctrine, unless implied in the very idea of *ekāntitva*, is nowhere so evident, one may be justified in regarding it as extraneous. But the best devotees, the Ekāntins, with whom we are directly concerned here, are defined as those who have no other god (*ananya-devatāḥ*) and whose actions are directed solely towards Nārāyaṇa ; they alone are fully awakened (*pratibuddha*, 341, 45 ; also 343, 53 and 65 ; 348, 75) and they are exceedingly rare in the world (348, 62). They are specially favoured and are dear to the god (343, 53-55 and 65 ; 344, 3), to whose grace alone (*prasāda*) is due their condition of religious devotion. They ultimately enter the deity and yet live with him in bliss in his paradise. The characteristics of the ideal devotee thus detailed are not inaptly summed up in the verse (344, 19) :

The Ekāntin of the Śvetadvīpa as a type of the ideal devotee.

samāhita-manaskā ye nityāḥ saṃyatendriyāḥ|

ekānta-bhāvopagatā vāsudevaṃ viśanti te||

which insists upon spiritual meditation, moral purity and devotional concentration as three primary requisites, of which the last appears to be the highest. The word *ekāntin* is often translated by the term

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1 This passage occurs in the long digression on the etymology of the Lord's name, which has no connexion with the main narrative. [The word *śrutam*, however, in this passage (341, 33, *catur-vidhā mama janā bhaktā eva hi me śrutam*) probably indicates that the classification was traditional. The °*Gītā* (vii, 16) mentions four kinds of *bhakta* viz., *ārta*, *jijñāsu*, *arthārthin* and *jñānin*, of which the *jñānin* is supposed to be the best. Such a scheme appears to be independently referred to in another passage in 339, 130, where, however, only the *ārta* and *jijñāsu* are mentioned.—S.K.D.]

'monotheist'[1]; but it is clear that the Ekāntins are monotheists who possess not only intellectual conviction or belief, but also an ethical-emotional attitude of love or devotion. The *ekānta-bhakti* is not merely intellectual satisfaction, nor even moral elevation, but emotional exaltation. This is the centre of gravity towards which all other elements of the Nārāyaṇīya theology move; and if we bear in mind this ideal of emotional realisation we can understand why the systems of Bhāgavatas and Śaivas in general are declared elsewhere (xiii, 14, 198) as "freed from philosophical disputation" (*hetu-vādair vinirmuktam*).

In what sense an Ekāntin is a monotheist.

The characteristics of the ideal devotee, typified by the Ekāntin inhabitants of Śvetadvīpa appear also to be the characteristics of the emancipated souls in the Nārāyaṇīya theology. The white men are called not only *siddha*, 'perfected' (339, 49) but also *mukta*, 'liberated' (335, 41; 339, 25 and 43; 340, 9). The word *iha* (here) employed in these verses seem to imply both 'on earth' as well as 'in Śvetadvīpa,' so that there cannot be any doubt that the mythical island is the Nārāyaṇīya paradise where the liberated souls, housed in grotesque bodies, go and become the white men, who thus represent the mythical as well as the theological conception of the liberated soul. That the ideal devotees, when released, are numbered among the white islanders appears to be expressly stated, not only in 335, 14 which declares that the *lakṣaṇas* of the emancipated souls are those of the white men, but also in 339, 129 which states that the ideal devotee, after liberation, reaches the Śvetadvīpa.

The Ekāntin as the mythical and theological conception of a liberated soul.

We can now understand why the inhabitants of the mythical god-

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1 To render the term *ekāntin* by "unitarian" (Hopkins, *Religions of India*, p. 413) is inadequate and misleading; for here the one god is a one-god of many forms. We have already explained the peculiar character of early popular monotheism in which one god stands at the head, without excluding the possibility of his having many real forms or of the existence of other inferior deities either independently or as a part of himself. The emphasis is undoubtedly on oneness and unity, but in practice the early monotheistic religions allied themselves with an almost endless variety and multiplication of gods and goddesses of every rank and order.

land are conceived with grotesque peculiarities and are described as radiant beings who have no external organs of sense. These peculiarities are not mere levities of imagination but represent symbolically the theological ideas of the Nārāyaṇīya. They are intended to describe the indescribable, viz., the liberated soul, and are therefore haltingly grotesque; but they are also meant to emphasise that the manifestations are entirely spiritual and beyond material description. In the passages referred to above the ideal or emancipated devotee, as well as the white men, are said "to enter" the deity; but in fact they are not absorbed but dwell like copies or images of the divine person himself, who condescends to sport with them.

An explanation of their strange peculiarities.

(To be continued)

MRINAL DASGUPTA

King Nānyadeva of Mithilā

King Nānyadeva played an important part in north Indian politics in the first half of the twelfth century A.D. He was of Karṇāṭic origin, but founded an important ruling family in Mithilā (N. Behar) and Nepāla. Mr. M. Rāmakṛṣṇa Kavi has recently published an account of a Commentary on Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra (Chs. XXVIII to XXXIV, dealing with music) which was written by Nānya[1] (This book is hereafter referred to as 'Commentary'). The king must, therefore, have distinguished himself in arts of war as well as of peace. Some passages of the Commentary throw an interesting light on the life and reign of the great king. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has contributed an article on Nānya,[2] but as he had no knowledge of this manuscript, and his general view of the political situation of the time is vitiated

1 *Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, October, 1926, pp. 55-63.

2 *J. B. O. R. S.*, vol. IX, pp. 300-310; vol. X, pp. 37-46.

by a wrong assumption about the chronology of the Sena kings of Bengal, the subject requires a fresh discussion.

The colophon of the Commentary refers to the author as *Śrī-Mahāsāmantādhipati-dharmāvaloka-Śrī-man-Nānyapati*. Here the title 'Mahāsāmantādhipati' indicates that Nānya had been a feudatory chief or viceroy of some king before he assumed the position of an independent sovereign. In the body of the Commentary, however, Nānya refers to himself as *Mithileśvara* and *Karṇāṭakulabhūṣaṇa*, and uses the titles *Dharmādhārabhūpati*, *Rājanārāyaṇa*, *Nṛpamalla*, *Mohanamurāri* and *Pratyagravāṇīpati*. In addition to the general and vague references to his prowess in war, he is specifically referred to as having 'extinguished the fame of the king of Mālava,' 'defeated the heroes of Sauvīra,' and 'broken the powers of Vaṅga and Gauḍa.'

In order to understand properly the value and true meaning of these interesting data we must have an idea of the date of king Nānya.

The Nepalese chronicles have preserved conflicting traditions about the time of Nānyadeva. But M. Sylvain Lévi was the first to establish, on a satisfactory basis, that the accession of the king falls in 1097 A.D.[1] This statement, which is found in a drama, *Muditakuvalayāśva*, has since been confirmed by a memorial verse, preserved in the *Puruṣa-Parīkṣā* of Vidyāpati,[2] and is corroborated by a Ms. written in 1097 in the reign of Nānyadeva.[3] The question may, therefore, be regarded as finally settled.

The duration of the reign of Nānya is, however, more difficult to determine. The Nepalese chronicles assign to him a reign of 50 or 36 years.[4] According to a tradition, preserved in Vidyāpati's *Puruṣa-Parīkṣā*,[5] a son of Nānyadeva was a contemporary of king Jayaccandra who ascended the throne in 1170 A.D. If this tradition is to be believed we shall be inclined to accept the longer period of 50 years.[6] Nānyadeva's reign may, therefore, be placed between 1097 and 1147 A.D.

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1 *Le Nepal*, vol. II, pp. 197, f.n. 3.

2 *J. B. O. R. S.*, vol. IX, p. 304.

3 Pischel, *Katalog der Bibliothek der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gessellschaft, vol.* II, p. 8.

4 Lévi, *Le Nepal*, vol. II, p. 220.

5 *Puruṣa Parīkṣā*, I, 3.

6 But see fn. 2, p. 688 below.

The lower limit of the date of Nānyadeva may, perhaps, be fixed with the help of the colophon of a book noticed by Bendall.[1] This colophon, dated Saṃvat 1076, refers to Tirhut as being ruled over by "Mahārājādhirāja Puṇyāvaloka Somavaṃśodbhava Gauḍadhvajo Śrīmad-Gāṅgeyadeva." Bendall referred the year 1076 to Vikrama era and identified the king with Kalacuri Gāṅgeyadeva, father of Karṇa. M. Sylvain Lévi has expressed his doubts[2] about this identification mainly on the following grounds :

(a) The titles ending in "Avaloka" are more characteristic of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and are not known to be used by the Kalacuris.

(b) The title Gauḍadhvaja indicates some political authority in Gauḍa, and there is no evidence that the Kalacuri king Gāṅgeyadeva had any pretensions to suzerainty over Bengal.

(c) Kalacuri king Gāṅgeyadeva is not known, from any other evidence, to have ruled over Tirhut.

These objections are serious, and to the last point may be added the fact, brought out by Mr. R. Chanda,[3] that Magadha being under the Pālas and the territory to the west under the Chandellas, it is difficult to believe that the Kalacuri Gāṅgeya could rule over Tirhut.

I think the date of the manuscript should be referred to the Śaka era, and the king should be identified with Gaṅgadeva, the successor of Nānyadeva, according to Nepalese chronicles.[4] The title Dharmāvaloka and the reference to the conquest of Gauḍa by Nānya in his Commentary, referred to above, would remove the first two objections. If this view be accepted, then Nānyadeva must be regarded as having died before 1154 A.D., when his son was on the throne.

Nānyadeva originally belonged to Karṇāṭa country. This is expressly referred to in the Nepalese chronicles and clearly appears from the title *Karṇāṭakulabhūṣaṇa* occurring in the Commentary composed by Nānyadeva, referred to above. We know from Deopārā Inscription that about the period when Nānyadeva was ruling in Mithilā, Bengal was conquered by Vijayasena who also belonged to the Karṇāṭa race. It would appear, therefore, that somehow or other

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1 *J. A. S. B.*, 1893, p. 18.
2 *Le Nepal*, vol. II, p. 202, fn. 1.
3 *Gauḍa-rāja-mālā*, p. 42 fn.
4 *Le Nepal*, vol. II, p. 220.

the Karṇāṭas had gained a prominent footing in the eastern part of Northern India towards the close of the eleventh century A.D.

Various suggestions have been made to explain this sudden intrusion of the Karṇāṭas as a political factor in Northern India. According to Mr. Jayaswal, "The Karṇāṭa settler out of whom the Simraon dynasty (i.e. of Nānyadeva) arose was either a remnant of the Rājendra Cola's army as Mr. R. D. Banerji thinks or more likely a remnant of the Karṇāṭa allies of Karṇa, the Cedi king......who overran nearly the whole of India about 1040-60 A.D."[1]

Mr. Banerji's theory of the 'Cola' origin of the Bengal Karṇāṭas[2] should never have been seriously taken by anybody and has been thoroughly refuted by Prof. S. K. Aiyangar.[3] Mr. Banerji himself seems to have given it up, as it does not find any place in his discussion on the origin of the Sena kings in the second edition of his 'History of Bengal'.

As to the second theory of Mr. Jayaswal, it undoubtedly finds some support from the fact, stated in the Commentary (see above), that Nānyadeva defeated the Mālavas and Sauvīras, for Mālava was certainly among the countries conquered by Karṇa. It must be remembered, however, that the victorious expeditions of Karṇa were over about forty years before the accession of Nānyadeva. As Nānyadeva was himself the founder of a new dynasty, and was merely a Mahāsāmantādhipati to start with, he could not possibly have been a leader of the Karṇāṭas who accompanied Karṇa about forty years before his accession. The long reign of fifty years (which Mr. Jayaswal also accepts) assigned to Nānyadeva renders the view untenable.

The most reasonable view seems to be to connect the rise of the Karṇāṭaka power in North India with the victorious military expeditions of the Karṇāṭa emperors Someśvara I and his valiant son Vikramāditya VI of the Cālukya dynasty. We learn from Bilhana's *Vikramāṅkadeva-carita*[4] that Someśvara I (1040-69 A.D.) stormed Dhārā, the capital of the Paramāras in Malwa, from which king Bhoja had to flee, and that he utterly destroyed the power of Karṇa,

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1 *Op. cit.*, p. 306. 2 *Pālas of Bengal*, p. 99.

3 *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes*, vol. III, pp. 560ff.

4 Cf. Bühler's Introduction to *Vikramāṅkadeva-carita*.

king of Dāhala. His son, prince Vikramāditya, led victorious expeditions against Gauḍa and Kāmarūpa. Vikramāditya VI led victorious expeditions against Northern India at least twice during his reign. A record of A.D. 1088 89 speaks of Vikramāditya VI crossing the Narmadā, and conquering kings on the other side of that river. And another of A.D. 1098 shows that then, again, he was in the northern part of the kingdom. on the banks of the Narmadā.[1]

It would thus appear that the two Karṇāṭa kings played an effective part in North Indian politics during the latter half of the eleventh century A.D. That they had pretensions of suzerainty not only over the states named above but even over distant Nepāla follows from an inscription of Someśvara III, the son and successor of Vikramāditya VI, in which the king is said to have placed his feet upon the heads of the kings of Andhra, Drāviḍa, Magadha and Nepāla.[2] Now there is no record of Someśvara's military expedition to the north, and, as Fleet remarks, with the exception of a Southern expedition, "the records do not seem to mention any campaigns made by him ; and his reign seems, in fact, to have been a very tranquil one."[3] We must hold, therefore, that his pretensions of supremacy over the northern states, whether nominal or real,[4] must have been derived from his father or grandfather.

The downfall of the Cedi king Karṇa, and the Paramāra king Bhoja, caused by Someśvara I, must have paved the way for Karṇāṭa supremacy in the north, and ushered in a new epoch in north Indian politics. An inscription of the Gāhaḍavāla kings definitely asserts that Candradeva founded the kingdom of Kanauj "when kings Bhoja and Karṇa had passed away."[5] Candradeva, the founder of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty, flourished about 1090 A.D. Within a decade of that, two Karṇāṭa chiefs, Vijayasena and Nānyadeva,

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1 *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. I, part II, p. 452.

2 *J. Bo. Br. R. A. S.*, vol. XI, p. 268.

3 *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. I, part II, pp. 455-6.

4 Supremacy over Nepala is also claimed by the Cālukya king Taila II in his records. But Fleet thinks it is an invention of the poets. I should rather take it as a belated reference to an old glory, which had no longer any reality (cf. *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. I, part II, p. 431).

5 Cf. Basahi plate of Govindacandra ; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XIV, p. 103.

founded the kingdoms of Gauḍa and Mithilā. It is, therefore, permissible to hold that the deluge of Karṇāṭa invasion, which had swept away the two mighty kings, Bhoja and Karṇa, also ushered in the three dynasties at Kanauj, Mithilā and Bengal.

We have seen above that the Karṇāṭa emperors of the Cālukya dynasty boasted of supremacy over Bengal, Bihar and Nepāla, and of the three new ruling dynasties, the two that ruled over Bengal, and Bihar-cum-Nepal, definitely belonged to the Karṇāṭa country.[1] It is, therefore, only natural to hold that, like the later Mahratta principalities of Northern India, the two Karṇāṭa kingdoms of Bengal and Bihar-cum-Nepal were merely off-shoots of the Karṇāṭa expeditions

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1 As to the Gāhaḍavālas, it is not unlikely, though it is difficult to assert it positively, that they too came from the Karṇāṭa country like those ruling in Bengal and Bihar. I propose to treat this subject in a separate paper, and must content myself here with only a few observations. Tradition and inscriptions alike give the appellations Rāṭhor and Rāṣṭrakūṭa to the Gāhaḍavālas (cf. *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes*, vol. III, pp. 259-66). The Rāṭhors have always been regarded as the same as Raṭṭas, Rāṣṭras and Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Now the Raṭṭa country is frequently referred to in the inscriptions of the eleventh century as Raṭṭappādi and it included the Bombay Presidency south of the Vindhyas (Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 22'). The Raṭṭas of Saundatti (in Belgaum) formed an important clan under the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa (*Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. I, part II, pp. 549ff.). The Gāhaḍavāla clan of the Rāṭhors or Raṭṭas may therefore belong to the Raṭṭa country proper in the Deccan, and Candradeva Gāhaḍavāla of Kanauj may thus be of Karṇāṭaka origin like Nānyadeva and Vijayasena. It is interesting to note that a Kanarese inscription at Gāwarwāḍ dated 994 Śaka (1072 A.D.) in front of the temple of Dakṣiṇa Nārāyaṇa refers to the famous town of 'Gāvarivāḍa' (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XV, p. 337 ; *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. I, part II, p. 441, fn. 3). Gāvarivāḍa—Gāwarwāḍ, may be easily recognised as the origin of the name Gāhaḍavāḍa of the family, and although it may be purely accidental, we have, corresponding to the Dakṣiṇa-Nārāyaṇa of the southern town, reference to 'Ādikeśavadakṣiṇamūrti' in an inscription of the Gāhaḍavāla king Candradeva of Kanauj (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XIV, p. 197). I do not press this point further here, and while there is as yet no positive evidence to show that the Gāhaḍavāḍas were a Karṇāṭaka family, the possibility of their being so should not be overlooked.

in Northern India led by the Cālukya emperors Someśvara I and his son Vikramāditya VI. We may note in passing that the title, Mahāsāmantādhipati, assumed by Nānyadeva, was actually applied to the Viceroys and Governors of Vikramāditya VI.[1]

We have already remarked above that in the Commentary, Nānyadeva is credited with victories in Mālava and Sauvīra. This is easily explained if we accept the view propounded above. For we have seen that the Cālukya king Vikramāditya VI conquered the kings on the northern side of the Narmadā river, and Bilhana says that Vikramāditya VI helped a king of Mālava to regain his throne. Nānyadeva, in his earlier life, probably accompanied one or more of these victorious expeditions and hence took the credit of victory in wars against those countries. Otherwise, it is difficult to believe, that as a ruler of Mithilā he could have carried his arms so far to the west, with such powerful neighbours to his immediate west and south-west.

Among the other achievements of Nānya, the Commentary mentions his victories against Gauḍa and Vaṅga. This is interesting in more ways than one. From the Deopārā Inscription of Vijayasena we know that he defeated Nānya.[2] This has usually been taken to refer to an agressive invasion of Mithilā on the part of Vijayasena. In the light of the new evidence, it seems more likely, however, that the dissensions between the two Karṇāṭa kings took place over domination in Gauḍa and Vaṅga. At the time when Nānyadeva ascended the throne of Mithilā, the political condition of Bengal was such as to tempt a foreign invader. Rāmapāla had just put down a revolt of the Kaivartas and re-occupied Varendra, and the country was necessarily unsettled. Eastern Bengal was under a new dynasty, the Varmaṇs, while the Senas were a rising power in Rāḍha or South-west Bengal. Besides these, there were probably other minor chiefs all over the country who enjoyed either full or limited independence, such as those mentioned in the *Rāmacarita*. It is quite probable, therefore, that Nānyadeva, after having settled himself in Northern Bihar would turn his attention to Gauḍa and Vaṅga (N. and E. Bengal). The ambition of the Senas, however, lay in exactly the same direction. Whether the two Karṇāṭaka chiefs pursued in concert a common policy of conquest, and fell out later when the prize was

1 *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. I, part II, p. 450.

2 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, pp. 305-15.

within their grasp, or whether they came into conflict because each wanted the other to leave him alone in what he regarded as his own sphere of influence, cannot be exactly determined. But the one sure conclusion that follows from a study of the contemporary records is that there were two streams of Karṇāṭaka invasion that overwhelmed Bengal, one from north-west and another from south-west under the leadership of Nānya and Vijayasena. Nānya, however, ultimately failed, whereas Vijayasena succeeded. Foiled in the east, Nānya turned towards the north and succeeded in conquering Nepāla.

In his elaborate discussion about the general political situation in North India at the time, Mr. Jayaswal has upheld the view that Nānya allied himself with the Gāhaḍavāla kings against the Senas; and further that the Pālas in South Bihar also joined this confederacy against the rising power of the Senas.[1]

Mr. Jayaswal has, however, reconstructed the narrative of the struggle between this confederacy and the Senas on the theory tenaciously upheld by Mr. R. D. Banerji that Lakṣmaṇasena ascended the throne in 1119 A.D. This view, however, seems untenable, and is rarely accepted at present by any scholar who has made a special study of the subject. But even Mr. Banerji, who was the great champion of this view, maintained that Lakṣmaṇasena died before 1170 A.D. This would be hardly compatible with Mr. Jayaswal's view that 'it was in the time of Nānya's grandson Narasiṃhadeva (1174-1205) that Mithilā leaned towards the Sena power and it would be then that the Lakṣmaṇasena era would come into vogue in Mithilā'.[2]

As a matter of fact, there can hardly be any doubt now as to the true dates of the Sena kings. Since I wrote my paper on this subject,[3] several scholars have made further contributions to it and all these confirm in the main the chronology then suggested by me in opposition to the views of Mr. R. D. Banerji whom Mr. Jayaswal has taken as his sole guide.

These further contributions of scholars mainly turn on two important points: (1) the genuineness of the dates 1082, 1090, 1091 Śaka for Vallālasena's reign as given in *Dānasāgara* and *Adbhutasāgara*; (2) the date given in the colophon of *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*.

As to (1), reference may be made to the writings of Mr. Chinta-

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1 *Op. cit.*, pp. 44ff.
2 *Op. cit.*, p. 46.
3 *J.A.S.B.*, 1921, pp. 7ff.

haran Chakrabarty,[1] and Mr. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharyya.[2] To these I may add another argument in favour of the genuineness of the dates of Vallālasena found in his literary works. This is furnished by a "reference in the *Ṭoḍarānanda-Saṃhitā-Saukhya* about the position of constellation of the Great Bear according to the *Adbhutasāgara* in the Śaka year 1082 (1160-61 A.D.) while Vallālasena was ruling."[3] *Ṭoḍarānanda* is 'an extensive encyclopædia of civil and religious law, astronomy and medicine, composed by Rājā Ṭoḍaramalla, the celebrated finance minister of Akbar'.[4] The reference in this book to the dates of *Adbhutasāgara* undoubtedly goes a great way to confirm their genuineness. As Mr. Chakrabarty has pointed out, the dates are not merely given in the introductory verse, which Mr. R. D. Banerji regarded as later interpolation, but that "in the *Adbhutasāgara* itself, in more than one place, explicit reference is made to the year of commencement of the work, which agrees with what is given in the introductory verse; further, in several sections astronomical calculations are made from the year when the book was commenced."[5] In the face of all these it would be difficult not to regard 1090-91 Śaka (1168-69 A.D.) given in *Dānasāgara*, as a date falling in Vallālasena's reign.

This view is further confirmed by the date given in the colophon of *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*. Mr. Chakravarty has restored the correct reading of the colophon by a collation of the different manuscripts. According to this colophon the accession of Lakṣmaṇa Sena falls in 1100 Śaka (1178 A.D.)[6]

As I pointed out in my paper, these dates are in full accord with the other data known from Indian and Muslim history. Thus, the probable dates of accession of the first three great kings of the Sena dynasty may be laid down as follows with a fair degree of certainty:

Vijaya Sena —1095 A.D.
Vallāla Sena —1159 A.D.
Lakṣmaṇa Sena—1178 A.D.

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1 *Ind. Hist. Quarterly*, vol. III, p. 186; vol. V, p. 133.

2 *Ind. Ant.*, 1922, pp. 145ff; *Ind. Hist. Quarterly*, vol. III, pp. 574ff.

3 P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, vol. I, p. 300.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 421.

5 *Ind. Hist. Quarterly*, vol. V, p. 134.

6 *Ind. Hist. Quarterly*, vol. III, pp. 188-9.

As in the case of the date of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, Mr. Jayaswal has been misled by Mr. R. D. Banerji into the belief that the Gāhaḍavāla king Candra of Kanauj helped Madanapāla against Vijayasena.[1] Mr. Banerji's theory rests upon a passage in *Rāmacarita* (Canto IV, verse 20) which describes "Candra" as a friend of Madanapāla. There is nothing to indicate that Candra helped Madanapāla against the Sena king, or that he was a king of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty. On the other hand, Mr. Banerji's view, that in his wars against Vijayasena Madanapāla was helped by king Candra of Kanauj, rests upon his theory that Lakṣmaṇasena ascended the throne in 1119 A.D. which, we have seen above, is untenable.

All the same, the rivalry between the Senas and the Gāhaḍavālas is undoubtedly a fact. But there is no evidence to connect either the Pālas or Nānyadeva with this struggle. So the picture which Mr. Jayaswal has drawn of the balancing of powers in Nānya's time does not appear to have any sure basis to stand upon.[2]

On the other hand, Nānyadeva seems to have been effectively checked by Vijayasena. According to the Deopārā Inscription he was even taken prisoner by the latter,[3] This serious reverse seems to have finally shattered his ambition and he left the field free for the two combatants, the Senas and the Gāhaḍavālas. According to the Deopārā Inscription, Vijayasena sent a flotilla of boats along the Ganges with a view to conquer the western regions.[4] This would hardly have been possible if the ruler of Mithilā had not been previously rendered incapable of rising against him. The scheme of

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1 *Pālas of Bengal* p. 103.

2 Mr. Jayaswal has laid some stress on the fact that Malladeva, a son of Nānyadeva, took service under Jayaccandra of Kanauj. The story is given by Vidyāpati, and according to him, Malladeva was killed in the war when only sixteen years old (*J.A.S.B.*, 1915, p. 408). Now as Jayaccandra ascended the throne in 1170 A.D., Malladeva could not have been born before 1154 A.D., if Vidyāpati's story were true. The death of Nānyadeva would then have to be placed after 1154 A.D. He would thus have a reigning period of about 60 years, far more than the longest period assigned to him in Vaṃśāvalīs. Thus reasonable doubts can be entertained regarding the truth of Vidyāpati's story, at least, in all its details.

3 Cf. verse 21 4 Cf. verse 22.

western expansion was steadily pursued by the Senas, though the strong arms of Govindacandra of Kanauj did not enable them to reap any immediate success. But the ambition of the Senas was realised to a great extent when, after the death of Govindacandra, king Lakṣmaṇasena planted pillars of victory at Benares and Prayāga, probably some time between 1180 and 1190 A.D. During the whole of this period the rulers of Mithilā, Nānya and his successors, were negligible factors in north Indian politics. Even their policy of expansion towards Nepāla did not meet with great success. According to M. Sylvain Lévi, Nānya and his immediate successors exercised but little real authority in that country.[1] They remained as local rulers of Tirhut with Simraon as their capital. The only epigraphic record of their rule is furnished by the Andharā-Thāṛhi inscription of Śrīdhara, the minister of Nānya.[2]

R. C. MAJUMDAR

The Coins and Weights in Ancient India

The intimate connection between the coinage and the weight-system of a country is well-known. Everywhere the standard unit of weight for precious metals became the standard unit of value, and this became ultimately coin when stamped with the royal insignia. The very names of the coins indicate this relation in good many cases.[3]

In the Manusaṃhitā is found a table of weight-metres of the Hindus which have remained almost the same as the basic system of weights and measures in India up to date. The subsequent alterations by the Indians as well as the non-Indians may be regarded as mere superimpositions on the original structure of the great law-giver. Still the actual unit of measurement for precious articles in India, is

1 *Le Nepal*, vol. II, pp. 205, 219.

2 This inscription has been edited by Mr. Jayaswal in *J.B.O.R.S.*, vol. IX, pp. 300ff. It does not contain any historical information of real value.

3 Jevons, p. 35; Kinley, p. 48.

the traditional rati kṛṣṇala (kunj-seed)[1] ; and still the actual weights in the order of ascending scale bear the names given to them by the ancient Ṛṣi, and indicate the same significance as in his time. The minute subdivisions of the kṛṣṇala, as given below, are used merely for the purpose of accounting and have no practical significance :

8 Trasa-reṇu	=	1 Likṣa (egg of louse)
3 Likṣas	=	1 Rāja-sarṣapa (black mustard)
3 Rājasarṣapas	=	1 Gaura-sarṣapa (white mustard)
6 Gaura-sarṣapas	=	1 Yava (barley corn)
3 Yavas	=	1 Kṛṣṇala (berry, rati)

* * * * *

5 Kṛṣṇalas	=	1 Māṣā (bean seed)
16 Māṣās	=	1 Suvarṇa (weight and coin of gold)
4 Suvarṇas	=	1 Niṣka or Pala
10 Palas	=	1 Dharaṇa[2]

As distinct from the above table of Manu, the following may be considered indicating alterations and super-impositions on the original structure :

6 Rājikas	=	1 Māṣā, huna or vanaka
4 Māṣās	=	1 Ṭaṅkā, sala or dharaṇa
2 Ṭaṅkās	=	1 Koṇa
2 Koṇas	=	1 Karṣa

* * *

108 Suvarṇas	=	Śurubhuṣana, pala or dīnāra[3]
20 Kapardakas (shells or cowries)	=	1 Kākinī (buri, 5 gaṇḍās)
4 Kākinīs	=	1 Paṇa, kārṣāpaṇa or karṣikā

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16 Paṇas (purna of shells)	=	1 Bherma of silver
16 Bhermas	=	1 Niṣka of silver

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1 Colebrooke, Prinsep, I, 212.
2 Manu VIII, 131-38, Hopkins & Burnett.
3 Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, 122.

5 Kṛṣṇalas	=	1 Māṣā
16 Māṣās	=	1 Karṣa, akṣa-tolaka or suvarṇa

* * * *

5 Suvarṇas	=	1 Pala[1,2]

Manu's table, quoted above, primarily refers to gold. The subsidiary copper-table is similar, but silver has a peculiar table of its own :

2 Kṛṣṇalas	=	1 Silver māṣaka
16 Māṣakas	=	1 Dharaṇa or pūraṇa
10 Dharaṇas	=	1 Satamāna[3]

* * * *

88 White mustards	=	1 Silver māṣa
16 Silver māṣas.	=	1 Dharaṇa

It may be granted that primarily from Manu's table of weights the following table for coins was constructed in ancient India :

1 Pala	(gold)	=	5×16×4	=	320 Ratis.
1 Niṣka	„	=	5×16×4	=	320 „
1 Suvarṇa	„	=	5×16	=	80 „
1 Kārṣāpaṇa	„	=	5×16	=	80 „
1 Māṣa	„	=	1×5	=	5 „
1 Karṣa, kṛṣṇala, (kārṣāpaṇa, kahāpana, kāhana) of	(gold)	=	1 Rati.		
1 Śatamāna	(gold)	=	100 Ratis.		

* * * *

1 Śatamāna (silver)	=	2×16×10	=	320 Ratis.
1 Dharaṇa or pūraṇa (silver)	=	2×16	=	32 „
1 Kārṣāpaṇa (silver)	=		=	80 „[4]
1 Karsapaṇa (silver)	=		=	32 „
1 Niṣka „	(4 suvarṇa in weight)		=	320 „[5]
1 Suvarṇa „	=		=	80 „

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1 Līlāvatī.

2 Kauṭilya calls a Suvarṇappala (Arthaśāstra, p. 127).

3 Kauṭilya calls a dharaṇa or pūraṇa of silver of 32 ratis a kārṣāpaṇa.

4 Kauṭilya calls a silver dharaṇa or pūraṇa of 32 ratis a Kārṣāpaṇa.

5 The silver śatamāna has also the same weight.

Most of the above coins had also their sub-divisional varieties, such as, ardhakārṣāpaṇa, pada-kārṣāpaṇa.

It is rather difficult to reconcile the discrepancies in the above tables regarding the denominations, weights, and basic metals.

According to Manu, silver māsaka is equal to 36 gaurasarṣapas. But according to Kauṭilya it is equal to 88 gaura-sarṣapas.[1] Again Manu's silver dharaṇa or pūraṇa is equal to 32 ratis, that of Kauṭilya is equal to 80 ratis and Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's dharaṇa is equal to 24 ratis.

Still there is another variety of the dharaṇa which is equal to 1200 ratis.

Manu's silver māṣa is 5 ratis; Kauṭilya's 5 ratis; and Bhaṭṭa's 6 ratis.

5 Kṛṣṇala	=	1 Māṣā.
6 Māṣā	=	1 Suvarṇa.
4 Suvarṇa	=	1 Pala or niṣka.
10 Pala	=	1 Dharaṇa.

Is it possible to reconcile the discrepancies? Are they in any way due to the varying ratios between gold and silver at different times? May it be conjectured that when the ratio was 1 : 8, two rati māṣaka of silver was the unit and when it changed into 1 : 12, three or six rati māṣakas had to be introduced as the unit?

With regard to the coins of gold similar discrepancies puzzle an enquirer:

1 Suvarṇa (Manu)	=	80 Rati.	
1 Pala (Kauṭilya)	=	80 „	
1 Kārṣāpaṇa or karṣa	=	80 „	
1 Kārṣāpaṇa or karṣa	=	96 „	(Gopāla)
1 Kārṣāpaṇa 4×8	=	32 „[2]	
1 Kārṣāpaṇa, karhāpaṇa or kahana	=	1 Rati.	

* * * *

1 Pala	...	4 (suvarṇa)×80	=	320 Rati
1 Pala	...	5×16	=	80 „
1 Niṣka		...	=	320 „
1 Śatamāna (gold)		...	=	100 „
1 Śatamāna (silver)		...	=	320 „
1 Niṣka (silver)		...	=	320 „

1 Bhandarkar, p. 93.

2 Cunningham, p. 41.

The suvarṇa and the kārṣāpaṇa are sometimes identical in weight in the case of gold. Suvarṇa, the generic name of all sorts of gold coins derived from their basic metal, came to be applied not only to a particular weight of gold (80 rati) but also possibly to a silver coin of the same weight. Kārṣāpaṇa, the full-weight unit of gold money, was also called Suvarṇa. But there were 96 rati kārṣāpaṇa of gold, 32 rati kārṣāpaṇa of silver and 1 rati kārṣāpaṇa kahāpana or kāhana which was the smallest unit for counting value as well as the smallest coin (yava-traya-parimita).

The pala and the niṣka were the two different names of gold coins of the same weight. The silver coin of the same weight was called niṣka, but strangely its other name was śatamāna.

"In Yājñavalkya, Niṣka of silver is mentioned which is equal to 4 suvarṇas or one pala of gold (in weight of course).[1]

This is queer, as the māna is a rati, and so the śatamāna should be 100 rati as in the case of gold. The māna in the case of silver apparently indicates different measure as the māṣā.

"Mention is also made of silver śatamāna of 57·6 grains. As the word means 100 mānas or measures, the single māna must have been 5·76 grs. = 3 ratis spoken of as silver māṣaka."[2]

Manu's māsā (gold and copper) is five ratis and (silver) 2 ratis, and Gopāla's 6 ratis.

Prinsep notices four varieties of māṣās of 5, 4, 16, 2 ratis. Other varieties have been noticed by other authorities.[3]

The māṣā in its importance has been regarded as the second of the monetary measures in India. It is, like the kṛṣṇala, a kind of seed, and its average weight has been ascertained to be 3·625 grains and near about that of the silver māṣā of 2 ratis. But unlike the kṛṣṇala it has no absolutely definite significance and its weight has been mentioned as widely different in different cases and by different authorities.

It may be imagined that while the rati or the kṛṣṇala provided for the primary weight-unit for gold, the māṣā served the same purpose for silver, the lighter metal. Both the seeds are readily available in India and are sufficiently uniform in size and weight to serve as the necessary units. The rati is the sub division of the māṣā in the case

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1 Cunningham, p. 47. 2 Cunningham, p. 47.

3 Prinsep, p. 212, Cunningham, Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, Raghunandana, Colebrooke.

of silver and there is a nice adjustment between the weights. One silver māṣā is about 3'625 grains or roughly 3'50 grains, while a rati has sometimes been mentioned as 1'83 and on the average as 1'75 grains, and the 2 ratis are equal to a silver māṣā. In the case of gold the māṣā is five times a rati. The reason seems to be that a minuter subdivision was necessary for the more valuable metal of which the primary unit of weight or currency was a rati which was of sufficient value to serve as a medium of exchange.

But there is mentioned another kind of māṣā of silver, of which the weight is 8 rati or 14'64 grains.[1] This may be the quadruple piece of the silver māṣā, two rati in weight. This 8 rati māṣā might have been the smallest practical unit of silver coin while the 2 rati piece was a mere weight or money of account. This 8 rati māṣā was one fourth of a dharaṇa which was 32 rati in weight. The one rati gold piece was coined as money, but it may be imagined that the 5 rati gold māṣā was much more convenient as money. Similarly the 8 rati silver māṣā was more prevalent as money than the two rati silver māṣā of very low value which might have been useful only for the purpose of accounting.

But the other varities of māṣā such as 4, 16, 3, 6 ratis in weight have also been mentioned.

"According to Kātyāyana...a māṣā or paṇa (is) one-twentieth part of kārṣāpaṇa in value."

It is therefore 4 rati in weight and one-eighth of a silver dharaṇa or pūraṇa. If there were a 16 rati māṣā also it was one half of the punch-marked silver coin so famous in ancient India.

Is it possible that the māṣā came to be the general name for all fractional money, particularly in the case of silver? If so, the full silver table was :

1	silver dharaṇa or pūraṇa	=	32 rati	(kārṣā-paṇa)
1-2	,, ,,	=	16 ,,	(ardha-kārṣāpaṇa)
1-4	,,	=	8 ,,	(pāda-kārṣāpaṇa)
1-8	,,	=	4 ,,	(māṣā)
1-16	,,	=	2 ,,	(māṣā)

All the fractions of the full weight silver coin (pūraṇa or kārṣāpaṇa) came to be called māṣā. But the word was also applicable to gold and copper for measuring the fractions of the full weight gold

1 N. Orientalia.

Did the māṣā, whatever might be its origin, a seed of 3.5 or 14.6 grains (the small bean or the big bean), come in course of time to mean a fraction of the standard gold, silver and copper piece ? The silver māṣā starts with 2 rati or $\frac{1}{16}$ of the full-weight silver money, and the gold or copper māṣā is the same in relation to the full-weight gold or copper money, and even today the significant fraction of the rupee is its $\frac{1}{16}$th part, the anna.

A māṣā has been called by Kātyāyana, a paṇa. A paṇa is an anna or $\frac{1}{16}$ of a kāhana (kahāpana or kārṣāpaṇa). Thus it fits in well with the present system in which an anna is 1/16th of a rupee. But Kātyāyana regards a paṇa as $\frac{1}{20}$ and not $\frac{1}{16}$ of a rupee. Subsequently, it has been discussed that the kārṣāpaṇa, when of gold, might have been used indifferently for two different varieties of weights and coins, 80 rati suvarṇa and the 1 rati kṛṣṇala or karṣa. The modern kāhana, which is equal to $1 \times 16 \times 80$ cowries, is derived from the latter specie, of which the copper value is equal to 1280 rati, if the ratios between gold, silver and copper be taken to be 1 : 16 : 80, as mentioned in the Śukra-nīti. A kārṣāpaṇa has sometimes been designated a karṣa or a rati. It may not be altogether fantastic to imagine that the 80 rati copper kārṣāpaṇa was so named because it contained 1 paṇa (80) karṣa in weight and in value (1 rati copper = 1 cowri). Thus the 80 rati paṇa (copper) was $\frac{1}{16}$ of 1 rati (gold) kārṣāpaṇa or kāhana, and Kauṭilya's 4 rati paṇa was only $\frac{1}{4}$of a kārṣāpaṇa (copper) and equivalent to the modern "buri" or 5 gaṇḍās or 20 cowries in the Bengal system of Arithmetic.

We frequently meet with instances of loosely using the same word for denoting different conceptions. This is a common error even today, and most probably was much more so in ancient India. It may be also that in the widely distant parts of such a vast country the same name denoted different things. The word "ṭākā" has different significance in the different parts of India in modern times. In the up-countries it is often used to mean a "Double-pice". Again a seer weight may be 60, 80, 100 and 120 tolas, according to the location of the market.

It has been supposed that the māṣā was originally a bean seed and also that there were two varieties of it, the small one weighing 3.5 grains and the big one weighing 14.6 grains, both approximately. If so, how the other sorts of māṣās of 3, 4, 5, 6, ratis etc. can be explained ?

"Nārada says, a māṣā may also be considered as $\frac{1}{20}$th of a kārṣāpaṇa and Bṛhaspati describes it as ½ of a pala. Hence we have no less than four māṣās, not taking into account the māṣā used by the medical men consisting of 10, 12 ratis which may be the same as the jeweller's māṣā of six double ratis, because it has been explained as being measured by 8 silver rati in weight, each twice as heavy as the seeds".[1]

This supports the above suggestion that māṣā was a generic name for all fractional weights.

Finally, it may be said that the māṣā was a secondary unit and not the primary one like the rati, and its significance was not so precise as that of the rati which was the only absolutely and universally definite weight in the Indian system of weights and coins.

The kṛṣṇala or the rati has a unique position in the Indian system, as the primary unit for the measurement of value as well as of weight. Perhaps the attractive appearance of the seed, its abundant and wide supply and uniformity in weight as well as in shape led to its adoption by the people of India for the above mentioned useful purposes. The kṛṣṇala came to be recognised by the early Hindus as the "balance or scale of a seed," and was able to maintain its position under the Muhammadans as the *surkh* or "red." Its weight has been carefully tested by the European numismatists, some of whom are inclined to estimate it to be 1.83 grains but the concensus of opinion is that, on the average, it may be taken to be 1.75 grs.[2]

The rati, no doubt, is the starting point in weight-measurement and money-account. It is very significant that unlike the māṣā it has only one and a precisely definite connotation regarding weight which makes it serve without any possibility of confusion as the basis for the monetary and weight calculation of India.

But the rati was not merely a weight. It was also a coin. The unit of weight, in course of time, became unit of money and more or less current in the case of gold. Historical evidence may be quoted to support this view that the one rati piece was current as medium of exchange in the shape of "scales of gold" or bags of gold dust. These pieces were too small to be counted[3] and were measured in pots.[4]

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1 Colebrooke, I, p. 531.

2 *N. Orientalia*, pp. 10-11, 14, 65 ; Rapson, p.2 ; Prinsep, I, p.212 ; Colebrooke, I, p. 529. 3 "Suvarṇa salākāni yava-traya-parimitāni."

4 *N. Orientalia*, p. 14 ; Cunningham, pp. 7, 21 ; Colebrooke, p. 530 ; Bhandarkar, p. 179.

It may be that the "bags of gold-dust", in which revenue was paid to the Persian Darius, and which have puzzled the ingenuity of the European numismatists so much, were bags of the star-like kṛṣṇala coins.

A rati has also been called a karṣa, and the one rati gold star, a kārṣāpaṇa or the modern kāhana of 1280 cowries.

The smallest gold coin in India is the rati. Then comes the māṣā of 5 ratis ; after that the suvarṇa, the full-weight unit coin of gold, weighing 80 rati and prevalent as the most widely current coin under different denominations, such as the suvarṇa, kārṣāpaṇa, and pala. The suvarṇa was a generic name for all kinds of gold coins as well as bullion. The original significance of the term was possibly the metal only. In course of time the ideas of a particular weight and definite inscription were associated with it and it came to mean the standard gold coin, 80 rati-kārṣāpaṇa.[1]

Suvarṇa was originally simple gold, afterwards, a particular measure of gold, contained in a bag serving as a convenient

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1 Cunningham, p. 7 : "The gold standard coin, the suvarṇa of 80 rati." Also Rapson, p. 2.

Bhandarkar, p. 91: "Suvarṇa being intended as the gold kārṣāpaṇa."

Yājñavalkya, *Smṛti*, p. 432 ; Bhandarkar, pp. 103, 184 : "Pieces of gold in point of value are suvarṇas mentioned in the Vedas."

Cunningham, p. 22 : "The suvarṇas gradually became the name of coins from the original name of weight."

N. Orientalia, p. 81. "The Buddhist legends abound in mentioning suvarṇas.'

Cunningham, p. 22 : "The suvarṇa was a single bag of gold dust."

Bhandarkar, p. 58 : "Suvarṇa must denote a coin and not simply gold."

Yājña-valkya, *Smṛti*,(Pāṇini office) p. 434 : "According to Viṣṇu-gupta another name of suvarṇa is karṣa". See also Bhandarkar, pp. 183, 184.

Cunningham, p. 22 : "The gold of India, always noted for its yellow hue, received its common name suvarṇa which at last became the name of a piece of gold'.

Arthaśāstra, p. 102 ; Bhandarkar, p. 71 : "Suvarṇa weighs 80 ratis. Kauṭilya gives the same information. Another name of suvarṇa is karṣa, the gold kārṣāpaṇa."

Cunningham, p. 50 : "Han and hun, the same as son, the spoken form of suvarṇa, gold."

Bhandarkar, p. 184 : "The Gupta inscriptions may have used suvarṇa also synonymously with dīnāra."

unit of payment ; then a definite measure of coined gold as money which following the indigenous method came to be of 80 rati weight. In course of time all gold coins came to be known as suvarṇa irrespective of weight, from the rati kṛṣṇala or star to the pala of 320 ratis or even more. But the full-weight suvarṇa coin was 80 rati specifically. Its another name was kārṣāpaṇa, which was also the generic name of all full-weight coins, irrespective of their basic metals, gold, silver or copper.

Now, the exhaustive list of coins may be given here :

Gold Coins : 1 rati	(kārṣāpaṇa)	96 rati	(kārṣāpaṇa)
2 „	(ropaka)	100 „	(śatamāna)
5 „	(māṣā)	320 „	(niṣka)
80 „	(karṣāpaṇa)	320 „	(pala)
80 „	(pala)	400 „	(pala)

Silver Coins : 32 rati	(dhāraṇa or purāṇa)	... Kārṣāpaṇa
16 rati	(māṣā) ...	... Ardha-kārṣāpaṇa
8 rati	(māṣā) ...	... Pada-kārṣāpaṇa
4 rati	(māṣā) ...	... $\frac{1}{8}$ „
2 rati	(māṣā) ...	... $\frac{1}{16}$ „

Copper Coins : 80 rati (paṇa)	... Kārṣāpaṇa
40 „	... $\frac{1}{2}$ „
20 „	... $\frac{1}{4}$ „
10 „	... $\frac{1}{8}$ „
5 „ (māṣā)	... $\frac{1}{16}$ „

By comparing these three tables some striking uniformity of principle can be found out. The smallest fraction, except in the case of gold, is a māṣā which is always $\frac{1}{16}$ of a standard coin. The exception in the case of gold may be due to high value in small bulk and also silver being 16 times lower in value as mentioned in the Śukra-nīti.

All fractional coins have the general name of māṣā. All the standard coins are 16 times the māṣā. In the case of silver it is 2×16. One rati silver piece being of too low a value would not be of practical use, and the 5 rati copper piece was merely money of account and possibly never coined as actual money. Cāṇakya mentions the smallest variety of copper coin as pada-kārṣāpaṇa which was 20 rati in weight and valued at 20 cowries or 5 gaṇḍās or a buḍī which in the indigenous system of accounts today is regarded as equivalent to 1 pice. The bigger fractional

coins are the multiples of the smallest māṣā following the quadruple principle so indigenous and enduring in the Indian mode of calculation and measurement. The Śatamāna is an exception due to its exotic origin.[1]

16 chattacks	=	1 seer
16 paṇas or bisās	=	1 kāhana (paddy)
16 chattacks	=	1 cottah
16 paṇas	=	1 kāhana (cowrie)
16 annas	=	1 rupee

and so on.

The generic names of all the full-weight standard coins were kārṣāpaṇa. Thus the golden suvarṇa is kārṣāpaṇa, the silver dhāraṇa is kārṣāpaṇa and the copper paṇa is karṣāpaṇa.[2]

It is a mistake to regard the kārṣāpaṇa as merely or pre-eminently a copper coin, following Manu's phrase "tāmrikaḥ karṣikaḥ paṇaḥ", and to conclude from this that copper was the standard of value in ancient India.

The kārṣāpaṇa was the name of all standard money. It derived its name from 80 rati which is a paṇa even now. It was the mostly current form of coin. The suvarṇa is much more mentioned than the pala or the niṣka. But in course of time the pala also came to be called kārṣāpaṇa. The dhāraṇa has been called kārṣāpaṇa. It has been regarded as the standard coin (the famous "punch-marked" one).

The kārṣāpaṇa became kahāpaṇa in Pāli and kāhana in Bengali. Its symbol is always 1 or a full unit and its fraction is a (1) paṇa which is converted into kārṣāpaṇa by multifying the paṇa by 4 or 16. The maund is 1, the rupee is 1, and the kāhana is 1. All these are 16 times of the fractional unit and represented by the symbol 1.

Thus in the metric system the position of the kārṣāpaṇa is as important as that of the kṛṣṇala.

Two important questions remain to be discussed in connection with the kārṣāpaṇa :

1. Was the kārṣāpaṇa coin merely or predominantly of copper as suggested by some ?

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1 *N. Orientalia*, p. 12.

2 See Amarakoṣa, Kennedy, Bhandarkar, p. 39, 79, 84. *N. Orientalia.*

2. Was the golden kṛṣṇala coin also called a kārṣāpaṇa with a very important and particular significance along with the standard full-weight unit of gold, silver or copper—the suvarṇa, the dhāraṇa and the paṇa ?

There can be no doubt as to the existence of an 80 rati gold piece. With reference to its metallic basis it was called suvarṇa and was extensively mentioned in the ancient literature including the Vedas. It must have been the full-weight monetary unit and the standard of value ; and from both these points of view it was called kārṣāpaṇa.

"Amarakoṣa distinguishes between kārṣāpaṇa and paṇa. Both are karṣika, i.e., 1 karṣa in weight, but paṇa alone as tāmrika, i.e., made of copper. His commentators infer that kārṣāpaṇa was silver. The author of the *Kāśikā* speaks of kārṣāpaṇa as being hāṭaka, i.e., made of gold."[1]

"According to Viṣṇugupta another name of suvarṇa is karṣa."[2]

The kārṣāpaṇa has also been extensively mentioned in the Jātaka literature where it connotes a current monetary unit irrespective of its metallic basis.[3]

In fact, Manu's śloka in question refers to only a particular variety of kārṣāpaṇa, the copper one and in no way denotes the non-existence of any other variety.[4]

Thus the specific name of a copper kārṣāpaṇa is a paṇa ; and Amarakoṣa distinguishes between kārṣāpaṇa and paṇa. Both are karṣika but paṇa alone is tāmrika.

In fact, Manu's śloka can never suggest that the Indian standard was at any time based solely on the copper kārṣāpaṇa.

The second point to be discussed is what is a karṣa. Can the golden rati or kṛṣṇala coin be also called a karṣa ?

The word kārṣāpaṇa is apparently a compound of 'karṣa' and 'paṇa'. Karṣa has reference to both weight and value, and paṇa to number.

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1 Bhāndārkar, p. 92-3 ; see N. Orientalia, p. 22 : "There was a suvarṇa or golden karṣa which was simply a suvarṇa or given weight of gold, in the form of coin."

2 Yājñavalkya, p. 434. (Panini Office Edition).

3 Bhāndārkar, p. 50, 78, 80, 81 etc.

4 "Tamrikaḥ karṣikaḥ paṇaḥ"
"A copper paṇa weighing a karṣa should be known as a paṇa."

The kārṣāpaṇa has been taken to be of 80 rati weight, except in the case of the silver dhāraṇa which came to appropriate the name common to the other standard coins without any specific significance either regarding weight or value. The Karṣa was practically the smallest weight used ; it was also termed raktika.[1] "Thus karṣa signifies 80 rati as well as one rati."

Mr. Prinsep in writing about this discrepancy, says : "It is now the 80th part of a paṇa, but similar discrepancies are common throughout."[2]

The key to the solution of the discrepancies may be found, as has once before been suggested, in the loose use of the term to denote different conceptions. But a method may be found in this particular case. Karṣa is a weight. It is the weight of a coin. It is the weight of the standard unit of money, the smallest to start with for calculation and accounting, as well as the fullest to be convenintly used as a medium of exchange. This explains the existence, side by side with 1 rati gold kārṣāpaṇa, 80 rati gold and copper kārṣāpaṇa and the 32 rati silver kārṣāpaṇa.

But what is the significance of the other half of the compound word, the paṇa or the apaṇa ?

Paṇa alone is tāmrika or paṇa is coin made of copper. The paṇa was sub-divided into fanams or kas-fanams or more properly paṇam is identical with the word paṇa, now applied chiefly to ascertain measure of cowries or copper money.[3]

The original name of the coin was kārṣāpaṇa, from karṣa a weight and a paṇa (custom) or use meaning that they were pieces of one karṣa weight as established by use or custom···karṣa of commerce or of common use or in other words the current karṣa.[4]

Thus according to Cunningham the second half of the compound word is not paṇa but apaṇa. But this goes against the classical view and can hardly be warranted from the textual use of the term in Manu and other authorities. It is safer to use paṇa in the sense of a particular number, 80 (rati). Eighty still makes a paṇa and a copper paṇa is nothing but 80 rati. But there is another 80 rati coin associated with paṇa, the golden kārṣāpaṇa. Still there is another gold coin the one rati star-like piece which is also a kārṣāpaṇa because of its value

1 See Colebrooke, p. 531.

2 Prinsep, *Indian Antiquities*, vol. I, p. 212.

3 Prinsep, *Useful Table*, p. 18. 4 Cunningham, p. 18.

being reached through 80 rati of copper. One rati copper, when cowrie came to be the prevalent medium in petty exchanges, was equivalent to 1 cowrie. It is quite likely that at that time the ratio of gold, silver and copper came to be established at 1 : 16 : 80.

Thus 1 rati gold was equal to 16×80 rati copper or 1280 cowries. This is today called a kāhaṇa, the Bengali word for kārṣāpaṇa or kahāpaṇa.

"The value assigned to the kārṣāpaṇa in the ancient law-book agrees with that of the kāhaṇa of the present day."[1]

There can be no doubt about the existence of a variety of golden kārṣāpaṇa of which the value was paṇa of copper or 1280 cowries. But was it ever a coined money ?

In the Indian Numismatics are several times mentioned minute coins of gold, bags of gold or gold dust. Also up to very recent times actually current gold coins of very small size have been found to exist.

"Suvarṇa-śalākāni yava-traya-parimitāni" clearly indicates the existence of 1 rati gold pieces. In Manu's sytem the kṛṣṇala or the rati was the smallest coin or weight. Long afterwards it was found to be current as "the minute gold coins of the south, the gold stars, just like little scales of gold." Mr. Bhandarkar himself found in the Piprawa stūpa such pieces impressed with symbols, which according to him, indicate that these might be the kṛṣṇala coins.

Thus the idea that the kārṣāpaṇa had a unique position in the system of the Indian currency is corroborated. It is the standard and current money. It is also the money of account and the unit to start with in the construction of the monetary table.*

A. K. SARKAR

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1 Cunningham.

* The following abbreviations have been used in this paper :
Colebrooke for Colebrooke's *Essays*.
N. Orientalia for *Numismata Orientalia, Ed. Thomas.*
Cunningham for *Cunningham's Coins.*
Rapson for *Indian Coins.*

Finger-posts of Bengal History*

II

Pathan Period, c. 1200-1550 A.D.

The word 'Pathan' is used here in the popular sense of pre-Mughal Muslim invaders of India, who were mostly Turks by race and are called so in the Sanskrit literature and epigraphs of the time. These Turks had little culture of their own, and long after their conversion to Islam (*c.* 1000 A.D.) they continued to be rude soldiers who cared little for art or literature. They have left no literary records and the only notable monuments of their sway in Bengal are the ruins of Gauḍ and Pāṇḍuā which bear the stamp of Hindu workmanship, and their coins which have the distinction of being practically the first ever minted in Bengal. No land-grant of their time has come to light and their inscriptions which were mostly engraved on mosques are only partially explored as yet. Most of the published ones have been utilised in R. D. Banerji's *Bāṅglār Itihās*, vol. 2, but few in the *Cambridge History*. Recently Mr. S. Sharaf-ud-din of the Varendra Research Society has made a list of over 180 of them for inclusion in the *Inscriptions of Bengal*, vol. IV. This list has been utilised by me for some of the points noted below.

Ikhtiyar-ud-din, the founder of Pathan rule in Bengal, came from Afganisthan and so did several of his successors, and there were also some who came to Bengal from Western India, e.g., Malik Jiwand of Multan, who has left an inscription at Bangarh. It was in the Pathan period that Bengal was linked once again with Magadha (or Bihar, as it was then named). With Orissa or rather the Gaṅga kings of Jajpur, the Pathans were in conflict from the time they entered Bengal, and the conflict continued, through Caitanya's days, until at a time when their rule was about to end in Bengal, the Pathans secured the northern part of Orissa, and took there refuge from the advancing Mughals.

Pathan sway in Bengal was centered in West Varendra where the Malda and Dinajpur Muslims still form distinct racial groups. The

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* Continued from p. 457.

earliest Pathan inscription in Bengal, viz., the Malda one of 1232 A.D. (which is 10 years earlier then the earliest Muslim inscription in Bihar) is in this tract, and so also is the majority of their inscriptions and monuments. In this tract also are

(1) Gauḍ which was their capital till the very end of their rule, as also

(2) Pāṇḍuā, which dates from Ilyas Shah's time, about 1340 A.D. (Banerji, *Itihās*, II, p. 108),

(3) the fort of Ekdala which baffled the attack of Emperor Firuz Shah Tughlak, about 1350 A.D. (*Ibid.*, pp. 116-42) and which is identified with Kasba in P. S. Bansihari, by Mr. Stapleton ; and

(4) Devkot or Bangarh where after an unsuccessful raid into Tibet, Ikhtiyar-ud-din met with his death[1] and which figures so largely in the early history of Pathan rule in Bengal, although the earliest Muslim inscription found in it does not go beyond 1297 A.D. (*V.R.S. Monographs* No. 4, pp. 25-28).

The Pathans appear to have followed the retreating Senas into the Madhainagar tract. A Pathan inscription (not yet read) has been found recently at Gulta, five miles south-west of the Bhavanipur shrine and said to be the original site of the shrine (*Baguḍār Itihās*, p. 114), and some coins of Danujamardana have been found near Madhainagar itself. Tradition goes that Rājā Ganeś, identified with Danujamardana, as will be noted later, had his home in this locality before he seized the throne of Gauḍ (Banerji, *Itihās*, II, p. 187), and the colossal Śivaliṅga at Talum and the ruins at Satpaḍa near it are attributed to the *Ek-ṭākiā* Bhāduris who dominated this part of the country in the 17th century and whose line is said to be continued by the Tahirpur house.

Pathan sway did not spread to the rest of Varendra till about the middle of the 15th century when there was a Pathan expansion following on the short Hindu regime of Danujamardana and Mahendra.

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1 Evidence of this raid through Kāmarūpa is furnished by an inscription dated 13th Caitra, 1127 Śaka, or 27th March 1205 A.D. on the Kanaibarasi hill on the north bank of the Brahmaputra, opposite Gauhati town, which reads : *Śāke turaga-yugmese Madhumāsa-trayodaśe Kāmarūpaṃ samāgatya Turuṣka kṣayamāyayuḥ* (*I.H.Q.*, 1927, p. 843).

The Pathan coins found at Mahāsthān date from Mahmud Shah's time (r. 1442-59 A.D.) (*V.R.S. Monographs* No. 2, p. 32) ; the earliest Mahisantosh inscription is of 1460 A.D. ; a Pathan inscription at Kantaduar, P. S. Pirganj, Dist. Rangpur, (only one half of which has been found by Rai Bahadur Mritunjay Ray Chaudhuri) records the erection of a mosque in the reign of Husain Shah 'the conqueror of the rebels of Kāmarūpa and Kamta' *c.* 1502 A.D. (*Ann. Rep. A.S.I.* 1924-25, p. 89). The other Pathan inscriptions in Varendra belong to about the end of Pathan rule—the Bagha mosque inscription is of 1524 A.D. (*Pravāsī*, Āśvin, 1326, p. 553), the Dhurail Bridge inscription (in Sanskrit) is of 1533 A.D. and the Kusumba mosque and the Sherpur (Bogra) *dargah* inscriptions are of 1558 A.D.

Pathan away spread early to Dakṣiṇa Rāḍh, as an inscription of 1298 A.D. (a year after that of the Bangarh inscription) records a victory of the Pathans over the Hindus at Triveni (Banerji, *Itihās*, II, p. 87), but it did not extend to Pāṇḍuā (Hughli) till 1477 A.D. (*Ibid.*, p. 216).

The first notable Muslim to appear in the Dacca area was Emperor Balban, who went there, in 1283, in pursuit of his rebellious governor Tughril Khan and met the Hindu Rājā Danuj Rai, as already noted. Some writers think that this Rājā is referred to in Hari-Miśra's *Kārikā* as well as by Kīrttivāsa (*Vasumatī*, Caitra, 1337, p. 940). Muslim sway is said to bave been imposed soon afterwards on East Bengal (Banerji, *Itihās*, II, p. 89) but the earliest Muslim inscription of Dacca does not go beyond 1457 A.D., while that in the famous Baba Adam's tomb at Rampal is dated 50 years later.

To the rest of East Bengal, Muslim influence spread even later and judging from similar legends about its origin every where, it appears to have been confined at first to isolated *pirs.* The earliest dates recorded are 1459 A.D. at Bagerhat, 1466 at Bakerganj, 1473 at Chittagong, about 1480 at Sylhet and Lauria (though Ibn Batuta is said to have visited the *pir* Shah Jalal at Sylhet in 1340) and about 1486 at Mymensingh.

Pathan sway does not seem to have ever reached South Bengal and it was there that Pratāpāditya (1555-1611, *Modern Review*, March, 1923, p. 316) sprung from the family of the revenue minister of the last Pathan Sultan, migrated after the downfall of the Pathan Sultanate and set up an independent state.

The most striking feature of their history in Bengal is that the Pathans could not establish settled rule. They were no doubt numerically very weak, and without any superior arms, but they were also

torn by dissensions themselves—no less than fifty rulers belonging to ten different dynasties and various races, including Abyssinian and even Hindu, covered the 300 years of their sway in Bengal. Within 120 years of Ikhtiyar-ud-din's death the kingdom is said to have broken up into three parts with their capitals at Gauḍ, Satgaon and Sonargaon. They were brought under one sceptre by Ilyas Shah (r. 1340-58) and the State was raised to prosperity by his son Sikandar (r. 1358-89) who built the Adina mosque at Pāṇḍuā.

But dissensions soon reappeared and in 1417 a Hindu chief, Danujamardana seized the throne. His reign was short, but he appears to have issued coins bearing legends in the Bengali script from three mints, Pāṇḍunagar, Sonargaon and Chatgram, and to have been succeeded by his son Mahendra, who is said to have afterwards turned Muslim. Following Mr. Bhattasali (*Modern Review*, 1929, January, p. 44), we may take these two Hindu kings as identical with Ganeś and Yadu of Bengal tradition. According to MM. Haraprasād Śāstrī, Vṛhaspati, surnamed Rāya-mukuṭa, wrote his commentary on on the *Amarakoṣa* under the patronage of these two Hindu kings (Banerji, *Itihās*, II, p. 175).

The Pathans soon recovered the throne, and then ensued a period of their expansion, as referred to before. The most notable king of this period was Husain Shah (r. 1493-1519) who, judging from the number of his inscriptions had a prosperous reign—raiding Kamta and Kāmarūpa (as recorded in his Malda and Kantaduar inscriptions) and even attacking the Ahoms[1] and carrying on war with Pratāparudra of Orissa (1504-1532). Recently four more of Husain Shah's inscriptions have been discovered, one in Begu Hajjam's mosque in Patna city (*J.B.O.R.S.*, 1930, p. 340), one on a mosque near Barh (Patna Dt.), one at Gaḍh Mandaran (Hugli Dist.) (*Pravāsī*, 1326, Jyaiṣṭha, p. 133), and one near Kandi (Mursidabad Dist.) (*Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, 1337, p. 81).

Husain Shah's son and successor, Nusrat Shah (r. 1519-1532) had a prosperous reign until 1529, when Babar, who had ousted the Pathans from the throne of Delhi, turned his victorious arms against Bengal, where the Delhi Sultan's brother, Mahmud Lodi had found refuge. He advanced as far as Maner, where a peace was concluded. Eight

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1 The Ahoms entered the Assam valley about the same time that the Muslims entered Bengal, and ruled for 600 years, for which period they have chronicles called *Burañjis*.

years after this there was a Pathan revival under Sher Sur who seized Bihar and Bengal. This drew Humayun to Gauḍ where he is said to have enjoyed himself for six months. Gauḍ was named Jannatabad or Heavenly city by the Pathans. The name occurs on some coins of Ghiyas-ud-din Azam Shah (r. 1389-96) (Banerji, *Itihās*, II, p. 155) and on a canon of Sher Shah which is now in V.R.S. Museum. On Humayun's way back, Sher Sur inflicted on him a crushing defeat at Chausa and afterwards drove him out of India and became Emperor with the title of Sher Shah. He ruled for five years only (1540-1545) but has left a brilliant record of achievements among which are the Grand Trunk Road, and the revenue settlement of the empire which was afterwards incorporated in the *Ain-i-Akbari*. To him also is to be ascribed a novel form of inscription in Bengal, *viz.*, on bronze guns, some of which have been found in Malda and some in western Kāmarūpa (*V.R.S. Monographs* No. 3) and one recently in the North East frontier tract of Sadiya (*Report of Kāmarūpa Anusandhān Samiti*, 1931, p. 53). With the passing away of this great ruler, dissensions again appeared among the Bengal Pathans, and though Sulaiman Karnani (r. 1564-72) who removed the capital to Tanda, is said to have seized a part of Orissa (Banerji, *Itihās*, II, p. 367) and to have beaten back an invasion from Kuch-Bihar (*Ibid.*, p. 368), Bengal finally passed under Mughal sway with the overthrow and death of his grandson Daud Shah in 1576. Some Pathan chiefs of local origin Muslim and Hindu, held out,—one of them, Masum Khan being dignified with the title of *Sultan* in the Chatmahar mosque inscription of 1582 A.D. (*Blochmann, Ain-i-Akbari*, I, p, 631) but eventually they all had to yield to Akbar's steady pressure (Bhattasali, *Bengal Past and Present*, 1928, Nos. 71 & 72).

Many places in Bengal—notably Gauḍ Pāṇḍuā, Bangarh and Triveṇī—bear witness to the iconoclastic zeal of the Pathans. Probably the predominance of Muslim population in North-East Bengal dates from their time. Some of the Muslims in this tract, as can be easily seen from their features and culture, are no doubt descended from converted Hindus or foreign settlers of this or a later period, but from the fact that Pathan sway was so feeble and late in this area, that we may conclude that the bulk of them owe their origin to mass conversion of indigenous tribes which had been outside the pale of Hindu society, by the influence of the *pirs* who were settled among them and not, as some people suppose, to conversion of Hindus by political pressure or allurements. This view is suported

by the marked difference as regards physique and culture as well as social status and wealth, between the Muslims and the Hindus, and the practical absence, till recent years, of religious ministration and houses of prayer for the former. The queer tribal names *Manquli* and *Quanksal* of some of the Pathan opponents of Akbar in Bengal seem to point to their indigeneous origin. We see a parallel to this process in the present day mass conversion to Christianity of certain backward tribes in Assam (*Pravāsī*, 1337, Bhādra, p. 655), Chota-Nagpur and North Bengal.[1]

Though ever since the end of Hindu rule, the Hindu society of Bengal has languished for want of royal support and direction, the Pathan rulers themselves do not appear to have exerted any pressure on it. In fact, they appear to have honoured the leading Hindu families of the time with such non-Sanskritic titles as Raya, Majumdar, Sarkar, Mallick and even Khan. Nor did they close the high offices of state to the Hindus or make any foreign tongue their official language. Their inscriptions are indeed mostly in Arabic language and Tughra characters, but even as late as 1533 A.D. we find an inscription in Sanskrit language and Bengali script set up by a Pathan minister of a Pathan king (*I.H.Q.*, 1931, p. 17). And it was during the Pathan period that Navadvīp became a noted Hindu centre—to which learned and pious men flocked from all over Bengal and even from Sylhet,—where the school of Navya-Nyāya was evolved,—where Raghunandana composed his 28 codes of Hindu laws and rites and Ānanda Bhaṭṭa his *Vallāla-carita* (1510 A.D.) and—where Caitanya (1485-1534) preached

1 The 'communal' map based on the census of 1921 which faces p. 149 of *the Report of the All Parties Conference*, 1928 shows that a 'neutral' zone passses from Dinajpur to Khulna through Malda, Murshidabad, Nadia and Jessore districts (probably along the Mahānandā river and the old course of the Bhairav). West of this zone the Hindus predominate with an average of 77 per cent (maximum 88 in Midnapur) and the Muslims also are of a type different from those in N. E. Bengal. East of the zone, the Muslims predominate with an average of 73 per cent (maximum 83 in Bogra). Again a zone of about 65 per cent Muslim passes from Sylhet (53) to Khulna through Dacca and Faridpur districts (probably along the Surma, Meghna and Madaripur rivers) and separates two distinct types of Muslims. An investigation of these figures may throw some light on Muslim origins as well as on the old hydrography of Bengal.

his new Vaiṣṇavism, while Tāntrik literature and practices flourished in Varendra. It was also in this age that Caitanya and his followers laid the foundation of modern Bengali literature.

Meanwhile, west of India, the Turks had been overthrown by another tribe, the Mughals who, described as 'infidels' by Minaj in the 13th century had adopted Islamic religion with Persian culture before the 16th century when they burst into India and very soon wrested Bengal from the Pathans, as noted above. Their racial and cultural difference from the Turks is recognised in Sanskrit writings by their being designated *Yavanas* (e.g. Ahom cannon inscriptions in Assam). With their advent a momentous change was inaugurated—the Hindu or *indigenous* culture was superseded in Bengal, as elsewhere in Northern India, by the adoption of a foreign language (Persian) as the official language, and a foreign (or Persian) culture as state culture, and by the muslimization of the higher state services—and even the centre of government was shifted from West to East Bengal.

Such is the light which we derive from even a cursory view of these finger-posts of history. When they are published in a connected and properly edited form and studied together by scholars they will not fail to give us an authentic history of Bengal for the somewhat obscure period of 1200 years which preceded Mughal rule.

BIJAY NATH SARKAR

Studies in the Kauṭilīya*

IV

THE VARIOUS ASPECTS OF INVASION FROM THE REAR

The circumstances in which an attack is to be made upon a kingdom from the rear, when the soverign of this kingdom is invading another king, should be carefully examined to find out the advantage that accrues from the rear-attack. The advantages derived from such invasions from the rear vary a good deal, and unless the circumstances are probably weighed, there may be losses or positive disadvantages. An omission to make an attack upon a State from the rear at a time when the sovereign of the State is engaged in an invasion

* Continued from p. 474.

upon another State may, on the other hand, give an opportunity to the other sovereign to grow into a very powerful neighbour without much difficulty if the invasion, upon which he has launched himself, be not thwarted by a rear-attack upon his State and for that reason his victory over the enemy in front be comparatively less difficult. Thus, there are many factors that should be taken into consideration to decide whether or not a rear-attack should be made. The circumstances become more complicated when in addition to the existence of three kings within the range of our consideration (viz., a king invading another, and a third king attacking the former from the rear), there is a fourth, who though inimical to the third king has entered into an alliance with him for mutual help, and two other kings, one proceeding to invade the territory of the other. In other words, two sets of two kings are supposed, and in each set one king is out for an attack upon the other; and two other kings are also supposed to play a part in the situation. They are 'natural' enemies but are now in alliance for mutual benefit. Each of these two allies is to attack one or another of the two kings, who have resorted to yāna against their respective enemies. One of the reasons for attacking from the rear is to curb the power of the king thus attacked, it being of course understood that the kings being neighbours or having States within the same maṇḍala, the sudden increase of power of one of them was looked upon as a menance to the existing equilibrium of power within the maṇḍala and specially to the secure enjoyment of power by his immediate neighbours. The comparison of the gains and advantages likely to be acquired by each of the two aforesaid allies from their respective rear-attacks upon the two kings out to invade their enemies is the subject-matter of the chapter in the Kauṭilīya on pārṣṇigrāha-cintā.[1] It also deals briefly with ways and means by which a king whose State has been attacked from the rear should try to extricate himself from the difficulty. The principal object of the chapter is, however, the comparison of the advantages derived from the rear-attacks upon the States of kings who are already launched upon invasion upon their neighbouring States. The derivable advantages may not be palpable, and hence in the choice of the State against which each of the two allies will direct his activities, one may have more chances of acquisition of gains than the other. There are also the dangers, patent or hidden, incidental to all hostile operations

1 *K.*, VII, ch. 13

between any two states, or peculiar to the circumstances existing at the time. The consideration of these advantages and disadvantages derivable by each of the two allies from the rear-attacks as mentioned above is the principal object of the chapter. It is noticeable that the existence of the two allies to whom the advantages or disadvantages accrue is not essential to the estimate of the advantages or disadvantages or to the consideration of the circumstances from which they are calculated to issue. For the purpose of such comparison, mere hypothetical cases comprising a set of three kings (the rear-invader, the invader, and the king invaded) supposed to be in the midst of varying situations could have served the same purpose without introducing the complications brought about by the existence of six kings within our view. But perhaps the Kauṭilīya wants also to make a pointed reference to the gains or losses likely to accrue to the two allies from the rear-attacks, and hence what could have been explained with a lesser amount of complication has to be done with two sets of six kings.

The circumstances in view of which the Kauṭilīya offers directions for the guidance of a king bent on taking to the appropriate course of action when a neighbouring king inimical to him is out or about to be out on an expedition against his enemy, are :

1 (a) If there be two kings, one strong and the other weak, and if both are out on expedition against their respective enemies, then of the two kings who are enemies (of the invading kings) in alliance in the rear, the one who attacks the strong king becomes a gainer, because the strong king after defeating his enemy in front would have grown stronger, and consequently could have brought about the ruin of his rear-enemy if he had not been thwarted during his expedition against the frontal enemy ; while the other rear-enemy who attacks the weak king during his operations against the enemy in front does not make any gain, because left to himself, these operations alone would have weakened him further leaving in him no desire to make an attack upon the rear-enemy.

(b) The other circumstances being the same as above, if the two kings invading their enemies be of equal strength, the rear-enemy who attacks the rear of the one who has made preparations on a vast scale (as opposed to the other who has made small preparations) becomes a gainer, the reason being the same as given above.

(c) The other circumstances being the same as in (a), if the strength and preparations of two kings invading their enemies be

equal, the rear-enemy who attacks the rear of the one who brings all his forces to bear upon the invasion becomes a gainer, because the capital remains unguarded and the defeat becomes easy.

(d) The other circumstances being the same as in (a) if, the strength, preparations, and the numerical strength of the army of two kings invading their enemies be equal, the rear-enemy attacking the king out on an expedition against a calāmitra (an enemy without forts) becomes a gainer, while the rear-enemy who attacks the king invading the territory of a sthitāmitra (i.e. an enemy with forts) does not make any gain, because the king who invades a calāmitra can be easily successful and can turn round to attack his enemy in the rear after the acquisition of strength by his success, while the other king who attacks an enemy possessing forts has no prospect of acquiring additional strength through success as he is sure to be repulsed by his enemy ; further, he may come back without waging any war at all and therefore without having the occasion to suffer any loss of men and money. He is thus in a position to retaliate if his rear be attacked.

2 There being the two sets of three kings as supposed already, the rear-enemy attacking the king who is out on an expedition against a king who happens to be dhārmika (righteous) becomes a gainer, because an attack from the rear upon such a king meets with the disapprobation even of his own men.

In similar circumstances, an advantage is also gained by the king who makes a rear-attack upon another inimical king who is out on an expedition against his enemy and is unpopular by reason of being (i) a spend-thrift in regard to patrimony (mūlahara), (ii) a squanderer of wealth acquired from time to time during his reign (tādātvika) or (iii) an accumulator of wealth by oppressing the officials and relations (kadarya).[1]

3 In a similar situation comprising two sets of three kings, the one who makes a rear-attack upon another who is invading the territory of the third king who was a mitra (friendly) but has now turned hostile to him, becomes a gainer because the hostility between the second and the third king was not likely to last long and hence he would have turned to fight with the enemy in the rear (i.e. the first king) shortly after, had he not been brought to bay beforehand in the present plight with one enemy in front and another in the rear.

1 For the meanings of the terms, see *K.*, II, ch. 9, p. 69.

4 In this case the two sets of three kings are there, but in one set, the pārṣṇigrāha is attacking a king who is invading a mitra i.e. one who was friendly but is now hostile to him, while in the other set, the pārṣṇigrāha is attacking a king who is invading an amitra (i.e. a natural enemy). Here, the latter pārṣṇigrāha is a gainer, because by the ruin of an enemy the invader could have increased his strength and turned round towards the king who is now his pārṣṇigrāha to fight him perhaps successfully on account of his increased power, but by the rear-attack in the midst of his invasion against his enemy, an effective check can be put upon his power, reducing him to a weakened position. In regard to the former pārṣṇigrāha, the state of things is different, because he is attacking a king who is waging a suicidal war with his former friend whose ruin would but serve to make the former weak and therefore unable to turn round to fight against the king who is now his pārṣṇigrāha.

5 Of two kings (in the two groups of three kings each as mentioned already), the one attacking from the rear another king who has returned unsuccessful (on account of the rear-attack) in his military operations against a third sovereign though he had expected much gain from same, or has suffered much loss in that unsuccessful attempt, becomes a gainer as contrasted with the other pārṣṇigrāha of another king who had not much expectation of gain even if he had been successful in his operations against his enemy and has actually returned unsuccessful but has not suffered much loss in this unsuccessful attempt on account of the rear-attack. The point to be noticed in the two cases is that the former pārṣṇigrāha is a gainer, because he had as his neighbour a strong enemy who could have reduced the inimical king in the rear to a humble position if he had been allowed to grow stronger by defeating his frontal enemy without any hindrance being put in his way by a rear-attack. The thwarting of this powerful king is therefore a distinct gain to the rear-invader ; while in the other case, the king out on an invasion upon his enemy's territory had not much expectation of gain even if he had been successful and could not therefore have added much to his strength. Hence, he had not been so much a menace to the security of position of the pārṣṇigrāha and therefore the rear-attack does not confer upon him a real benefit as it does in the case of the other pārṣṇigrāha.

6 Of the two pārṣṇigrāhas of two other kings out on expeditions against their respective enemies, the pārṣṇigrāha of the king who comes back successful in his expedition inspite of the rear-attack

but has lost much in men and money gains more than the other pārṣṇigrāha of the king who comes back successful from his expedition in spite of the rear-attack and has suffered a much lesser loss in men and money.

7 Of the two pārṣṇigrāhas of two other kings out on invasion against their respective enemies, the pārṣṇigrāha of the king whose enemy is able to cause him much harm becomes a gainer as compared with the other pārṣṇigrāha who does not have this advantage.

8 Of two pārṣṇigrāhas of two other kings engaged in attacks upon their enemies, the one who possesses a larger and more efficient army, and is fighting with a fort as his base of operations, or has his kingdom situated on either side (pārśvasthāyin) of that of the king attacked and is therefore near the yātavya (i.e. the yātavya of the king whose territory is invaded from the rear) becomes a gainer as compared with the other pārṣṇigrāha who does not possess these advantages. The advantages enjoyed by a pārśvasthāyin rear-invader is that being near the aforesaid yātavya, he can easily combine with him and make a raid upon the capital (of the king whose rear has been attacked).

9 Of two kings attacking the rear of a Madhyama (a State of medium power within the maṇḍala) during its hostilities with its enemy, and coming back successful after such rear-attack, the one who has been able to alienate from the Madhyama a State friendly to it, or to convert an enemy of his own into a friend becomes a gainer than the other.

This also applies to the rear-invader of an Udāsīna (i.e., the Super State within the maṇḍala).

According to the Ācāryas, success in both frontal invasion and rear-attack is achieved through mantrayuddha, i.e., causing losses to the enemy through secret agents and informants. A face to face fight in the open field brings about such a loss of men and money that a victory turns out to be a defeat in reality. Kauṭilya is of a different opinion and holds that the enemy should be put down at any cost. He, however, suggests one or two aspects of the question which should be kept in view by the two parties engaged in a fight. If the losses of men and money sustained by both the parties be equal, then the one who has first fought with the help of the dūṣyabala (army composed of recalcitrant men) and has lost it, loses less than the one who has not done so. Should both the parties have taken to this course, the one who has lost the dūṣyabala stronger and more recalcitrant than that of the other is a gainer. The same is the

case in regard to fights with the help of the amitra-bala and the aṭavī-bala.[1]

The rear invaders are of three kinds, viz.

(a) Sāmantas i.e., those kings whose kingdoms are contiguous to the territory of the king attacked from the rear.

(b) Pṛṣṭhatovarga, i.e., those kings whose kingdoms are separated from the territory of the king upon whom the rear-attack is made by reason of the existence of one or more other kingdoms.

(c) Prativeśas are those kings whose kingdoms are situated on either side of the king upon whom the rear-invasion is made.

Antardhi is a weak king with its territory intervening between those of two other powerful kings. Weak as he is, he is unable to make a rear-invasion. When attacked, he can be only on the defensive by stationing himself in a fort or a forest.

From what has been said above, it will be noticed that a king can either be an abhiyoktṛ, a yātavya or a pārṣṇigrāha, i.e., an invader, the king invaded, and the rear-invader with reference to one who has already proceeded against his frontal enemy. The following suggestions for the guidance of the aforesaid kings are offered :

As an abhiyoktṛ, he can have recourse to causing a fight to take place between his pārṣṇigrāha (rear-enemy) and ākranda (rear-friend) and also between his pārṣṇigrāhāsāra (friend of the rear enemy) and ākrandāsāra (friend of the rear friend). In front, he can also bring about a fight between his ari-mitra (friend of the enemy) and mitra (friend), and also between mitra-mitra (friend's friend) and ari-mitra-mitra (friend of the enemy's friend).

As a yātavya, he can cause his mitra to attack the rear of his enemy, and his mitra-mitra to face the ākranda of the enemy.

As a pārṣṇigrāha, he can reduce his difficulties by bringing about a conflict between his pārṣṇigrāhāsāra and ākranda.

In conclusion, the Kauṭilīya recommends to every king the stationing of envoys and secret agents in all the States of his maṇḍala and thus keep himself and his principal officials informed of what is going on in those States. It is also maintained in inter-state relations though inimical measures may have to be taken in secret.

NARENDRA NATH LAW

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1 The amitra-bala is obtained from a former enemy and the aṭavī-bala is recruited from the forest tribes (see *K.*, IX, 2).

On Some Castes and Caste-origins in Sylhet[1]

The bulk of the sources of information about castes is of the nature of tradition. The epigraphic records constitute the most authentic evidence, but their number is very few and the references contained therein are indirect. The literary accounts, such as the Dharmaśāstras (specially, the Parāśara-saṃhitā, and the Vyāsa-saṃhitā), the Purāṇas (specially, the Brahmavaivartta and the Padma), the Kula-granthas or Kulapañjikās etc., are vitiated by partiality, fabrication of facts and lack of historical sequence and criticism. In the genealogical accounts (vaṃśāvalī) of some of the prominent families of Bengal and Sylhet we have another source of information, but these accounts too, in most cases, contain unauthentic history.

Castes and sub-castes are still in the process of formation, and confusion of castes is but a normal though slow phenomenon of present day social life. Two typical cases of caste-formation in the present generation are known to me. In the Jaintia per-ganah a Brāhmaṇa family from the Brahmanbaria sub-division of the Tippera district settled down some seventy years ago on a Brahmottara grant of the Jaintia rāj. Two brothers only now survive in the family, and as its habitat is situated in a very out of the way place, matrimonial relations cannot be easily effected with other Brāhmaṇa families of the same status. The elder brother set up sometime ago a sort of marital relation with a female member of the Kumār caste living in the neighbourhood. As a result of this the family is now reduced to the position of a Varṇa Brāhmaṇa. In the other case, a 'Brāhmaṇa' Manipuri of Srimangal has introduced

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1 The following abbreviations have been used in this paper :

EI = Epigraphia Indica. IA = Indian Antiquary. IB = Inscriptions of Bengal (V. R. Society, Rajshahi). EH = Smith's Early History of India (4th Edition). PI = People of India by Risley. VK = Viśvakoṣa by N. N. Vasu. CR = Census Report. SI = Srīhaṭṭer Itivṛtta by Acyuta Candra Tattvanidhi. BJI = Baṅger Jātīya Itihāsa. IHQ = Indian Historical Quarterly. SII = South Indian Inscriptions by Hultzsch.

the Bengali system of naming in his family, inasmuch as he calls himself a 'Chatterjee.' In course of the second or the third generation, I am sure, the family will merge itself into the Bengali Brāhmaṇa community, claiming descent from some mythical ancestor.

Brāhmaṇas

The brāhmaṇas may be considered under four different sections viz., the Vaidika with its sub-group, the Sāmpradāyika; the Rāḍhi and the Vārendra; the Varṇa-Brāhmaṇas; and the Grahavipras or Gaṇakas. None of these sections with perhaps the exception of a few classes of Varṇa-Brāhmaṇa claims to have originated in the district. Most believe themselves to be settlers from outside.

The *Vaidika-Sāmpradāyikas* are regarded as the earliest of the Brāhmaṇa settlers of Sylhet and the tradition goes that they migrated from Mithilā (North Behar). As a matter of fact they follow the Smṛti of the Mithilā school in preference to that of the Bengal school. It is significant in this connection to mention that the Mithilā school is the older of the two. Three Kulagranthas—Vaidika-saṃvādinī, Vaidika-purāvṛtta, and Vaidika-nirṇaya—written in modern times allege that a king of Tripurā named Ādi-dharmaphā brought five Vaidika Brāhmaṇas from Mithilā in 641 A.D. in order to assist him in his performance of a Yajña ceremony. The king finally persuaded the Brāhmaṇas to settle down in Brahmottaras granted by him. This gift, it is further alleged, was recorded in a copper-plate now lost. We are further told that in 1195 A.D. another migration from Kanauj followed and a king of Tripurā granted by a copper-plate charter extensive lands to one Nidhipati.[1] But there is no evidence to show that the copper-plate ever existed,[2] although it is possible that a historical background lies behind this tradition. New light is however thrown on the problem of migration of the Vaidikas to Sylhet by the

1 *Baṅger Jātīya Itihās* (Brāhmaṇakāṇḍa) by N. N. Vasu, part II, 185-186; *SI.*, bk. II. pt. I, pp. 56 and 64; Gait's *History of Assam*, 268.

2 *SI.*, bk. II, ch. I, 67; *Vaidika-samasyā* by Mahendra Chandra Kāvyatīrtha (Silchar).

discovery of a series of copper-plates in the Pañcakhaṇḍa perganah of the Sylhet district. The students of Indian history are grateful to Mm. Pandit Padmanath Bhattacharyya Vidyavinod for publishing the inscriptions in the Epigraphia Indica. The Nidhanpur copper-plate inscriptions[1] of King Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa, dated *circa* 650 A.D., record the renewal of the grant of an extensive Brahmottara to some 200 Brāhmaṇas of different gotras and padavīs (family titles) by king Bhūtivarman, great-grandfather of Bhāskaravarman, about 500 A.D. For reasons stated in the appendix I take it that the inscriptions relate to the settlement of a big batch of Brāhmaṇas in and about modern Pañcakhaṇḍa in Sylhet about 500 A.D. and onwards.[2] The kings of Kāmarūpa which included Sylhet (see appendix), seem to have adopted a systematic policy of inviting brāhmaṇas to their kingdom. It is apparently for this reason that Kāmarūpa became a centre of Brāhmaṇical faith, and the Chinese traveller Hiuen-Tsang, writing in the seventh century A.D., informs us that the devas were worshipped there and Buddhism had no hold whatever.[3] Now, wherefrom did the Brāhmaṇa settlers come? From an examination of the names of the donees we come across the following padavīs: Ghoṣa, Deva, Datta, Dāma, Sena, Soma, Pālita, Kuṇḍa, Pāla, Dāsa, Bhaṭṭi, Bhūti, Nāga, Mitra, Nandī. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar tells us that most of these padavīs are still to be found among the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas of Gujerat and that the padavī Nāgara is to be met with in the name of a Sylhet Brāhmaṇa of the 15th century A.D.[4] We further note that the tutelary deity of the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas was, and still is, Hāṭakeśvara.[5] It is highly interesting to note that in several places in Sylhet, e.g., at Churkhai, Pañcakhaṇḍa and Gutāṭikar Hāṭakeśvara-śiva is worshipped.[6] Hāṭakeśvara-śiva is also known as Haṭṭa-nātha or Haṭṭanātha-śiva, and I have no doubt that the very

1 *EI.*, XII, 65-79; XIX, 115-125, 245-250.

2 After having written this paper I came across Mr. Ghosh's valuable contribution on the grant of Bhāskaravarman and the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas published in *I. H. Q.*, 1930, No. 1, pp. 60-71. I am agreeably surprised to find out that our conclusions are materially the same; there are however certain new matters which I have tried to bring to light.

3 Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 186.

4 I. H. Q., 1930, p. 69.

5 *Ibid.*

6 *SI.*, bk. I, ch. 9, 128.

name Śrīhaṭṭa (Sylhet) is derived from the name of this sept-deity of the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas. The conclusion is irresistible that the emperors of Kāmarūpa pursued a systematic policy of colonising Sylhet with Nāgara Brāhmaṇas and thereby introducing orthodox Hinduism[1] in the outlying parts of the empire. The original seat of the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas was the Sapādalakṣa (Siwalik) hills in the Punjab and it is likely that they were settled in Mithilā about the time of Bhūtivarman.

As a matter of fact among the Maithil or Tirhutiya Brāhmaṇas of Behar there is a section called Nāgar.[2] It is thus highly probable that the Nāgar Brāhmaṇas of Mithilā colonised Sylhet. A section of the Vaidik Brāhmaṇas of Sylhet calls itself Sāmpradāyika. As far as I know there is no special significance of this expression. I have therefore a suspicion that it is only a modern literary infiltration of the long-forgotten significant term Sapādalakṣa. Sapādalakṣa Brāhmaṇas, we note, are mentioned in the Karatoyā-māhātmya.[3]

The *Rāḍhi Brāhmaṇas* of Sylhet, as can be gathered from the genealogical accounts of some families, migrated to the district from Rāḍh (roughly Burdwan and Hooghly). The small community of the *Vārendra Brāhmaṇas* similarly migrated from Varendra-Bhūmi (North Bengal). No definite date can be assigned to these migrations. In a few cases genealogy takes us back to the 15th or 16th century A.D. But perhaps the Marhaṭṭā raids, popularly known as 'Bargir-hāṅgāmā', of the 18th century caused these migrations. The Varṇa-Brāhmaṇas are those brāhmaṇas who cater for the religious and spiritual needs of the so-called depressed classes. This group consists of two sections, one formed by the selection of certain persons by a particular caste, and the other is that of the brāhmaṇas who have degraded themselves to the extent of attending to the needs of the low castes. This latter class is also known as 'Patita-Brāhmaṇas' or sometimes as Śrotrīya-Brāhmaṇas. The Nāthas or Yugīs (Yogīa) who at one time were regarded as a weaving caste, select even now from amongst themselves their own priests whom they called Mahāntas or Mahātmās. Some of the Yogī-Brāhmaṇas are now claiming themselves to be of a different origin and are assuming the padavīs 'Śarmā'

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1 Cf. Avakīrṇa-varṇāśrama-dharma-pravibhāgāya in line 35 and prakāśitāryadharmālokaḥ in line 37 of the Nidhanpur Plate of Bhāskara-varman (*EI.*, XII, 75).

2 *PI.*, 163; *VK.*, XV, 405.

3 *I.H.Q.*, 1930, no. 1, 70.

'Cakravarti' etc. Similarly, a body of Mālī-Brāhmaṇas are calling themselves simply brāhmaṇas and are trying to merge themselves into the higher caste.[1] The small community of the 'Gour-Govindi' Brāhmaṇas attached to the 'Pātar' caste of the Sadar Sub-division has been probably formed by selection. Most of the Varṇa-Brāhmaṇas are apparently indigenous. There is no evidence to show that they migrated here from some other place.

The *Grahavipras or Gaṇakas or Ācāryas* who pursue Astrology (including Astronomy) and kindred mystic lore for their main occupation claim to be brāhmaṇas, and are also known as Śākadvīpī Brāhmaṇas, that is, Brāhmaṇas of Śaka origin. According to tradition Gaṇaka was born of a Śākadvīpī father and a Vaiśya mother.[2] The Śakas penetrated into India from the North-west from about the middle of the 2nd century B.C. onwards.[3] The route of migration followed by the Śākadvīpī Brāhmaṇas from Western India to Sylhet was probably through Bengal. The Hindu society required and still requires their services for multifarious ceremonies and rites. In the caste-scale the Gaṇakas and Grahavipras occupy a low position among the brāhmaṇas. As they are claiming rank with high caste brāhmaṇas, their number is diminishing.[4]

Vaidyas and Kāyasthas

The distinction between the two castes, however wide it may be in Bengal, is not at all noticeable in Sylhet, and free marital relations are established between them. This is very significant from the standpoint of history. The intelligentsia of the two communities are trying to establish claims to be regarded as Brāhmaṇas or Kṣatriyas[5], and in their attempts to study history from their own particular view-point, important facts of social history have been either lost sight of or twisted. Thus, inspite of the fact that the

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1 *CR.* (Assam), 1921, vol. III, pt. I, 147.

2 *VK.*, V, 196-197 ; *SI.*, bk. I, ch. 7, p. 71 ; *Jāti-purāvṛtta* by Paṇḍit Sūryakumār Tarka-sarasvatī (Silchar), 93 ; *Sambandha-nirṇaya* by Lalmohan Vidyānidhi (Calcutta, 1909), 657.

3 *BJI.* (Brāhmaṇa-kāṇḍa), bk. II, pt. 4 ; *IA.*, XL, 18.

4 *CR.*, vol. IV, (Assam), pt. 1901, p. 129.

5 *VK.*, III, 578 and XIX, 528, *BJI.*, Kāyastha-kaṇḍu ; *Vaidya-jātir Itihās* by Basanta Kumar Sen-Gupta ; *Kāyastha Purāṇa* by Sasibhusan Nandi.

Sena kings of Bengal call themselves 'Brahma-Kṣatriyas'[1], they are regarded as Kāyasthas by one class of writers[2] and as Vaidyas by another class.[3] Now, we note that all over the Punjab, Rajputana, Kathiawar, Gujerat and the Deccan there is a caste called 'Brahma-kṣatra, which as pointed out by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, was originally constituted of Nāgar Brāhmaṇas.[4] We may thus regard a section at least of the Vaidyas and Kāyasthas as belonging to the same stock, that is, Nāgar Brāhmaṇas. If the arguments put forth above are sound, the Brāhmaṇas, Vaidyas, and Kāyasthas should be regarded as originally belonging to the same stock. It is very well-known that the terms 'Kāyastha' and 'Vaidya' at one time indicated only two functional groups of scribes or royal courtiers and physicians respectively. Speaking about Sylhet we thus note that in the Nidhanpur copper-plate inscription the word 'Kāyastha' is used in the sense of a scribe or some royal functionary,[5] and no caste is meant. It is also a matter of common knowledge that nowhere except in Bengal the Vaidyas are regarded as a distinct caste. The second Bhatera copper plate inscription, dated circa 11th or 12th century A.D. tells us of one Vanamāli-kar, "the light of the Vaidya-vaṃśa."[6] The expression 'Vaidya-vaṃśa' does not necessarily imply 'Vaidya-jāti' or Vaidya caste, but apparently a family that produced physicians. Inspite of his family-tradition to be a physician Vanamāli, however, served the king as 'Rāja paṭṭalika' (Keeper of Royal Documents), an office akin to that of a Kāyastha. In Sylhet thus no clear-cut distinction between Vaidyas and Kāyasthas grew up from historical times. Sylhet was also unaffected when in the twelfth century A.D. king Vallālasena of Bengal introduced 'Kulinism' to prevent confusion of castes. This accounts for the reason as to why the Vaidyas and Kāyasthas of Sylhet are looked down upon by the Bengal castes.

The padavīs of the Vaidyas and Kāyasthas are also to some extent the same. Thus, to mention a few instances, Sena, Gupta, Dutta, Nāg, Dās, Pālit, Candra, Kar, Nandī, Kuṇḍu, Pāl, Dhar, Deva, Som,

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1 Or, Karnāṭa-Kṣatriyas. *IB.*, III, 46, 110. 2 See p. 720, n. 5.

3 *Ibid.* 4 *EH.*, 435-436 ; *EI.*, XII, 11.

5 *EI.*, XII, 75, line 49 (Cf. Lekhayitā in line 50).

6 *PASB.*, 1880, 153, lines 24-25 ; Rājapaṭṭalikaḥ kṛti vaidya-vaṃśa-pradīpaḥ śrī-vanamāli-karaḥ. I intend to publish a revised reading of the inscription. For a discussion of the date of the Bhatera plates see *EI.*, XIX, 278.

Rakṣit, Āditya, Indra, Ādya, Biśvās, Rājavaṃśī and Guha are looked upon as both Vaidya and Kāyastha titles.[1] It is noteworthy that most of these surnames with the additional common epithet 'Svāmī' were in vogue among the Brāhmaṇas of Sylhet of about 500 A.D.[2] Even now the above-mentioned titles (without the epithet 'Svāmī') prevail among a certain section of the Vaidika Brāhmaṇas of Cuttuck Midnapur and the Deccan.[3] This coincidence of padavīs or paddhatis among the Brāhmaṇas, Vaidyas and Kāyasthas may be accounted for thus: originally the same caste, the Nāgar Brāhmaṇas, pursued the three respectable professions of priest-craft, medicine and government service. But the functional differences created a tendency towards a split specially when people of the Dāsa caste (see below) began to be admitted into the ranks of royal courtiers. The situation was accentuated by the 'hypergamous' marriage-custom (anuloma-vivāha) that, I suppose, prevailed among the Nāgara or Vaidika Brāhmaṇas of Sylhet. We notice that the males of the Maithil or Tirhutiya group of Nāgar Brāhmaṇas are even now allowed to marry the females of a lower caste under the 'Anuloma' custom.[4] The issue of such marriages occupy a lower rank than their fathers 'but a higher rank than their mothers'. Such a sociological phenomenon may have slowly taken place through the centuries that passed between circa 500 A.D. and our own times. Movement of families or individuals from one place to another combined with the drawing up of faked genealogies easily covered up, as they do now, such caste-origins. The real padavīs, Sena, Datta, Soma, Pālita etc., were transferred from fathers to sons, while fathers themselves retained in contradistinction only the epithet 'Svāmī' or its equivalents Gosvāmī,

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1 *VK.*, III, 578 (Kāyastha): *Vaidya-jātir-itihās*, vol. I, 233ff. See also Candraprabha quoted in vol. II, 3.

2 *EI.*, XIX, 121-125 and 248-250. Compare the state of things in Bengal about the 11th century A.D. In the Rampal copper plate of Śrīcandra the padavī of a Brāhmaṇa family is Gupta-Śarman (*IB.*, 5, lines. 27-28). In the Belāva plate of Bhoja Varman, dated c. 11th or 12th century A.D. we find the name of a Brāhmaṇa family with the title Deva Śarman (*IB.*, 21, ll. 43-45). See also *I. H. Q.*, 1930, No. 1, p. 68.

3 *VK.*, XIX, 487, 490; the titles in vogue in these places are Kar, Dhar, Rath, Nandi, Dasa, Pati, Bhadra etc.

4 *PI.*, 215; *VK.*, XV, 405.

Bhattācharyya, Cakravartti etc. It is exceedingly interesting to note that even now a section of the Kāyasthas (or Vaidyas) of Sylhet uses the padavīs, Svāmī and 'Gosvāmī.' In the padavī 'Purakāyastha' or 'Purkāit' (meaning the head scribe or chief courtier),[1] which is so common among the Brāhmaṇas and Kāyasthas of Sylhet, there is probably a survival of the caste-affinity described above. It is possible that the disciples of the Brāhmaṇas mentioned in the Nidhanpur plates, whatever their caste might have been, assumed the padavīs of their preceptors, who, in contradistinction to their clientele, called themselves 'Svāmī' or its variants.

Finally, we should note that the migrations of Vaidyas and Kāyasthas from Bengal as well as close association with Bengal have been accentuating the distinction between the two castes.

Dāsas and their sub-castes

It has been pointed out above that in early times (between circa 500 A.D. and 1100 A.D.) the distinction between the Brāhmaṇas, Vaidyas and Kāyasthas was not acute and was based more or less upon functional differences. The ranks of the Vaidyas and Kāyasthas, on account of their respectability and professional value, were swelled by accretions from the lower ranks through the adoption of certain common padavīs, such as, Datta, Dāsa, Sena. In earlier times, I think, the humbler ranks went by the general name 'Dāsa, i.e., of the 'Dāsa-kula' which stood in contrast to the Deva-kulas or Devas or the twice-born formed by the above-named three castes. In the 2nd Bhatera copper plate inscription we read of the 'conscientious Śrī Mādhava the scion of the Dāsa-kula' and of 'Śrī-Vanamāli-kar, the light of the Vaidya-vaṃśa'.[2] In these expressions it is noticeable that Śrī-Mādhava does not bear any family surname. We only know that he belonged to the Dāsa caste or clan. He was however an educated man as the expression 'conscientious' (vivekī) implies. In the

1 The Purakāyasthas of Sylhet seem to correspond to the Jyeṣṭha-Kāyastha or Prathama-Kāyastha of the Damodarapur plates (*EI.*, XV), or of the Pāla inscriptions (see *Gauḍalekhamālā*). Compare also "Mahākāyastha" of the Ramganj Copper plate of Īśvaraghoṣa (*IB.*, 153, l. 15).

2 *PASB*, 1880, p. 153, line 31 : Vivekī Śrī-Mādhavo dāsakulāvataṃśaḥ ; and line 25 : Vaidyavaṃśapradīpaḥ Śrī-vanamālikaraḥ.

case of Śrī-Vanamāli-kar his family surname as well as his family-rank is mentioned. Evidently there is an indirect reference to their belonging to the two 'kulas, one to the Dāsa-kula and the other to the Deva-kula. An interesting survival of this broad distinction between the two kulas is still noticeable. In Hindu marriages or other religious ceremonies either of the expressions 'Deva' or 'Dāsa' is used according as the performer of such ceremonies is a twice-born or not, in connection with the uttering of sacred formulas (mantras). A Dāsa in Sylhet nowadays may be a Vaidya (with the additional padavī Gupta), a Kāyastha, a Kaivartta (or Jālika), a Māhiṣya (or Cāṣī-Kaivartta) or Hālika, a Sāhā, and a Śūdra. Under what category then shall we reckon an educated man like Śrī-Mādhava of of the Bhatera plate ? It is thus apparent that the Dāsakula or Dāsa clan or tribe or caste was sub-divided into a number of sub-castes whom we may consider under the following five groups :

1 The wealthy and the educated among the Dāsakula sought rank among the Vaidyas, Kāyasthas or even among the Brāhmaṇas as Varṇa-Brāhmaṇas (e.g., the Dāsa-Brāhmaṇas). The padavī 'Dāsa' was and still is a convenient doorway to allow passage to these ranks. This also explains why a section of the Dāsas of Sylhet claims rank above the Kāyasthas.

2 *Sāhās and Śuṇḍis* : The trading section came to be called Sāhās or Sāhus (Sāu) as well as Śuṇḍis. The words 'Sāhā', 'Sāhu' are connected with the words 'Sādhu (and 'Sārthavāha) implying tradesmen.[1] When the appellations Sāhā and Sāhu, so widely in vogue in Bengal and other parts of India from early times[2] were adopted by the Dāsas, it was not difficult for the authors of the Kulapañjikās to connect them with some ancient Indian caste or sub-caste. Thus a section of the Sāhās still carrying on trade call themselves Vaiśyas or Vaiśya-Sāhās, while others identify themselves with the Kāyasthas or even with the Vaidyas.[3] The Śuṇḍis[4] occupy a lower rank than the Sāhās, wine-distillation being their main occupation. There is however a tendency among them to use the padavī 'Sāhā' and to claim rank with the Vaiśya-Sāhās. According to tradition the Śuṇḍis were born of a Vaiśya father and a Tīvara mother or of a Kaivartta father

1 The word may have been derived from Ṣaṇḍa (bull or bullock) as well. See *VK.*, XXI, 527.

2 *VK.*, XXI, 526.

3 *SI.*, bk. I, ch. 7, 80 ; *VJI.*, Vaiśya-Kāṇḍa, vol. I, 358-363.

4 Apparently derived from Śuṇḍā, liquor (*Jātipurātattva*, 112).

and a Gaṇikā (harlot) mother.[1] It is reasonable to think that this section received accretions from time to time from other parts of India through Bengal and Assam.[2]

3 *Cāṣī-Kaivarttas or Māhiṣyas or Hālika or Hāluā-dāsas*: The section that took to cultivation came to be called the Hālikas or Hāluā-dāsas or Cāṣī-kaivarttas or Māhiṣya-dāsas or simply Māhiṣyas. As Māhiṣyas, this section claims descent from the Māhiṣaka tribe referred to in the Mahābhārata; the Māhiṣakas however appear to be Mlecchas, that is, non-Aryans.[3] Nevertheless they were a very powerful caste or clan, and so far as Bengal is concerned they are strongly represented in Midnapur, North Bengal (specially Rajsahi and Pabna), East Bengal (specially Mymensingh), Jessore and Nadia. From historical times the Māhiṣyas occupied an important position. Students of Indian history are well acquainted with the successful rebellion led by the Cāṣī-kaivartta caste under Divya or Divyoka against King Mahipāla II of Varendra (North Bengal) about 1080 A.D.[4] One of their royal lines ruled at Tamluk as late as 1654.[5] Some of the leading families of Sylhet claim to represent the old Māhiṣya caste. It is quite possible that some migrations took place specially from Mymensingh which is so contiguous to the district. Some of the Pātnis who happen to be cultivators are calling themselves Māhiṣya-dāsas to the considerable chagrin of the educated section. The Jāliā-Kaivarttas are also adopting this padavī. The number of the Māhiṣya-dāsas are apparently on the increase. The decennial Census operations have been accelerating the speed of this upward movement.

4 *Kaivarttas or Jālika or Jāluā-dāsa*: The Kaivarttas or Kaivartta-dāsas have been following the profession of fishing and, to some extent, that of boatman. They have their counter-part in the Mahimāls or Maimāls among Muhammadans of the district. The Kaivarttas are mentioned in ancient Indian literature as of mixed origin; and in the Manusaṃhitā (X. 34) they are given the epithet 'Dāsa.'[6] From their ethnographical distribution it appears that

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1 *SI.*, bk. I, ch. 7, 80; *VK.*, XXI, 527.
2 Cf. *BJI.*, Vaiśya-Kāṇḍa, vol. I, 363.
3 *VK.*, IV, 497-498; XIV, 700.
4 *EH.*, 415-416; *Gauḍarājamālā*, 48.
5 *VK.*, IV, 498.
6 *VK.*, IV, 495-500.

along with the Namaśūdras they were the earliest inhabitants of Bengal and of Sylhet.[1] A section of the Kaivarttas of Sylhet are gradually becoming Vaiṣṇavas, a sectarian caste. The Jālikas occupy a lower rank than the Hālikas.

5 *Śūdras* : A non-descript body under the name Śūdras or 'Śūdra-dāsas' may also be regarded at belonging to the Dāsa-kula. It is justly pointed out that the term "Śūdra" is now used 'to denote a considerable number of castes of moderate respectability, the higher of whom are considered 'clean' Śūdras, while the precise status of the lower is a question which lends itself to endless controversy'.[2] In Sylhet 166,000 were reported to be Śūdras in the census of 1921.[3] This large number, we note, was due to many Pātnis, Jāliā-Kaivarttas and others having assumed this caste-name. As far as I know some Namaśūdras are also assuming the padavī 'Śūdra-dāsa.'

A Śūdra group known generally as 'Golāms' (domestic slaves) owes its origin to a sort of concubinage between a high caste male and a low caste female employed as a maid-servant. These assume the padavīs Singh, Dāsa, De, Deb, Pāl, Pait, Sena, Dutta, Rakṣita, Bhāndāri etc. and often bear the family cognomen of 'Puti', 'Dādī' etc. They were known at one time as Śūdras, and though this epithet still survives, to some extent, the general tendency on their part is to call themselves Kāyasthas. With the progress of education and culture, the 'Golām' class is fast disappearing.[4] As compared with the Sūdra-dāsas, Kaivartta-dāsas or Namaśūdras the Golām caste is considered 'clean'.

K. M. GUPTA

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1 *CR.*, 1901 (Ethnographic App.). For their transformation from a tribe into a caste see *PI.*, 126. Cf. the tradition preserved in the "Datta-Vaṃśāvalī" by Kavi Gopināth Datta of Sylhet (18th century) :

জানহ শ্রীহট্টনামে আছে পূর্ব্বদেশ। ব্রহ্মপুত্রের পূর্ব্বে স্থান আছে সবিশেষ ।
শ্রোত্রিয় না ছিল কেহ সকল কৈবর্ত্ত। শ্রীহট্টে বসতি করে এই লোক যত ॥

চক্রপাণিদত্ত by বসন্তকুমার সেন (p. 82).

2 *PI.*, 114.

3 *CR.*, 1921, vol. III, pt. I (Assam), 147.

4 Cf. the Śūdra caste of Bengal and the Shagirdpesha of Orissa (*PI.* 84). See *Sambandha-nirṇaya* (Lalmohan Vidyanidhi), 209.

The Chando-Vedāṅga of Piṅgala

I *Identification of the Work*

The date of the work on Sanskrit prosody which is ascribed to Piṅgala is uncertain. Weber who made a very thorough and extensive study of ancient Indian metres assigned it to 'a period simultaneous with the close of the Vedic *Sūtra* literature, or the commencement of the astronomical and algebraical literatures'. His principal argument for placing this work at such a late date seems to have been that Piṅgala treated of highly elaborated metres found in the post-Vedic Sanskrit poetry.[1] After Weber had dealt with the subject the *Bharata-Nāṭyaśāstra* which deals with metres in one of its chapters came to light. The treatment of Sanskrit metres in this work is less developed than that of the extant *Piṅgala-sūtras.* Both these works have metres under the three principal heads such as *jāti*, *viṣama* (*ardhasama*) and *samavṛtta.* But the number of metres which the two works have under these principal heads differs very much. Their number in the *Bharata-Nāṭyaśāstra* is much smaller than that in the *Piṅgala-sūtras.* A comparative table given below will make it clear.[2]

Kind of metre	Number in Bharata NŚ.	Number in Piṅgala
Jāti metres	8	30
Viṣama (*Ardhasama*) metres	7	35
Samavṛtta metres	38	76

In view of these figures one can place Piṅgala after the *Nāṭyaśāstra.* This brings down the date of Piṅgala to a time after 400 A.C.-700 A.C.[3]

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1 *Hist. of Ind. Literature*, London 1914, pp. 60, 231, and *Indische Studien*, viii, pp. 173, 178.

2 The Chowkhāmbā Edn. of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* has been used for this table as also the edition of *Piṅgala-sūtras* occurring in a work on ancient Indian prosody by one A. B. published in 1882.

3 *Bharata-Nāṭyaśāstra* has been assigned to various dates by different scholars. Vide Winternitz's *Geschichte der indischen Literatur*, Band III, p. 8 ; and S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics*, pp. 23ff.

But such a late date for Piṅgala creates one difficulty. Of the six works which treat of Vedic metres, the treatment of the subject in the *Piṅgala-sūtra* and the *Śāṅkhāyanaśrauta sūtra* appears to be rather crude and inadequate when compared with the rest. Now such an inadequate treatment of Vedic metres at an age when works like the *Nidānasūtra*, *Ṛk-prātiśākhya*, and *Anukramaṇīs* have already made more elaborate studies of the subject[1] cannot be satisfactorily explained. That the person who could make an exhaustive treatment of classical metres should have perfunctorily done his part while handling Vedic metres does not seem to be plausible. The degree of plausibility further diminishes when it is remembered that Piṅgala's sūtras have been traditionally known as the *Chando-Vedāṅga.* One may therefore be inclined to surmise that the treatment of Vedic and non-Vedic metres in the *Piṅgala-sūtra* is not by the same author. And indeed when Weber thought that Piṅgala's chapters II & III on the Vedic prosody were more ancient than the remaining parts and they might belong to the original *Piṅgala-sūtras,* he probably lent support to such a view.[2]

A careful study of the extant *Piṅgala-sūtra* is likely to confirm one's belief in the possibility of the dual authorship of the work. The first thing that will strike a careful observer is that chapters II & III dealing exclusively with Vedic metres bear no organic relation with the rest of the work. If they are taken out, chapters I, IV-VIII (excepting the first seven *sūtras* of the chapter IV) will make a perfect treatise on metres of classical Sanskrit. The existence of these seven *sūtras* in chapter IV will be accounted for later on.

Writers on Vedic prosody without a single exception ignore the rules of sequence (i.e. the scheme of short and long syllables). The only thing which concerned them was classifying metres according to the number of syllables in a foot in a stanza and giving names to them. This latter characteristic is to be found in chapters II and III of the *Piṅgala-sūtras.* They do not at all trouble themselves about the quantity (shortness or length) of syllables in a *pāda* of any Vedic stanza. Thus the chapter I of the *Piṅgala-sūtra* which invents technical terms to designate different metres of three syllables, and describes measures used in scanning syllabic verses does not bear any organic relation to chapters II and III of this work. It may therefore be

1 Weber, *Indische Studien*, viii.

2 Weber, *Indian Literature*, p. 60.

concluded that these chapters II and III of the *Piṅgala-sūtras* constitute the original *sūtra*-work of Piṅgala on *Chando-Vedāṅga* (Vedic prosody). It may be argued that *sajñās* and *paribhāṣās* are always placed in the beginning and hence these definitions of technical terms have been, as a matter of course, placed at the beginning of the work. But this argument probably does not apply here. For, Pāṇini, the author of the very type of *sūtra*-works, has definitions at the beginning, because they relate to *all sections* of the work. So it is to be expected that definitions placed in the beginning of Piṅgala's work will be related to all the following sections. But this is not actually the case.

There is, however, one difficulty in our taking the two chapters as a separate work; for there remain still seven *sūtras* (in the beginning of chapter IV) which deal with Vedic metres. But on a closer examination of chapter III one discovers that the six closing *sūtras* of chapter III bear unmistakable indications that the author has brought his subject of treatment (of Vedic metres) to a close with the last *sūtra* of the chapter. These six *sūtras* together with a translation of them (according to authoritative commentaries) are given below:

61. *āditaḥ sandigdheḥ*—When a metre is doubtful, the first foot determines it.

62. *devatāditaśca*—Also the deity etc.

63. *agniḥ savitā somo bṛhaspatir mitrāvaruṇā indro viśvedevāḥ*—Agni, Savitṛ, Soma, Bṛhaspati, Mitrā-Varuṇā, Indra and Viśve-devāḥ are respectively the deities of the seven metres (such as Gāyatrī etc., vide II, 1 and 14).

64. *svarāḥ ṣaḍjādayaḥ*—The seven notes such as *ṣaḍja* and the rest are respectively the notes of the seven metres.

65. *sita-sāraṅga-piśaṅga-kṛṣṇa-nīla-lohita-gaurā varṇāḥ*—White, variegated, brown, black, blue, red and golden are the colours of the seven metres.

66. *āgniveśya-kāśyapa-gautamā-ṅgirasa-bhārgava-kauśika-vāsiṣṭhāni gotrāṇīti*—The seers of the seven metres respectively belong to these seven families.

Now from an examination of the above six *sūtras* it is evident that the author ends the treatment of his subject (Vedic metres) with the close of the chapter III. Hence the *sūtras* (on the Vedic metres) coming after this may be presumed as spurious or later

additions.[1] An examination of the first seven *sūtras* of chapter IV of the extant *Piṅgala-sūtra* also shows that they are not from the hand of the author of chapters II and III. These seven *sūtras* of ch. IV simply give the number of syllables that super-sized Vedic metres like *atiśakvarī* and *atyaṣṭi* etc. contain. They, unlike *sūtras* of chapter III, do not give us any information regarding the length and number of *pādas* (feet). Hence, they may be regarded as later additions but still are much anterior to the work on classical prosody ascribed to Piṅgala.

Now in spite of all these facts it may be asked why and how the original *Piṅgala-sūtras* came to be dovetailed in a treatise on classical Sanskrit prosody.[2] The answer would probably be that the author of chapters I, IV-VIII of the extant *Piṅgala-sūtra* with a view to claim a greater antiquity and authority for his work and to give it a wider currency introduced the work of Piṅgala in his own work.[3]

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1 Assumption of the existence of new metres is not at all indispensable in dealing with Vedic poetry. An *atiśakvarī* stanza can be called, according to chapters II and III of Piṅgala, the combination of *Gāyatrī* and *Bṛhatī*. Piṅgala (in chapter III. 61) says that when the metre is doubtful, the first foot determines it. Similarly an *ātyaṣṭi* stanza is a combination of *Jagatī* and *Bṛhatī* (vide Macdonell's *Vedic Grammar for Students*, pp. 444 5). Thus the treatment of Vedic prosody in the *Ṛk-prātiśākhya* and similar works, which deal with metres other than those mentioned in chapter II of Piṅgala, makes no real advance on Vedic prosody.

2 Every one knows that the work—*sūtra*-work too—on *Prākṛta* prosody going by the name of Piṅgala belongs to a different author and to a different period. If this work had not been on the prosody of *Prākṛta* poetry we would possibly have found it along with the *Sūtra*-work on Vedic and classical metres.

3 Instances of such joining together of works on the same subject written at different times were not at all rare in ancient India. Satyavrata Sāmāśrāmī is of opinion that the Nighaṇṭu and the Nirukta-proper are two different works. See his *Niruktālocana*, Cal. 1907 p. 15. This has also been made patent by Prof. Sköld. And his suggestion that the *Pūrva* and the *Uttara Śatakas* of the Nirukta were compositions of different times may not be dismissed lightly (vide his *Nirukta: Its place in the old Indian Literature, Its Etymologies*, 1926).

Therefore it may be concluded that chapters II and III of the extant *Piṅgala-sūtras* constitute the original work of Piṅgala on the Vedic prosody. This view is further strengthened by the first sūtra of chapter II which is really the beginning of the work. For it reads *'chandaḥ'* which means that the work is to discuss Vedic metres.[1] This is an additional reason why one should challenge the position of chapter I. For, will not the *sūtra* reading *'chandaḥ'* find a fitter place in the beginning of the whole work.[2] That a *pāda* has been defined long after the word occurs in the beginning of ch. II, in the tenth sūtra of chapter IV, very clearly shows the separateness of the two portions of the work dealing with Vedic and Classical prosody. Thus it may be concluded that chapters II and III of the extant *Piṅgala-sūtras* constitute the original *Vedāṅga Chandaḥ-sūtras* of Piṅgala, while the chapters on classical metres a much later work.

2 *The Date of the Work*

The study of prosody began indeed very early in India. "The singers of the (Vedic) hymns," says Weber, "most naturally have been cognisant of the metrical laws observed in them." The technical names of some of the Vedic metres are found even in the later *sūktas* of the *Ṛg-veda.* And in the *Brāhmaṇas* the oddest tricks are played with them.[3] The earlier portion of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (II-VI), which has been assigned to 400-300 B.C., several times mentions *Chandas* as well as the *Vedāṅgas* which included them.[4] The mention of the *Śikṣā*, one of the six *Vedāṅgas* in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, enables us to trace the existence of a *Chando-Vedāṅga* even before 500 B.C.,—a date fixed by Prof. Macdonell as the lowest limit of the

1 In taking the word *'chandas'* in the sense of 'Vedic metre' one has the authority of Pāṇini who metonymically used the word to mean the Vedas. That the word subsequently came to be applied to classical metres does not, however, invalidate this earlier sense. Also see Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 436 f.n. 1.

2 This first *sūtra* introduces the subject. Similar phenomenon is observed in other *sūtra-works.*

3 *History of Indian Lit.*, London, 1914, p. 23.

4 Cf. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, pp. 307f.

date of the Brāhmaṇa literarure.[1] For, there is every reason to believe that the study of prosody synchronised with, if not preceded, that of phonetic studies.

But in spite of a very clear indication of the fact that the Vedic prosody came to be studied during the first half of the millennium before Christ we do not possess any definite knowledge about any work of any author of this period. Works (excepting Piṅgala and Śāṅkhāyana Śr. Sūtras) which deal with the Vedic prosody are in the opinion of scholars to be placed between 500 B.C. and 200 B.C.[2] *Ṛk-prātiśākhya* which treats of Vedic metres in much greater detail than Piṅgala, is evidently posterior in time to the latter. *Vedāṅga Chandas-sūtras* may be assigned to a period between 600 B.C. and 500 B.C., if not earlier. But fortunately for us the lower limit of the age of Piṅgala's *Vedāṅga Chandas-sūtras* can be pushed further back.

The Nirukta of Yāska explains the etymology of the word *pipīlika-madhyā*[3] a word which is not to be found in the Vedas but has been used by Piṅgala as the name of an irregular metre. And this word is not to be found in the *Ṛk-prātiśākhya.* This makes it probable that Yāska deals with the very word of Piṅgala and in that case Piṅgala may be anterior to Yāska, the author of the *Nirukta.* This view seems to receive further corroboration from another fact which is discussed below.

The *Nirukta* of Yāska mentions *'Pārṣadāni'*[4] which evidently stands for *Pārṣada Sūtras, alias* the *Ṛk-prātiśākhya* of the Śaunaka school. Now the *Nirukta* has been placed in 500 B.C., i.e., a century earlier than Pāṇini who according to scholars has mentioned Yāska the author of the *Nirukta.* But as we shall see afterwards, Yāska mentioned by Pāṇini was probably not the reputed author of the *Nirukta* but a predecessor of his, belonging to the same *gotra.* Hence Yāska of the *Nirukta* did not probably belong to so early an age and his date might be fixed at 400 B.C., if not later by a century or so. This date for Yāska would place the *Ṛk prātiśākhya* in 500 B.C.[5] Hence

1 *Hist. of Sanskrit Literature,* London, 1905, p. 202.

2 Works like the *Nidāna Sūtra, Ṛk-prātiśākhya, Anukramaṇis* of the *Ṛk* and the *Yajur-veda* are assigned to a period between 500 B.C. and 200 B.C., vide Macdonell—*Hist. of Sanskrit Lit.,* chapter IX.

3 *Nirukta,* ch. VII, 8-9, 6 ; ch. II, 57.

4 *Nirukta,* ch. I, 6, 1. Jivānanda ed. Cal. 1891.

5 Macdonell thinks that the *Prātiśākhyas* in an older form were known to Pāṇini. See his *Hist. of Sanskrit Literature,* p. 266.

the *Vedāṅga Chandas-sūtras* of Piṅgala will tentatively have to be assigned to about 600 B.C.[1]

The personality of Piṅgala is more obscure than his time. There is no means of knowing either his parentage or his native place. "The name of Paiṅgya," says Weber, "belongs to one of the sages mentioned in the *Brāhmaṇa* (*Śatapatha*) of the *White Yajus* and elsewhere, from whose family Yāska Paiṅgī was descended, and probably also Piṅgala, the author of a treatise on metre."[2] From all that has been said above about the date of Piṅgala this surmise of Weber seems to be plausible. The name Paiṅgin which is undoubtedly connected with that of Piṅgala 'is frequently mentioned in early writings, and a *Paiṅgī-Brāhmaṇa* must still have been in existence even in Sāyaṇa's time, for he repeatedly refers to it.' The *Paiṅgī-kalpa* is expressly[3] referred to by the commentator of Pāṇini. Besides this, Paiṅgin appears in the *Kāṇḍānukrama* of the Ātreyī school where he is described as the pupil of Vaiśampāyana and the teacher of Tittiri,[4] and in a *Sāma Sūtra* (*Anupāda Sūtra*) Paiṅgins are mentioned as one of the schools of the Ṛg-veda.[5] All these facts make it very probable that Piṅgala, the author of the *Vedāṅga Chandas-sūtras*, did flourish at a time in the latter half of the *Brāhmaṇa* period when names like Paiṅgya and Paiṅgin were common. Thus no serious objection can probably be raised against a tentative date of 600 B.C. for Piṅgala. The difficulty which the mention of Yāska by Piṅgala creates may be explained by the fact that there is nothing to show that this prosodist Yāska is to be identified with the author of the *Nirukta*, and moreover, this later Yāska was already shown to be posterior in time to Piṅgala.

There is still one objection against the antiquity of Piṅgala. That in his *Sūtras* Piṅgala has expressed numerals by words has been considered by Weber to be the reason why the work should be of recent origin.[6]

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1 Ṣaḍguruśiṣya (1200 A.C.) the commentator of the *Anukramaṇī* records a tradition to the effect that Piṅgala was either a younger brother or a descendant of Pāṇini. This appears to be impossible. But 700 B.C. has been the date of Pāṇini according to R. G. Bhandarkar. In spite of this it is not safe to rely on this very late tradition.

2 Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 46.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 41, f.n. 30.

5 Weber, *op. cit.*, pp. 80 81.

6 *Op. cit.*, p. 60.

But such a reason seems to be futile. For, though he has admitted that this manner of expressing numerals was peculiar to Indians, yet he could not cite any positive proof to the effect that Indians were incapable of developing this art at a very early date. That eight Vasus, eleven Ādityas and twelve Rudras were mentioned in the earlier portion (iii 22, 15) of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[1] (circa. 800 B.C.) makes it extremely probable that at about 600 B.C. Indians were in a position to use *ṛtavaḥ*, *ṛṣayaḥ*, *vasavaḥ rudrāḥ* and *ādityāḥ* in the sense of 6, 7, 8, 11 and 12 respectively. There being nothing within the view to bar this probablity, one may place Piṅgala in 600 B.C. at the latest.

MANOMOHAN GHOSE

1 See p. 22 of Haug's edition.

MISCELLANY

On the origin of the Aryan word Iṣṭakā

"Brick" is of great importance in the history of Indian civilisation on account of its use in the architecture and the ritual. To search for the origin of the word 'brick' would therefore result in throwing some light upon the origin of Indian civilisation. S. C. Sarkar in his work, *Some Aspects of the earliest Social History of India*"[1], has tried to prove that the word is of Dravidian origin. This opinion has recently been criticised by Otto Stein.[2] My object here is first to give an exposition of the two contradictory opinions, and then to suggest a new solution.

In the *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language,* I, p. 324, S.K. Chatterji gives °*iṇṭā–*, °*iṇṭha–*, °*iṭṭ(h)a–* =*iṣṭa-ka.* In Hindi, there are the forms *īṇṭ*, *īṭh* and *iṇṭh.* In consequence of this, S. C. Sarkar sees in *iṣṭakā* a Sanskritisation of *iṭ*, *iṭa*, which he connects with the Dravidian root *iṭ(ḍ)a,* signifying "to dig, scoop out, hollow." From the same root, he derives the Dravidian name of brick, *iṭṭikā.* To the word *iṭa* in the *Ath. V.*, v, vi, 14, 3, he assigns the meaning of 'clay' and recognizes the same root in diverse toponymy : Iṭli, Iṭārsi, Iṭāwā, etc. From these he concludes that the Dravida of the Ganges valley have bequeathed to the Aryans the art of manufacturing and utilizing bricks.

The arguments of O. Stein are as follows : The Dravidian etymology must be rejected, because a root signifying "to dig" could not have given the name of 'brick.' Dravidian *iṭṭikā* is without doubt a loan word from the Indo-Aryan. Lastly, the Indo-European character of *iṣṭakā* is undoubted as is proved by its comparison with the Avestic *iśtya.*[3]

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1 London, Oxford University Press, 1928.

2 *Neuere Forschungen zur altindischen Sozialgeschichte, Rechts- und Staatsrechtsliteratur*, in *Archiv Orientàlní*, III, i, pp. 67ff.

3 The diversity of the etymologies proposed shows the difficulty of the authors. According to PW, *iṣṭakā* is derived from *yaj*; others connect it with °*aidh* (cf. Walde, *Lat. Etym. Wb*, s.v. *aedes* ; Johansson, IF, 19, 1906, 136). Uhlenbeck tries to explain it by the root **ais.*

I admit with Sarkar the non-aryan origin of the name of "brick" and I am disposed to see in *iṣṭakā* the Sanskritisation of an ancient word. In regard to the origin of the word *godhūma*,[1] I have tried to establish that the presence of forms comparable in Vedic and in Avestic is not sufficient to prove the Indo-European character of a word. On the other hand, O. Stein appears to have reason for his not accepting the derivation of *iṣṭakā* from a Dravidian root meaning "to dig." It is therefore necessary to search for the origin of the word in some other direction.

In Pāli we have *leḍḍu* and *leḍḍuka*, "a clod of earth", to which corresponds Sanskrit *leṣṭu*. After proving the absence of aspiration in Pāli, Geiger (Pāli, *Literatur and Sprache*, § 62) gives °*leṭṭhu*, °*leṭṭu* = *leṣṭu*. The Prakrits offer a large variety of forms: *leṭṭhu*, *leṭṭhuya leṭṭhua*, *leḍhukka*, *leḍu*, *leḍua*, *leḍukka*, *lelu* (Pischel, *Gr. Pkt. Sp.*, §304). On the side of Sanskrit *leṣṭu*, we find again *neṣṭu*. The words *loṣṭu*/*loṣṭa* have, in any case, the same sense, and the Prakrits further present us with a series of words *loḍha*, *loṭṭhaka* etc. (Pischel, *ibid.*). I have often observed that the mutability of forms is an index to the non-aryan origin of words; in this case, their multiplicity is really amazing.

The Santali, one of the well-known Munda languages, has exactly an adjective *leṭko*, "sticky, adhesive, as some kinds of clay" and a verb *leṭkom*, "to stick to, to adhere.' To these, one can add *leṭe leṭe* "soft, mud-like, moist"; *leṭa* "dusty, covered with mud or dust, to plaster, to smear" (Campbell, *Santali-English Dictionary*). The existence of a root common in Munda, *viz.* *leṭ*, accounts for the Indo-aryan word *leṣṭu*, etc. signifying "clay, clod of earth."[2]

It is well-known that the drop of the initial is frequent in the Indo-aryan words of non-aryan origin.[3] The change from *leṣṭu* to *leṣṭa* can be regarded as regular[4] and by aphæresis it becomes *eṣṭa*. *Iṣṭa-* can be a Sanskritisation made upon a Middle-Indian form with *e* (cf. *leṭṭhu*, etc.). Lastly, the transition of "clod of earth" to "brick" semantically does not present any difficulty.

1 *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, VII, pp. 125ff.

2 Cf. the compound *loṣṭumaya*, "made of clay, earthy."

3 Cf. *Les Udumbara*, JA., 1926, I, pp. 26ff.

4 *Bul. de la Soc. de Linguistique*, XXXI, ii, pp. 47ff. °*Leṣṭa* is to *leṣṭu* as *loṣṭa* to *loṣṭu*.

There can be no doubt about the non-aryan origin of the root *leṭ*, if we compare Santali *leṭa* "to plaster, to smear," Mon *leṭ* "to plaster, to smear," and Semang *lit-lut* "smeared"; Santali *leṭe leṭe* "soft, mudlike, moist," Malay *līat* "soft, malleable"; Semang *te' liat* "soft earth, clay," Malay *tānah līat* "clay"; Khmer *dei ét* "clay" and Khmer *ét* "brick." One may, however, raise the objection that the modern Mundas are not aware of the use of bricks. To that my answer would be that it is due to the fact that these people, impoverished as they were being driven back by the Aryans, have been in decadence for a long time. Nothing prevents us to hold that the degenerated Santals are the descendants of the people who built Harappa and Mohen-jo Daro. In Indo-China, the Chams are in an analogous situation. They have also a word *akiak* for designating brick, but they have forgotten the art of manufacturing those large and solid bricks, with which their ancestors constructed so many admirable monuments. Here and there, however, through impoverishment resulting from foreign invasion, the ancient technique has disappeared.

If one admits that Sanskrit *iṣṭakā* is non-Aryan, it is undoubtedly necessary also to assign the same origin to the Avestic *iśtya*. The conclusion that may be drawn therefrom is that we must suppose the existence of a common linguistic substratum both in India and in a part, at least, of Iran. I hope to show later on that this hypothesis can account for a large number of facts.

JEAN PRZYLUSKI

An Inscription of Aśoka discovered at Yerragudi

More than two years ago, we learnt of the discovery of an inscription of Aśoka, the great Maurya emperor of India, at a place named Yerraguḍi in the Kurnool District of the Madras Presidency. Since then, I have never seen it edited. Some days ago, I found a photograph of the inscription in the Telugu Magazine *Bhāratī* (September, 1929),[1] published from Madras. There were some notes by Mr. Mallampalli Somaśekhara Śarmā on the find and the findspot of the inscription.

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1 Professor D. R. Bhandarkar of the Calcutta University kindly lent me a copy of this issue.

This inscription is not altogether new. It is only another version of the so-called "Minor Rock Inscriptions," which have been found at seven different places in Northern and Southern India. The three copies found in the north are at Sahsaram in the Shahabad District, Bihar, at Rupnath in the Jubbulpore District, Central Provinces, and at Bairat in the Jaipur State in Rājputānā. In the Deccan they have been found at Śiddāpur, at Jaṭinga-Rāmeśvar and at Brahmagiri, all close to one another, in the Chitaldrug District of Mysore. Another Southern version was discovered in 1915 at Maski in the Raichur District of the Nizam's dominions. So, our version found at Yerraguḍi, not very far form Maski, is the eighth version of the "Minor Rock Inscriptions." At Maski and the three places of Northern India, however, only the first part of the epigraph, i.e., the so-called "Minor Rock Edict I", is engraved.

The left side of the first part of the inscription is in an extremely poor state of preservation; but the second part is in a much better condition. Unfortunately the letters are so carelessly engraved that it is extremely difficult to follow the lines, which are at some places hopelessly confused. (cf. ll. 8-12). There is the other great difficulty that after one line is finished, sometimes the next line is not begun from the usual place, but from a place below the middle of the preceding line or from about the end of it. Now, the letters of these sub-lines are sometimes hopelessly mingled with the letters of the "next" line, begun from the usual place (cf. l.8, where "Tā" of "Aṃtā" is engraved below "Aṃ"; the sub-line beginning with "cakā" etc. should, I think, be the continuation of the line ending with "Aṃtā.")

I have deciphered the lines as follows :—

I

1 Devānaṃ piye [hevamāha] (ṣa kā nā ?)

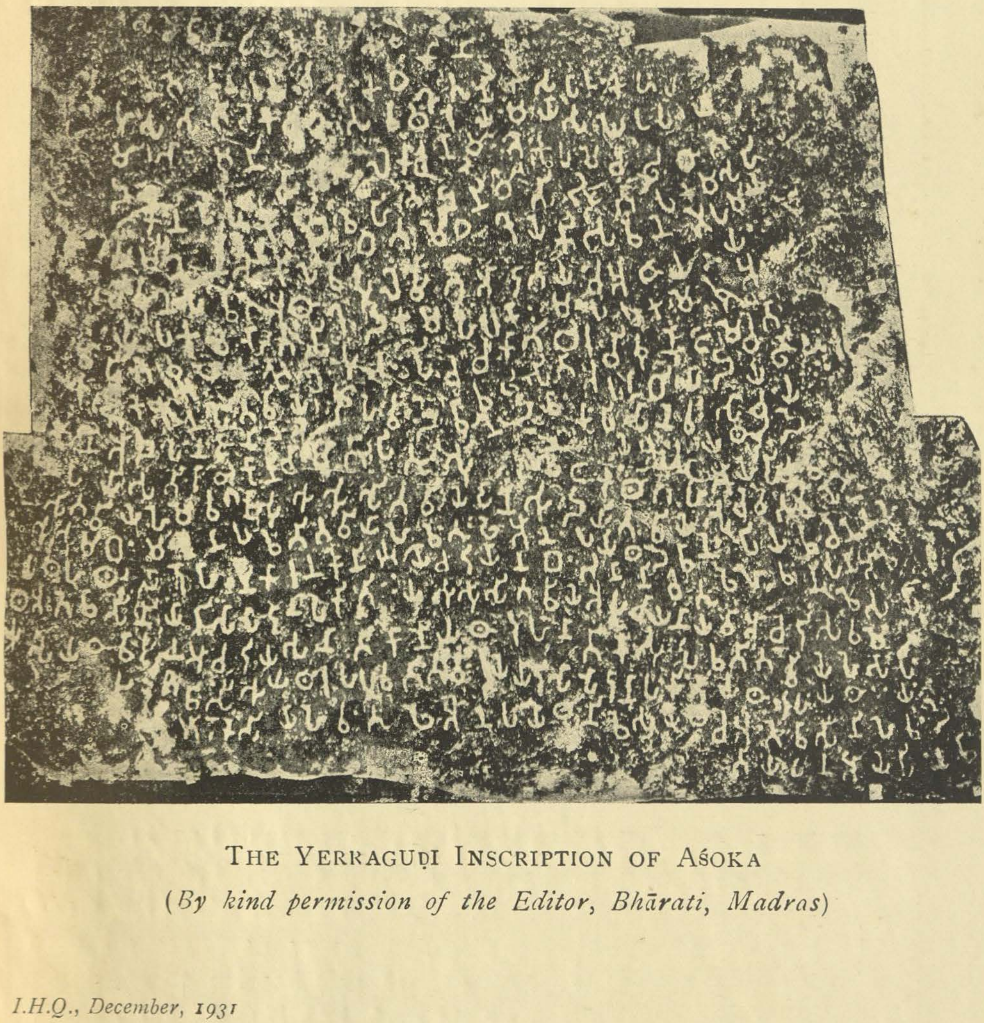
2 * * * * vasān [i] kho tu * si sa pā u ka ha pa ?)

3 husa ॥ Sātirekaṃ [tu kho] Savachare yaṃ mayā Saṃghe upayi...

4 misā[1] manisā * * (le ka ca * mā ite kapame vaḍhathite ?)

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1 From a comparison with the words of the other versions it is clear that the word should be "asmisā"; the missing "a" seems to have been the last letter of the preceding line.



THE YERRAGUḌI INSCRIPTION OF AŚOKA

(By kind permission of the Editor, Bhārati, Madras)

5 * * * * * * devehi te dāni misibhūtā ‖ Pakamasa hi

6 * * mī * * (dhatame e khuyeki savane apamayā ?)

7 * * * sakiye vipule svage ārātāyeva ‖ Aṭhāya iyaṃ

8 [sā] vane sāvi [te] ‖ Atha khudakamahadhana[1] imaṃ pacaka mevū ‖ Aṃtā,

8a (cakā gi ṭhi ravivunajame ?)

9 Iyaṃ pakama ho [tu] vipule pi ca vaḍhasitā aparadhiyā diyaḍha...

10 * ke ānapitaviye hevaṃ Devānaṃ devanaṃ piyāne vasāvuya...

II

12 ......mātāpitūsu...

13 sitaviye ‖ Hevaṃ garusu sususitaviye ‖ Prānesu dayitaviye[2] ‖ saca vataviye ‖ Na ?

14 susuma ‖ Dhaṃ mā [gu] nā pavatitaviyā ‖ Hevaṃ tuphe ānapayātha Devānaṃpiya vacanena he

15 ° tha hathi ° rohāni kāranakāni ygayā cariyāni Baṃbhānāniva tuphe hevaṃ...

16 tha añavāsīniyā ° sā porānā pakiti ‖ Iyaṃ sususitaviye apacāyanāya vā ācarisa va me...

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1 The word, used in other recensions relatively with "Khudaka," is "mahat" or "mahatpa," has been taken by some scholars to mean "superior officials." As "mahādhana" (wealthy) cannot possibly mean "superior official," the reading of this version, I think helps us in understanding the passage correctly.

2 In l. 18 I have read "Prānesu dayitaviye" (one should be kind to living creatures) where Drs. Hultzsch and Bhandarkar always read "Prānesu drahyitavyaṃ." (respect for living creatures should be made firm). In this photograph "dayitaviye" is quite clear and Hultzsch' plates support this reading. (cf. Plates in the Corp. Inscr. Indicarum vol. I) The duplication of the word "devānaṃ" in l. 10 is I think, due to the engraver's inattention. Another interesting feature of the epigraph is that almost in every line we find reversed forms of letters, like "la" "pa" etc., which are thought to be reminiscences of the old practice of writing Brāhmī also, from right to left like her sister Kharoṣṭhī,

17 Yasa yathācāraṇa ācariyasa nātikāni yathāraham nātikesu pavatitaviye ॥ Hosā paṃ ?

18 (aṃ) tevāsīsu yathāraha pavatitaviye yārisā porānā pakiti ॥ Yathāraha—yathā iyaṃ

19 ārokaṃ siyā ॥ Hevaṃ tuphe ānapayātha nivesayātha ca ॥ Aṃte vāsīni hevaṃ de (-?)

20 tiya pana āyapi °cā ॥

DINES ÇHANDRA SIRCAR

Bodhicitta-vivaraṇa of Nāgārjuna

Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt has published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, (VII, p. 259ff.) the 'Bodhisattva-Prātimokṣasūtra' with an interesting study on it. His editon of the text is based on a manuscript preserved in the Cambridge University Library. Dr. Dutt has rightly pointed out that the last leaf of the text has no bearing on the Prātimokṣa-sūtra and seems to contain the beginning of a new text.

The opening line bears testimony to such a hypothesis—*Namo Buddhāya Bodhicittavivaraṇaṃ vakṣye.* The title of the text was evidently Bodhicittavivaraṇa. It is preserved in the *B*stan *h*gyur in two Tibetan translations. There is besides the Tibetan translation of a commentary attributed to Smṛtijñānamitra. The work is attributed to Ārya Nāgārjuna (*k*lu *s*grub).

(i) Byaṅ chub sems kyi *h*grel pa źes bya ba—*Bodhicittavivaraṇa nāma*, composed by Ārya Nāgārjuna and translated by Guṇākara of India. Cordier—Catalogue II, p. 135 ; Rgyud *h*grel, 142, 5.

(ii) Byaṅ chub sems kyi *h*grel pa, *Bodhicittavivaraṇa*, composed by Nāgārjuna, and translated by Jayānanda of Kāśmīr. Rgyud *h*grel, 142, 6 ; *Ibid*, p. 135.

(iii) Byaṅ chub sems kyi *h*grel pa'i nam par bśad pa—*Bodhicitta-vivaraṇa-ṭīkā*, commentary on the work of Nāgārjuna composed and translated by Smṛtijñānakīrti, *R*gyud *h*grel, 142, 34, *Ibid*, p. 141.

The first translation, that of Guṇākara, is not a literal one and is oftentimes only explanatory while the second, that of Jayānanda closely follows the text. As regards the date of the text it is for the present impossible to say whether the author is the same as the great

founder of the Mādhyamika philosophy or a later personage of that name. The style and the quality of the Sanskrit in which the text is written would not go against its attribution to the authorship of the famous Nāgārjuna. But the absence of any reference to it in the works of Śāntideva, particularly in his chapters on *Bodhicitta*, may go against such an antiquity of the text.

The commencement of Jayānanda's translation is as follows :

Da nas byaṅ chub kyi sems sgom pa'i 'grel pa bśad par bya'o | bcom ldan 'das kyis chos thams cad sems kyis rnam par brtags pa'o źes | gsuṅs pas ri zig sems ni de ñid kyi raṅ bñin ci zig źes ṅes par rtog pa rcan | dṅos pa thams cad daṅ bral ba phuṅ po khams daṅ skye mched daṅ gzuṅ daṅ 'jan ba rnam par spaṅs |. ches bdag med par mñam ñid pas |. raṅ sems gdoṅ nas ma skyes pa |. stoṅ pa ñid kyi raṅ bzin no |. źes gsuṅs so |. smras pa 'di yi don ci yin ze na |. brjod pa dṅos po daṅ bral zes te |.

वोधिचित्त-विवरणं वक्ष्ये। चित्तविटपिता सर्वधर्मा दूल्युक्तं भगवता। देवतावच्चित्तं निरुप्यते (?)। किं स्वभावमिति आह-सर्वभावविगतं स्कन्धधात्वायतन-ग्राह्यग्राहकवर्जितं धर्मनैरात्म्यसमतया [स्व]चित्तमाद्यनुत्पन्नं शून्यता स्वभावमिति। कोऽस्य वचनस्यार्थः—सर्वभावविगतमिति।

This is sufficient to point out to the close agreement of the text and the translation of Jayānanda. The text deals with one of the most impotant Mahāyāna doctrines. The discovery of the complete manuscript of the text will, therefore, be eagerly looked for.

P. C. BAGCHI

On the antiquity of the name "Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa or Kāṭmaṇḍu".

According to the Nepalese Vaṃśāvalīs the ancient name of Kāṭmaṇḍu was Kāntipura. It was founded by king Guṇakāmadeva who ascended the throne in the Kali year 3824=724 A.D. Later on in 1595 A.D. the name of the city was changed into Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa during the reign of Lakṣmī-Narasiṃhamalla. The legendary portion of the tradition says that a certain citizen had cherished the desire of building a temple with the wood of a single tree for the use of the wandering ascetics. During the procession of Matsyendranātha he suddenly discovered the *Kalpavṛkṣa* in person, got hold of him and asked for the boon. The *Kalpavṛkṣa* became pleased with him and he thus

succeeded in building the temple with the wood of a single tree.[1] The said temple is still shown in front of the old palace of the Mallas at Kāṭmaṇḍu. It is still used by wandering ascetics.

Though it is a pure legend the date 1595 A.D. had to be retained for want of further information about the name of Kāṭmaṇḍu. During my last stay in Nepal I came across a manuscript in the Darbar collection which contains some information about the name of the city.

It is the ms. of the *Lakṣahomavidhi* of Śaivācārya Tejabrahma. Its colophon runs thus:

श्रैयोऽस्तु, सम्वत् ५३१ वैशाख शितनवम्यान्तिथौ लिखितं इदम् श्रीकाससमन्डप नगरे श्रीभीमदत्त सोमशर्मणा लिखितमिदं ।[2]

The city of Kāstamaṇḍapa is no other than Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa, the confusion made by the copyist being a very common one in the Nepalese manuscripts. The name Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa, therefore, had come into use already in the Nepal era 531 i.e. 1411 A.D., 200 years before the time of Lakṣmī Narasiṃha Malladeva.

The name Kāntipura was also in use at that period as is evident from the colophons of mss.[3] Thus it seems probable that both the names, Kāntipura and Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa were simultaneously in use during a certain period and subsequently the former became more popular and the lattér fell into disuse.

P. C. BAGCHI

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1 S. Lévi, *Le Nepal*, I, pp. 52-54.

2 The Late MM. H. P. Śāstrī in his *Catalogue of Palm Leaf and Selected Paper Mss. belongining to the Durbar Library, Nepal* II, p. 48 has also described these mss., but the colophon as given there contains a number of mistakes—"*Śrīyāstu saṃvat* 531 *Vaiśākhasya Śitanavamyāṃ tithau likhitamidaṃ Śrīkāstamaṇḍapa nagare Śrī-Bhīmadatta somaśarmāṇo-alikhit.*

3 See Śāstrī, *ibid.*, p. 190 Pārthivārcana Cuḍāmaṇi (copied in 1715) Nepāle *bahupīṭhamaṇḍitaśive Kāntipurī rājate*; p. 196 Pūjākalpalatā (copied in 1669 A.D.)—"*Kāntapurīr rājā Pratāpamaller Guru Nārāyaṇa Bhāhuker puthi*"; p. 233 Pitṛbhakti Taraṅgiṇī (copied in 1674 A.D.)—*Kāntipur nagare likhitaiṣā.*

Identification of Brahmottara

(*mentioned in the Nidhanpur plates*)

As the Nidhanpur copper-plate inscriptions form an important landmark in the early social and political history of Sylhet and the editor is disposed to believe that the donated land lay not in Sylhet but somewhere in North Bengal, a discussion on the issues raised seems necessary.[1] The Brahmottara was situated in the Candrapurī-Viṣaya and was named Mayūra-śālmalāgrahāra.[2] In the description of the boundaries we come across the names, Gāṅgiṇikā or Gāṅgiṇī and Kośikā.[3] For reasons stated below we are convinced that the grant relates to a place in and about modern Pañcakhaṇḍa where the plates were discovered.

First, it is well-known that the find-spot of a copper plate charter is almost invariably the locality of the grant made therein.

Secondly, it is true that the charter was issued from the Mahārājādhirāja's camp at Karṇasuvarṇa and the word 'Gāṅgiṇī' occurs in another inscription, referring to a locality in Karṇasuvarṇa, but it does not follow from this that the grant under consideration should therefore belong to a region near Karṇasuvarṇa. It is noteworthy that in North Sylhet which includes the perganah of Pañcakhaṇḍa, there are at least nine or ten places named Cāndpur (Candrapur) within a radius of about 20 miles from the headquarters station. This raises a presumption that the ancient Candrapurī-Viṣaya, that is, the division or district of Candrapurī included a portion of the modern district of Sylhet. The river 'Kośikā'[4] is very likely represented by the modern Kuśīyārā which passes by Pañcakhaṇḍa, the findspot of the plates.[5] There is also a place called 'Gāṅgiṇī' (colloquially, Gāṅgṇī) on the river Kuśiyārā in the same perganah and near Nidhanpur. About six or seven miles from Pañcakhaṇḍa there is also a watery marsh called 'Gāṅgṇī-vil.' The inscriptions nowhere state that

1 See ante, pp. 718 ff.

2 *EI.*, XIX, 118. lines 5 7.

3 *EI.*, XII, 75, lines 45 and 47 with footnote 19. I accept the reading Kośika. *EI.*, XIX, 120, lines 53-54.

4 *Ibid.*

5 The name Kuśīyārā may have resulted from a combination of the names Kośika and Barak, names of the same river at two different places (Kośi + Barā = Kuśīyārā).

Gāṅgiṇī was a river and not a 'vil'. During the rainy season such 'vils' (also called locally 'hāor's, if sufficiently big) become vast sheets of water. When the water recedes at the end of the season, considerable quantity of land becomes available for cultivation. This is apparently referred to in the expression gāṅgiṇy-upacitaka kṣetram.[1] As to the name of the village 'Mayūra-śālmalāgrahāra' it is well-known that in making an 'agrahāra' grant (i. e., grant to Brāhmaṇas) a new name was sometimes given to the village or villages alienated.[2] Such a name is, therefore, likely to exist in documents only. But even then analogous names are still to be met with in North Sylhet. Thus in the Bhatera copper plate inscription we read of Mahurāpura (modern Maurāpur).[3] A village named 'Śimuliā' also exists here. On the strength of similarity of place-names thus we may take it that the grant relates to a locality in Sylhet.

But why should Mahārājādhirāja Bhāskaravarman issue the edict from Karṇasuvarṇa (part of North Bengal)? It appears that while the emperor was camping here very possibly about 650 A.D.[4], Mahārāja-Jyeṣṭhabhadra,[5] the local governor who had apparently the Candrapurī-viṣaya under his control, informed his suzerain about the loss of the charter granted by Bhutivarman.[6] The emperor accordingly issued his commands to the Viṣayapati or Viṣaya-nāyaka Śrīkṣikuṇḍa and other officials (adhikaraṇas) of Candrapurī to renew and execute the grant in the then prevalent scripts which were different from those of Bhūtivarman's time.[7] This interesting picture of an well-ordered administration (where the official gradation was Mahārājādhirāja, Mahārāja, Viṣayapati or Viṣayanāyaka and the Adhikaraṇas which included the Nyāyakaraṇika, Vyavahārī, Kāyastha, Bhāṇḍāgārādhikṛta, Mahāsāmanta, etc.) shows us that the emperor

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1 *EI.*, XIX, 120.

2 *EI.*, XV, 70ff. (pt. II); *SII.*, III, 307 note 1; *SII.*, II, no. 76; *SII.*, III, no. 205. This subject is discussed in detail in my forthcoming work, 'Land-system in South India between c. 800 A.D. and 1200 A.D.' (Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot).

3 *EI.*, XIX, 281, line 30.

4 *EI.*, XII, 66.

5 Bhāskaravarman as Jyeṣṭhabhadra's sovereign had the title 'Mahārājādhirāj' (*EI.*, XIX, 118, line 4).

6 *EI.*, XIX, 118 lines 7 and 8. I accept the reading Mahārājā Jyeṣṭhabhadravijñaptyā (*Ibid.*, 121, footnote 2).

7 Cf. *EI.*, XII, 76, line 54.

need not have been present on the spot of the grant, especially as it was a mere renewal of an old grant and it could have been carried out from anywhere. Thus the order issued from the camp at Karṇasuvarṇa does not signify that the locality of the grant should be sought there.

Thirdly, was Sylhet included in the empire of Kāmarūpa ? Apart from the evidence of the find-spot of the copper plates there is a tradition widely prevalent about the inclusion of Sylhet, Tippera and part of Mymensingh and Dacca in Kāmarūpa, and people point to certain places in these districts as king Bhagadatta's place.[1] The boundaries of the empire of Kāmarūpa as given in the Yoginī-tantra,[2] a work of a very late date no doubt, seem to include Sylhet. To explain it away as indicating the scriptural region of Kāmarūpa is not sufficient. There is every likelihood of the tradition having historical and political background. I fail to find the mention of Śrīhaṭṭa in the Yoginī-tantra as an 'independent political entity' as the editor would have us believe.[3] The name occurs in the Yoginī-tantra, Uttarakhaṇḍa, Paṭalas 1 (p. 112), 2 (p. 119), 6 (p. 179) and 9 (p. 215), but in none of these places any political entity is implied. The contention that Hiuen-Tsang. by referring to Shihlichatolo meant the independent kingdom of Śrīhaṭṭa[4] has to be given up as being absolutely devoid of reason in view of Mon. Finot's revelations.[5] From a ninth century Tantra Manuscript we learn that Matsyendranātha (Mīnanātha) was an inhabitant of Candradvīpa (Eastern Bengal) and from an 11th century commentary on a Tantra we note that the Saint came from Kāmarūpa (*I.H.Q.*, 1930, no. 1, pp. 178-181). This discrepancy can be explained by taking Eastern Bengal (Candradvīpa) as belonging to the Empire of Kāmarūpa. It should be remembered that Matsyendranātha lived much earlier than the 11th century A.D. (probably in the 9th century A.D.).

As to Pañcakhaṇḍa belonging to the kings of Tripurā in 641 A.D.[6] it is to be noted that the copper-plate grant that is alleged to have been issued never saw the light of day.[7] Even if we take it

1 *EI.*, 68 ; *SI.*, Bk. II, Ch. I, 10-11.

2 Jivānanda (Calcutta) edition, 30. Cf. XII, 68, footnote 1. Jivānanda reads Kuñjagiriḥ in place of Kañjagiriḥ.

3 *EI.*, XII, 68.

4 Cf. Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, II, 188-189 ; *EI.*, XII, 67 ; *JRAS.*, 1920, 1-6.

5 See *JRAS.*, 1920, 451-452.

6 *EI.*, XII, 67 ; *SI.*, Bk. II, Ch. 4, 56 note.

7 Vaidik-samasyā ; *SI.*, Bk. II, Ch. 5 notes pp. 67-73 ; *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1930, No. 1, 64-66.

for granted that a king of Tripurā made a grant in 641 A.D., it does not preclude the possibility of the emperors of Kāmarūpa possessing Pañcakhaṇḍa about 500 A.D. (the time of Bhūtivarman), losing it about 640 A.D. and regaining it a few years after. As to the argument that the name 'Śrīhaṭṭa' is not to be met with in the Nidhanpur plates, all we may say is that Śrīhaṭṭa was not yet an independent State, and the name, if existent at all, did not signify much. The first mention of Śrīhaṭṭa as an independent state, as one may say in the existing state of our knowledge, probably occurs in the Bhatera copper-plate inscription of about 1049 A.D.[1] It is also to be noted in this connection that the name 'Śrīhaṭṭa' apparently originated from the name of Haṭṭanātha-Śiva or Hāṭakeśvara-Śiva, the sept-deity of the Nāgara-Brāhmaṇa settlers of Sylhet. The Nidhanpur plates need not thus mention Śrīhaṭṭa. For other points of interest see Mr. J. C. Ghosh's paper in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1930, No. 1 (pp. 60-71).

K. M. GUPTA

Merada

Merada means the fire proof earthen superstructure of ordinary thatched houses in rural tracts in Orissa. A temple of this structure was constructed in a certain village in the Atagada Zamindari of the Ganjam District in the midst of forests. The temple was constructed with such huge stones that one wonders how such huge stones could be raised to such a height. As the temple was constructed like *merada* or fire proof earthen superstructure of an ordinary thatched house, it was known by the name of Merada. There are three big pedestals in the temple. The temple was occupied temporarily by the three idols from the celebrated temple of Jagannath of Puri, during the time of the Musalman invasion. The Musalman invader was Muhammad Taki Khan who was the deputy governor of Orissa. He interfered greatly with the worship of the temple of Jagannath at Puri during the time of Rāmacandra Deva, the Rājā of Khurda, who ruled from 1732-1743 A. D. The idols were therefore removed temporarily from Puri to Merada. The removal of these idols entailed a loss of nine lakhs of rupees per annum from the revenue of Orissa, this being the amount collected from the pilgrims visiting the shrine. During the

1 *EI.*, XIX, 280, lines 5 and 29.

time of the Musalman invasion, Rāmacandra Deva not only removed the three idols from Puri to Merada, but himself took shelter in Rummagoda (fort) in the Atagada Zamindari for 3¼ years under the Atagada king Jagabandhu alias Jagannātha Haricandana who was the Nawab of Northern Ganjam under the Mughals collecting the land revenue from Khallikote, Dharakote, Shergad, Bodogad, Surada Mohuri, Biruli, Palur, Aska etc. of the Zamindari parganas. On the death of Muhammad Taki Khan in the year 1734 Murshid Kuli Khan succeeded him as the deputy governor of Orissa under Muhammadans. At the instance of Raja Jagabandhu alias Jagannāth Haricandan the ruler of Atagada, Murshid Kuli Khan induced Rājā Ramacandra Deva to bring back and reinstate the three idols at Puri. Thus the three idols were brought back to Puri and were reinstated in the Jagannath temple at Puri. Though the idols were removed from Merada temple yet the seats of the three idols are still worshipped regularly up to this day by the priests appointed by Rājā Jagabandhu *alias* Jagannātha Haricandana of Atagada. A hamlet known by the very same name of Merada was carved out from the neighbouring forest and its income was set apart for the conduct of worship in the Merada temple. Rājā Jagannātha Haricandana was the 19th ruler of the Baghale dynasty of the ancient Atagada Zamindari ruling from 1732-1748 A.D. For his act of extreme piety in thus offering shelter to the glorious Orissan idols as well as the king of Orissa or Khurda, the Rājā of Atagada was honoured greatly by the kings of Orissa, or Khurda.

Mr. Sewell in his list of *Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras*, vol. I, p. 3 mentions Merada and gives a very short but incorrect note thereon. The temple is thus of some antiquarian interest.

LAKSHMINARAYAN HARICHANDAN JAGADEB

Origin of the Lotus-capital

I have read carefully Mr. Mitra's reply to my note on this subject, but am not convinced by any of his arguments. I will discuss here only a few points, as the problem will be taken up in relation with the whole environment in my contribution to the forthcoming Survey of Persian Art.

First to make a few corrections. I did not say that "the lotus supports of (the chamfer reliefs) at Bhārhut had been meant

to represent pillars" (p. 215 of Mr. Mitra's paper), but that both the pillars and the chamfer reliefs illustrated the use of the lotus as a support. As to the variations from the standard form, I am very far from denying that the Maurya architects "were fully alive to the decorative significance of the bell capital"; decorative variations on the simpler themes of the Plant style are fast developing in early Indian art, and such subordination of meaning to ornament is a part of the normal development that takes place in any art. I did not say that the Vedic lotus symbolism had a direct bearing on the animal standards, but only that the lotus must have been used as a general support-symbol in and before the Maurya period; I think it is only in connection with Śrī-Lakṣmī that the early use is definitely iconographic. My view has nothing to do with a "world lotus." As to the fact that the lotus is not mentioned in connection with any of the *dhvaja-stambhas*, or the military standards, this is only what we have to expect on my theory, which regards the lotus capital as simply the termination of a shaft, and not as a *cihna.* My view would rather lead one to suppose that such a termination may have been found on all or any of the Epic animal standards carried in a battle; and this is precisely so in the case of the two *garuḍa*-standards borne by equestrian figures at Bhārhut.

I did not say that the lotus capital was a form "of west Asiatic origin" at some pre-Achæmenid period; lotus motifs may have been common to India and Assyria before the fall of Babylon, without necessarily being of Assyrian origin in India. Incidentally I may remark that M. de la Vallée Poussin not long since expressed views which coincide with mine to this extent, that "the differences between the Aśokan and Persian capitals are sufficiently marked to exclude idea of direct imitation," and though the prototype may have reached India from the west, it had already assumed in India "an Indian form destined to become (*qui sera*) that of the Aśokan period."[1]

The differences between Indian and Persian columns and capitals, just alluded to have been emphasized elsewhere;[2] here I shall refer only to one aspect of this side of the question. The practice of building up tall stone columns by the superposition of cylindrical sections shows that in Persia we are dealing with a mason's, not a carpenter's tradition; this method had been practised long ago in Egypt, but it

1 *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas*, p. 161.

2 Chanda, *The Beginnings of Art in Eastern India*, Mem. ASI., 30.

never reached India. On the other hand, the two dominant types of the early Indian column, viz. the smooth cylindrical monumental form and the octagonal (chamfered) constructional type with square base, are immediate reproductions of wooden forms, and show no knowledge of masonry technique, such as could have been learnt from Persia.

Thus the masonry tradition of Persia in the fourth century B.C. represents an art technically far in advance (aesthetic judgments are here beside the mark) of the carpenter's tradition in India in the third century B.C. Are we to infer that India was taught by Persia to work in stone, explaining the absence of direct imitation by an invocation of Indian "originality"? No doubt Maurya India may have been well aware that stone had been used for building purposes in other countries, let us even suppose that the idea of using stone at all proceeded from this knowledge. We are forgetting our material. Persian masons may have been expert in the working of limestone, but how could they have handled the sandstones of the Ganges Valley, which are so hard as to put even the best modern tools to a severe test, and yet in early India were wrought with exquisitely finished surfaces, and sharpest detail? It is far more plausible to connect the early use of stone in India with the discovery of steel; there is good reason to think that steel may have been invented in India; archæological evidence takes us back to the second century B.C., and literary evidence to the fourth, when Alexander, amongst other valuable gifts, received from the Malloi and Oxydrakai of the Pāñjāb, a hundred talents of steel. Thus provided with the necessary tools, the Indian *vaḍḍhaki*, who had been hitherto a *tacchaka* or woodworker, and sometimes a bricklayer, *iṭṭhaka-vaḍḍhaki*, now began to function also as a mason, *silā-vaḍḍhaki*. There is nothing to show that he had reason to, or actually did, adopt new formulæ or methods of construction; on the contrary, all the architecture shows the clearest signs of its immediate origins in carpentry.

Finally, I present one *a priori* consideration. Alexander had destroyed Persepolis in 331. Under the Seleukids new Hellenistic fashions came into vogue. Aśoka came to the throne in 272. The contradiction consequently found in the current theory has been neatly stated by A. W. Lawrence in the new Encyclopedia Britannica, under *Persia*, *Archaeology*, as follows:

> 'the Achæmenian palace was imitated (in India) during the Hellenistic age, while in Mesopotamia and Persia it was ignored in the fashion for Hellenism.'

Mr. Mitra's theory requires, apparently, that Aśoka should have sent his architects to the ruins of Persepolis, burnt down more than sixty years earlier, there to obtain material for the construction of "period architecture" in India. On the other hand, if an architecture related to the older art of Western Asia had already been current in India before the Maurya period, it can be well understood that it might have survived there, longer than in Persia.

ANANDA COOMARASWAMY

The Guḍimallam Liṅgam

Attention was first called to this magnificent and in some respects unique example of Indian stone sculpture by the late T. A. Gopinath Rao in his *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, 1914-15, (see also *Indian Antiquary*, XL, 1911, pp. 104-114). In my *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 39, I endorsed Mr. Rao's view that it should be dated in the first or second century B. C. Now Mr. A. H. Longhurst, in his *Pallava Architecture*, III (Mem. ASI.), 40, p. 24, dates it not earlier than the temple in which it is now enshrined. i.e. eighth or ninth century A.D. A difference of nearly a thousand years is rather serious, especially in the case of such an important figure, and one with such strongly marked characters.

There can be no doubt that the earlier dating is approximately correct. I will first ask the reader to compare the Guḍimallam *liṅgam* with the pillar relief J2 in the Mathurā Museum ; the two sculptures are respectively figures 66 and 59 in my *History*. Not merely are both figures stylistically related in the closest manner, but both are supported by a crouching dwarf Yakṣa *vāhana* like that of the well-known figure of Kupiro Yakkho at Bhārhut. The Mathurā figure has, in the lunette above, a representation of a scene from the Mahābodhi Jātaka, and this fact alone would suggest a pre-Gupta date. In any case, the Śuṅga style of both figures is unmistakeable ; not only is the treatment of the folds of the drapery still archaic, as at Bhārhut, but nothing is more characteristic of late Śuṅga art than the peculiar manner of representing the sexual organs as if nude, though really covered by the *dhotī*, cf. figs. 54, 57, 58, 60 in my *History*. The fact that the *liṅgam* rises directly from the earth, without any definite representation of a *yoni*, is an additional evidence for the early date.

ANANDA COOMARASWAMY

Gopāla

The chronology of the Pāla kings is a knotty question, and has baffled the skill of many scholars. Our object here is simply to state a few facts for the consideration of scholars.

Gopāla is the founder of the Pāla dynasty. His grandfather is described as 'the progenitor of the foremost line of kings'. His father Vapyaṭa is said to have 'embellished the earth with massive temples, and became famous as the destroyer of adversaries'. He himself is described as 'the crest-jewel of the heads of kings'. He was made king by the people to put an end to the lawlessness under which the people of Bengal were then groaning. He married Daddadevī, 'a daughter of the Bhadra king' (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. IV, pp. 243-254).

It appears that Gopāla was no common man, nor his family a common one. As Daityaviṣṇu is said to be 'the progenitor of the foremost line of kings', we may presume that kingship commenced with his son Vapyaṭa. He was, perhaps, a sāmanta king. Gopāla seems to have succeeded his father before he was made by the people the king of Bengal. He must have given some proof of his capacity to govern a country, otherwise, the choice of the people would not have fallen on him. In the Khālimpur grant of Dharmapāla, mention of only two names of the predecessors of Gopāla, the founder of the Pāla dynasty, led Mr. R. D. Banerjee to the hasty conclusion that the family must have been of humble origin, as they could not remember more than two names of the ancestors of the founder (*A.S.B. Memoir*, No. V, p. 45). Vijñāneśvara in his commentary on the verse 318, chap. I of the Yājñavalkya-Saṃhitā writes :—"kārpāsike paṭe phalake vā ātmano vaṃśīyān pra-pitāmaha-pitāmaha-pitṝn bahu-vacanasy-ārthavattvāya vaṃśa-vīryaśrut-ādi-guṇ-opavarṇana-pūrvakam abhilekhy-ātmānaṃ ca &c," i.e. in the grants only the exploits of great-grandfather, grand-father, father, and of self are to be recorded. This, I think, makes Mr. Banerjee's remark unwarrantable.

We have seen that Daddadevī has been described as 'Bhadrātmajā.' Kielhorn translated it as the daughter of the Bhadra king meaning thereby that the queen's father was the king of the Bhadra country. Mr. A. K. Maitra objected to this translation, saying that it had no historical allusion. It simply means that Kuvera's wife Bhadrā was the daughter of Bhadra (*Gauḍa-lekhamālā*, p. 20n.), but he did not

refer to any Purāṇa or Itihāsa. It may, however, also mean that Daddadevī was the daughter of a person whose name or surname was Bhadra. And that the latter was the case we shall presently see. In the Nidhanpur copper-plate grant of Bhāskaravarman (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XII, p. 79) we find an officer named Gopāla as the 'issuer of hundred commands and the receiver of five great sounds' (ājñā-śata prāpayitā prāpta-pañca-mahāśabdaḥ Śrī--Gopālaḥ). Generally the sāmantas are honoured with pañca-mahāśabdas (*I.A.*, vol. V, p. 354), so this Gopāla was a sāmanta under Bhāskaravarman. The occasion for the mention of Gopāla's name in the charter seems to be that he was the sāmanta of the district to which the donated land belonged. In another portion of the same grant (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XIX, p. 118), we find in line 8—'Mahārāja Jyeṣṭhabhadra vijñapya.' As the construction is faulty, the editor of the plate, suggested two alternative readings: (1) 'Mahārājena jyeṣṭhabhadrān vijñāpya' i.e. Mahārājā having informed senior respectable persons; (2) 'Mahārāja-Jyeṣṭhabhadra-vijñaptyā' meaning at the request of Mahārāja-Jyeṣṭhabhadra (p. 121, n. 2). The editor seems to have preferred the first reading. But we are inclined to think that the second one is more appropriate. Firstly because, it necessitates a small change in a letter only, while the other reading requires changes in the case-endings of two words. Secondly, the officers who are to be informed according to custom had already been so notified in the previous lines. It was unnecessary, therefore, again to inform the Jyeṣṭhabhadras. The fact seems to be that while Bhāskaravarman was at his camp at Karṇasuvarṇa, the applicant Brahmins approached Mahārājā Jyeṣṭhabhadra, who was, as the epithet Mahārājā indicates, the Sāmanta of Karṇasuvarṇa, and requested him to bring to the notice of Bhāskaravarman their grievances. And it was at his intercession that Bhāskaravarman ordered the renewal of the grant.

Can this Gopāla be the founder of the Pāla dynasty, and his queen Daddadevī, a daughter of this Jyeṣṭhabhadra? It is not at all unlikely that Gopāla, himself a Sāmanta, married the daughter of another Sāmanta, under the same overlord. That there existed a Bhadra family of Sāmanta kings in the sixth century also at Karṇasuvarṇa is proved by the Bappaghoṣavāṭa grant of Jayanāga. The object of the grant was to specify the bounds of a certain village named Vappaghoṣavāṭa granted to Brahmavīrasvāmin by the Sāmanta Nārāyaṇabhadra. The record is of the reign of Mahārājā-

ḍhirāja Jayanāga who was then residing at Karṇasuvarṇa. On palæographic grounds it has been ascribed to about the latter half of the sixth century A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVIII, pp. 60-64).

It may be presumed that Bhāskaravarman occupied Karṇasuvarṇa after the death of Harṣa and after the usurper Arjuna was defeated. So the grant was made some time after 650 A.D. If our identification of Gopāla is correct, he was perhaps the chosen king of Bengal after the death of Bhāskaravaman, when probably the kinglessness (mātsyanyāya) prevailed. This may help to fix an approximate starting date for the Pāla dynasty.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH

Early Capital of the Gurjara Pratihāras of Mahodaya

Where was the capital of the Gurjara Pratihāras of Mahodaya before they established themselves at Mahodaya or Kanauj from the time of Bhoja I? Some scholars thought that it was at Bhinmāl in south Rājputānā.[1] But Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar[2] and with him Dr. R. C. Majumdar[3] hold that it was in Ujjain. In coming to this conclusion they have relied on the following two verses :—

(1) Hiraṇyagarbham rājanyair-Ujjaya(i)nyāṃ yad-āsitaṃ /
Pratīhārīkṛtaṃ yena Gurjar-eś-ādi-rājakam //9
(*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVIII, p. 243)

(2) Śākeṣ-vabdaśateṣu saptasu diśam pañc-ottareṣūttarāṃ
Pānt-Īndrāyudha-nāmni Kṛiṣṇa-nṛpaje Śrī-vallabhe dakṣiṇāṃ /
Pūrvām Śrīmad-Avanti-bhūbhṛti nṛpe Vatsādi(dhi)rāje' parāṃ
Śauryā(rā)ṇām-adhimaṇḍale (laṃ) jayayute vīre Varāhe' vati //
(Jinasena's Harivaṃśa-Purāṇa, 66, 52)

Commenting on the first verse Prof. Bhandarkar writes :—"Verse 8 tells us that Indrarāja was succeeded by Dantidurga, who, as the next verse says that when in Ujjain the various Kṣatriyas performed ceremony, namely, of the great gift of Hiraṇyagarbha, made the Gurjara and other lords his door-keepers (*pratihāras*). The verse evidently means in the first place that Dantidurga either performed or took a prominent part in this Hiraṇyagarbha ceremony

1 *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, p. 57 ; Smith's *Early His. Ind.*, p. 378.
2 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVIII, pp. 238-9.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 102.

in Ujjain. And this receives confirmation from a stanza occurring in the Daśāvatāra Cave temple inscription at Ellorā[1]. This inscription gives Mahārāja-Sarva as another name apparently for Dantidurga, and claims that in that very Ujjain, in order to enjoy a diversion with other princes, he instituted a *mahā-dāna* worthy of kings, and poured all kinds of wealth and precious stones on the supplicants. There can, therefore, be no doubt that Dantidurga had gone to Ujjain and performed the Hiraṇyagarbha ceremony. Secondly verse 9 of our grant also implies that at Ujjain was then ruling a Gurjara dynasty called Pratihāra. There can be little doubt that this must be the Pratihāra dynasty that became supreme after seizing the throne of Mahodaya. We know for certain from epigraphic records that their capital became Mahodaya or Kanauj from the time of Bhoja I onwards. But we did not know with certitude where they were actually ruling before they became rulers of Kanauj. And it was a mere surmise when some scholars thought that it was Bhilmāl or Bhinmāl in South Rājputānā. Our grant, however, enables us to say definitely that their original seat of power was Ujjain. It also enables us to interpret properly the third line of the stanza so often quoted from the Harivaṃśa of Jinasena. We can have no doubt now as to the correctness of Dr. Fleet's translation,[2] which makes Vatsarāja king of Avantī. This Vatsarāja, of course, is the Vatsarāja of the Imperial Pratihāra dynasty, and the Jaina Harivaṃśa may be regarded as strengthening the inference that the Pratihāras were established at Ujjain and not Bhilmāl before they transferred their capital to Kanauj".

Now let us see how far Prof. Bhandarkar is right in his conclusion that the Pratihāras were established in Ujjain before they transferred their capital to Kanauj. He admits that 'Dantidurga either performed himself or took a prominent part in' the Hiraṇyagarbha ceremony at Ujjain. But from the Ellorā inscription referred to above it is clear that he himself was the performer of the *mahā-dāna*. This being so, is it not natural that he would perform it in his own dominion? This receives confirmation from the same Ellorā inscription which states that Dantidurga among other countries conquered Sindh and Mālava. Ujjain was the capital of the latter. If he himself was not the performer of the *mahā-dāna*, the fact that he made the other kings his door-keepers loses its force. Further it should be remembered

1 *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, vol. V, p. 88.
2 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVIII, p. 102.

that the verse was written to eulogise the exploits of Dantidurga and not of other kings. We may also point out that if Ujjain was the capital of the Gurjara-Pratihāra king, it is difficult to believe that he should be made a door-keeper in his own capital. Taking Ujjain to be not within the dominion of Dantidurga, does it prove that it was the capital of the Pratihāra king? It may, in that case, be the capital of any other king present at the ceremony. So the verse relied on by Prof. Bhandarkar does not at all help us to arrive at the conclusion that Ujjain was the capital of the Gurjara-Pratihāra kings before they established themselves at Kanauj. On the other hand *pratihārikṛitaṃ* and *Gurjareśa* indicate that the Gurjara-Pratihāra king was prominent among the invited royal guests. And *Gurjareśa* means not only the lord of the Gurjaras but also of the Gurjara country, which included the present Rājputānā and also a portion of modern Sindh. In fact the earliest inscription of this dynasty, viz. the Buchkalā inscription (V. 872) was found in Rājaputānā but not in Mālava (Ep. Ind., vol. IX, pp. 199 ff).

Prof. Bhandarkar relied on the Harivaṃśa of Jinasena as a confirmatory proof. Although he now accepts the translation of Dr. Fleet, he gave a different interpretation[1] before. Dr. Fleet translated it as follows:—"In the north, Indrāudha; in the south, Śrīvallabha; in the east, Vatsarāja, king of Avantī (Ujjain); and in the west, Varāha or Jayavarāha, in the territory of the Sauryas." According to this translation Vatsarāja is the same person as Avanti-pati. If so, why *nṛpe* has been used after *bhūbhṛte.* Both the words mean king, and therefore one is redundant. This alone is sufficient to show that two different persons were meant. Now we shall give Prof. Bhandarkar's interpretation wherein he differs from Dr. Fleet:—"In the east, the illustrious king of Avantī; in the west king Vatsarāja; (and) in the territory of the Sauryas, the victorious and brave Varāha." Looking at the construction and the order of the stanza, Prof. Bhandarkar's interpretation seems to be preferable. It appears that the poet after naming the kings which ruled in the four directions from the place of his residence at Vardhamānapura (modern Wādhāwan in the Jhālāvāḍ division of Kathiāwār), lastly named the king and the country of his seat, where he wrote the book. It was formerly in Saurāṣṭra (Bomb. Gaz. vol, I, pt. I, p. 176). This country of the Sauryas is perhaps Saura-rāṣṭra i.e. Saurāṣṭra. This Varāha might be a

1 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVIII, p. 102.

predecessor of the Cāpotkaṭa prince Dharaṇīvarāha, who issued a charter from Vardhamāna in Saka 836. (Ind. Ant., vol. XII, p. 193). The country to the west of Saurāṣṭra, which was ruled by Vatsarāja, is perhaps Sindh, which is though not exactly in the east, is in the north-east. We need not be precise about the directions given by Jinasena, for Kanauj, the country of Indrāudha was not exactly in the north but in the north-east. And it is corroborrated by the fact that Vatsarāja was driven by Dhruvarāja to the deserts (Maru-madhyam).[1] This Maru has been interpreted by scholars to be Mārwāḍ. But we think 'Maru-madhyam' here means 'into the deserts'. He was perhaps driven to the deserts of Sindh, a continuation of the deserts of Rājaputānā. That it was at one end of the quarters is corroborated by the words—'Kakubhāṃ prānte sthitaṃ.'[2]

Even if the interpretation of Dr. Fleet is accepted, it proves at best that Avantī was temporarily occupied by Vatsarāja. Any how the evidence adduced is not sufficient to warrant the conclusion that Ujjain was the early capital of the Gurjara Pratihāras.

In conclusion, we would bring to the notice of the scholars that the word *pratihārīkṛtam* in the first verse might have a second meaning, besides the ordinary meaning given by Prof. Bhandarkar. Among other meanings the word *pratihāra* has the meaning, 'an agreement for return of assistance, alliance, confederacy.' (Wilson). So it may be that Dantidurga formed a confederacy with a view to withstand the Arab expeditions from Sindh, which he most probably apprehended as he conquered that province also. There are evidences to show that the Arab raids took place before and after Dantidurga (753 A. D.). Dr. Majumdar has shown that the Arab expeditions mentioned in the Nausari plates of the Gujarāt Cālukya Pulakeśirāja took place between 731 and 738 A. D.[3] We also know that the overthrow of the Valabhi dynasty was due to these Arab expeditions some time after 766 A. D., the last known date of this dynasty.[4] It is not at all likely that the Arabs remained idle during the intervening period. It can, therefore, be presumed that Dantidurga assembled the princes at Ujjain with the main object of forming the confederacy, under the plea of the Hiraṇyagarbha mahā-dāna.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH

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1 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. VI, p. 242. 2 *Ibid.*

3 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVIII, p. 93. 4 *Gupta. Inscr.*, p. 173.

The St. Thomas Tradition and Recent Discovery in Travancore

Scholars have been divided in their opinions as to the scene of the evangelistic labours of St. Thomas the Apostle, in India; and numerous attempts have been made to demonstrate, beyond possibility of question, that, if the Apostle came to India at all, he could not possibly have avoided Malabar; and the Christian community of the west coast claims St. Thomas as its founder; and its existence can be traced back to the early centuries of the Christian era. There is the evidence of an early Muhammadan writer that Mani, the founder of Manichæism (born 215 A.C.) visited India to spread his rival creed and succeeded in winning some Christians over to his faith; and the suggestion has been put forward recently whether there cannot be some association of the well-known *Manigrāmakārs* with the Malabar Christians and the Manichæans. Apart from the strongly-rooted Malabar tradition of the Apostle himself having propagated the faith on the west coast and founded seven churches in the neighbourhood of Cranganore, there is another tradition that St. Thomas himself set up stone-crosses for worship in the above seven churches and that when the Saint was actually praying in front of one such stone-cross, he suffered martyrdom from the enemies of his faith. The Cross came to be popularised as a symbol of Christian salvation only in the reign of the Emperor Constantine the Great and representations of crosses are not found in the Roman catacombs older than the fourth century A. D; and stone-crosses could not consequently have been fixed by the Apostle himself about the middle of the first century A.D. There have been discovered, till now, three altar-crosses bearing an almost identical Sassanian-Pahlavi inscription, *viz.*, one which was discovered by the Portuguese on the St. Thomas' Mount in 1547 and fixed up in the wall of the church on it; and the other two originally belonged to the ruined church of Cranganore and have been set up on either side of the entrance into the sanctum of St. Gabriel's Church at Kottayam. According to the *Travancore Archaeological Series*, VII, i, which was recently published, a similar bas-relief cross with a Pahlavi inscription, was discovered recently at Kadamaṟṟam, a village in the Kottayam Division, embedded in the wall of the sanctum of the Jacobite-Syrian Church of that place. This new tablet resembles the cross on St. Thomas Mount and the bigger one at Kottayam in its sculptural

details, being of the Greek type, with *fleur-de-lis* extremities, equal-armed and standing on a pedestal of three steps. It is flanked by two detached pilasters with two couchant *makaras* (fish-monsters) on their capitals and supporting a semi-circular belt arching above the cross. The portion containing the Pahlavi writing, is a narrow ribbon of stone rising from either extremity of the base and enveloping in an arch the top of the cross and its halo-circle. The inscription has been deciphered by Dr. Sir J. J. Modi of Bombay, thus—

I, a beautiful bird from Nineveh
(have come) to this (country).

Written Mar Shapur.

I, whom holy Messiah, the forgiver,
freed from thorn (affliction).

The reference to the bird, appropriately agreeing with the sculptured detail of a dove hovering, as a symbol of the Holy Ghost, over the upper limbs of these crosses, and the reading of Mar Shapur in the middle short sentence are the two new departures in Dr. Modi's reading from the previous readings of the inscriptions on the other crosses. If accepted, this reading will become an important landmark. Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Iyer, the Editor of the *Travancore Archaeological Series*, in this part, says that this Mar Shapur who is said to have landed in Quilon in 825 A. D. and erected churches, may be identical with Maruvān Sāpir Īso who has been prominently mentioned in the Kottayam Copper-plate Charter of the time of King Sthānu-Ravi (*cir.* A. D. 870). The date of the Kadamaṟṟam Cross thus becomes definitely computable as the end of the 9th century, *i.e.*, about two centuries and a quarter later than the earlier Kottayam and St.Thomas' Mount Crosses which have been assigned to about the middle of the 7th century; and it might well be possible that the cross was the one set up by Maruvān Sāpir Īso in the Tarisaipalli Church, which is mentioned in the Kottayam Plates. Possibly owing to some vicissitudes, the cross drifted into the Kadamarram Church at a later date.

The ornamentation of the Cross, as well as that of the St. Thomas Mount and Kottayam Crosses was evidently designed by Indian sculptors who were permeated with Hindu architectural traditions; and the Pahlavi inscriptions were also engraved by them under instructions from their foreign Christian employers. The sculptural

background of these crosses is consciously Hindu in character; and "in their familiar setting these crosses did naturally evoke a readier acceptance from the converts, recent or otherwise, for whose adoration they were perhaps consecrated at the time." The discovery of this Kadamarram Cross may be regarded as indicating an important landmark in the history of Christianity as it grew up in the Malabar Coast.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI

REVIEWS

INDICES AND APPENDICES TO THE NIRUKTA by Lakshana Sarup, M.A., D. PHIL. Pp. 76+393. Published by the University of Punjab, Lahore, 1929.

The work under review is the last of a series of volumes by the same author on Yāska's Nirukta, the oldest Indian work on etymology, philology and semantics. Professor Lakshan Sarup undertook the study of the Nrikuta more than fifteen years ago in Oxford and published in 1920 his 'Introduction to the Nirukta'. In the same year appeared for the first time his complete English translation of the work with exegetical and critical notes. Constant and diligent work by the Professor has resulted in the publication of three other volumes on the same subject : (i) an edition of the Nighaṇṭu and the Nirukta, (ii) Fragments of the commentaries of Skandasvāmin and Maheśvara on the Nirukta, and (iii) the present volume—Indices and Appendices. We are promised that other fragments of the commentary of Skanda-Maheśvara will be published in due course.

The value of the Nirukta in the history of philological speculation in ancient times is admitted on all hands. Its importance from the point of view of exegesis and grammar is much greater. Its worth as the oldest specimen of Sanskrit prose of the classical type is also by no means negligible; yet until recently Yāska's Nirukta failed as an independent subject of study to attract the attention of a sufficient number of competent scholars who could concentrate their mind and energy on this particular subject. No doubt the *editio princeps* of the Nirukta without any sanskrit commentary but with valuable notes of the editor was published at Göttingen as far back as 1852 by that great Vedic scholar Rudolph Roth, and since then there have appeared various editions of the work including those of the Bibliotheca Indica (edited by Satyavrata Sāmaśramī with the commentaries of Devarājayajvan and Durgācārya on the Nighaṇṭu and the Nirukta respectively), the Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series (edited by Rajwade with Durga's commentary), the Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series (only first seven Books edited by Bhadkamkar with Durga's commentary) and the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press Series (edited by Śivadatta with Durga's commentary). Besides the edition in the Bibliotheca Indica, Sāmaśramī brought out a dissertation on the subject called the Niruktālocana dealing with various topics connected with the date, contents, author-

ship and commentaries of the Nirukta. This was the condition of the Nirukta literature when Professor Sarup was engaged in its study. At present the works of Dr. Sarup together with that of Professor H. Sköld who has recently published his work, *The Nirukta, Its Place in Old Indian Literature, Its Etymologies*, form a comprehensive study of the problems connected with the Nirukta.

Dr. Sarup's edition of the Nighaṇṭu and the Nirukta is certainly an improvement upon those of his predecessors including Roth who had to work with scanty materials at his disposal at a time when the modern Vedic scholarship itself was in its infancy. Dr. Sarup has adopted the text of the shorter recension in his edition instead of the longer one accepted by Roth and others, and has adduced evidences to prove that his text represents the original work of Yāska. Durga seems to have followed this recension ; but as there are passages in Durga's commentary which lend support to the opposite view, the text of this commentary should have been critically edited along with the Nirukta.

Dr. Sarup has brought out for the first time the fragments of the commentaries of Skandasvāmin and Maheśvara on the Nirukta. He thinks that Maheśvara's notes are a *ṭīkā* (sub-commentary) on the *bhāṣya* (the commentary) of Skanda. But these notes are too fragment, ary to enable one to come to a definite conclusion.

The volume of *Indices and Appendices to the Nirukta* contains an elaborate Introduction dealing mainly with the dates of various scholiasts ; three Indices—Index to the Nighaṇṭu, Index to the quoted passages occurring in the Nirukta, Index Verborum to the Nirukta ; a list of Etymologies of the Nirukta; six lists of passages of the Nirukta quoted in six different works and two lists of quotations occurring in the Nirukta.

As to the dates of the scholiasts it must be stated that in some cases the conclusions reached by Dr. Sarup can in no way be regarded as final. With the growth of our knowledge consequent on the new discoveries of Mss., dates of some of the commentators are expected to be fixed with more precision. Even now some of the conclusions of Dr. Sarup are being controverted. Skandasvāmin, about whom Dr. Sarup (p. 28) could only make a general statement that he was earlier than the first half of the 12th century A.D., is now assigned by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja (see *Journal of Oriental Research*, vol. V, pt. iv, p. 325) to about 600 A.D. on good grounds. Since the publication of Dr. Sarup's work, a portion of the Ṛg-veda with the commentaries of Skandasvāmin and

Veṅkaṭamādhava has been published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. Another recension of Skandasvāmin's commentary as also a second commentary by Mādhava (other than Veṅkaṭamādhava) is expected to come out shortly.

As a result of the publication of these new materials we have now at our disposal *definite* proofs showing that Mādhava who is taken for Veṅkaṭamādhava by Devarāja in his commentary is really a different person.

The indices appearing in Dr. Sarup's work betoken a good deal of labour and are very useful. As regards the list of etymologies, the one appearing in Prof. Sköld's work is more helpful to the Vedic students on account of its exhaustive character covering not less than 180 pages.

In conclusion, I want to refer to a passage in the Nirukta which has been made the basis of some divergent inferences by scholars. This passage relates to Kautsa declaring the meaningless character of some of the Vedic Ṛks. From this it has been concluded that the volume of heterodox views was large in Yāska's time, and therefore it had to be given a place in the text (vide Dr. Sarup's Introduction to the translation of the Nirukta, pp. 71ff.). In regard to this inference it may be said that the introduction of pūrvapakṣa and uttarapakṣa was a common practice in Sanskrit literature in order to put before the readers all the aspects of a question. Hence the existence of a large volume of opinion adverse to the Ṛks does not necessarily indicate the existence of a large number of people holding the same opinion.[1] Another inference that has been drawn from the same passage is that a long time intervened between the Ṛṣis and the early interpreters of the Vedas. This also does not stand on a solid footing as has been pointed out by Dr. Sarup (*Ibid.*).

The Nirukta with its commentaries is a store-house of materials from which many a gap in the history of the stages of Vedic interpretation can be filled up. Much work has been done in this direction by European scholars like Roth, Ludwig, Pischel and Geldner. The indices and appendices provided in Dr. Sarup's work will prove helpful to those who will be willing to utlise the text further for this purpose. This, we hope, will be attractive enough to scholars to turn their labours to this field from which additional valuable results may be expected.

D. BHATTACHARYYA

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1 See "Was Kautsa a Sceptic ?" by K. M. Shembavnekar in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, vol. XII, pt. 1.

SĀṀKHYA OR THE THEORY OF REALITY (a critical and constructive study of Īśvarakṛṣṇa's Sāṃkhyakārikā) by J. N. Mukherji, M.A. Published by S. N. Mukherji, M.A., 5/1, Nepal Chandra Bhattacharya Lane, Calcutta. xii+6+102 pages.

In this thought-provoking treatise on Sāṃkhya philosophy, the author presents an able exposition of a school of thought, which is a bold departure from the traditional Sāṃkhya. At the outset, the author falls foul of the commentators Gauḍapāda and Vācaspati Miśra who, he thinks, have in many places, sacrificed reason at the altar of tradition and religion. The author asserts that the first 52 Kārikās of Īśvarakṛṣṇa contain the essence of Sāṃkhya philosophy, while the remaining Kārikās 53-70 are later additions because the themes in the two portions are inconsistent. The traditional Sāṃkhya as expounded by Gauḍapāda, Vācaspati Miśra and others, and followed by the present day writers is based rather on the last 16 Kārikās than on the first 52. The object of the author is to give a logical interpretation of the philosophy embodied in the first 52 Kārikās untrammelled by the influence of the ancient commentators, who were, according to him, Sanskritists rather than philosophers. He wants to show that the outlook of the true Sāṃkhya philosophy is logical, and not naturalistic, psychological, theistic or dualistic. A systematic explanation of the world of everyday experience is its object and not to propound a theory of the origin of the universe or ascertain the means for attaining salvation.

In this new interpretation of Sāṃkhya philosophy, pessimism (*duḥkha*) has no place, and hence, according to the author, the original Sāṃkhya teaches us to welcome worldly life and not to seek retirement from the world. In the 1st Kārikā, the author suggests that *duḥkha* should be replaced by *bandha* which means "erroneons view of the reality" (p. 6).

The Reality, according to the author, is not the Puruṣa or the Prakṛti alone but the unity of Vyakta, Avyakta and Jña, the three constituting a dynamic order. This dynamic order comprises innumerable units, each of which is an individual with his world. The Reality is, therefore, a "world of man-worlds." The author distinguishes Jña from Puruṣa, taking the former to signify the *Vyaktāvyaktajña* or the 'system of man-worlds' and the latter a *liṅga-puruṣa* or an individual with the world of his own. To the author, therefore, Jña is one while Puruṣas are many. Avyakta, according to him, cannot exist without

Vyakta, and Jña though virtually one, becomes many by combining with Avyakta when each of which should have the appellation of Puruṣa or Liṅga-Puruṣa.

Unlike other schools of Indian philosophy, Sāṃkhya, according to the author, does not teach that *Avidyā*, *Māyā*, or *Vāsanā* is the cause of the evolution of the world, and hence knowledge in Sāṃkhya does not mean the removal of Avidyā. Knowledge, he says, consists in Puruṣa's (i. e., Liṅgapuruṣa's) capability to construct the personal-objective order and ultimately to distinguish Jña from Avyakta, i.e., to ascertain the differences in a unity and not the complete separation of Puruṣa from Pradhāna as the traditional Sāṃkhya asserts.

Coming to *Satkāryavāda*, the author rejects the interpretation of Vācaspati that the effect pre-exists in the cause, and explains it as the causal-objective process. He means to say that Vyakta is real as much as its cause the Avyakta, and *Satkārya* signifies that "the Pāñcabhautika causal-objective order is real." The author really strikes a new key when he says that real, according to Sāṃkhya, is not the unchanging and unchangeable but that change, if it be systematic, is real.

In Chapter III, he disapproves the comments of Vācaspati on the Kārikās dealing with *Pramāṇa*, on the ground that Vācaspati "has been totally misled by the Nyāya phenomenology of knowledge". This he has tried to show in the course of his explanation of Perception, Inference and Āptavacana. To him, Pramāṇas are "modes by which the necessary and universal objective order is constructed".

The twenty-three tattvas, according to the author, are not so many elements into which a being is analysable but constitute the individual and his world. Each individual in Sāṃkhya (as it is in Vijñānavāda), is a man-world, an instance of subject-object or unity in continuity. The distinctive feature of this philosophy is that there are as many worlds as there are men-worlds and it is this feature which, he says, has given rise to the common erroneous notion that the Puruṣas are innumerable. The author has substantiated his new interpretation of Sāṃkhya by commenting on the Kārikās from his new standpoint. In this, however, he has laid himself open to the charge that in his comments he has been more a philosopher than a Sanskritist.

The author has tried to draw support for his own theory from conflicting comments of Gauḍapāda and Vācaspati Miśra on *tathā ca* in Kārikā 11. Gauḍapāda while commenting on these two words writes "anekaṃ vyaktam ekam avyaktam, tathā ca pumānapyekaḥ". But

the same Gauḍapāda again writes while commenting on Kārikā 18: tasmāj janmamaraṇakaraṇānāṃ pratiniyamāt *puruṣabahutvaṃ* siddhaṃ". The author wants to make Gauḍapāda consistent by holding that Gauḍapāda means by 'pumān', in kārikā 11, the Jña which, according to the writer, is the "transcendental unity" while by *puruṣa* in kārikā 18 Gauḍapāda means 'Liṅga-Puruṣas' which is an 'empirical instance of unity' (p. 60). The distinction the author wants to draw between 'Pumān' and 'Puruṣa' is, however, unwarranted by any of the Kārikās.

We appreciate the author's independent way of thinking, and not following, without any question, the comments of persons who were certainly not infallible. The commentators might have been great Sanskritists, but at the same time, it is a fact that their minds were so moulded by the influences of their time, e.g., an unquestioning respect for tradition, that it is on most occasions futile to expect from them a radically new view-point. It is difficult to see eye to eye with the author about the meaning of the Sāṃkhya Kārikās, but, in any case, we welcome efforts to make interpretations that may be bold departures from the traditional groove but are kept within the bounds of reason and probability.

N. D.

BHĀVA-PRAKĀŚANA of Śāradātanaya, edited with an introduction and indices by Yadugiri Yatirāja Svāmī of Melkot and K. S. Rāmasvāmī Śāstrī Śiromaṇi. Pp. 77, 21, 410. Gaekwad's Oriental Series. Baroda 1930.

Although a late work, the *Bhāva-prakāśa* or *Bhāva-prakāśana* of Śāradātanaya, who belonged probably to the middle of the 13th century, is by far the most exhaustive and remarkable of later treatises on Dramaturgy, Rasa and kindred topics. The work has been edited with great care and scholarship from four South Indian manuscripts.[1] Although a commentary on this work appears to

1 The present reviewer possesses a copy of the ms. of this work through the kindness of K. Rama Pisharoti of Cochin State. It agrees substantially with the manuscript B of the edition. A careful collation could not yet be done, but the present reviewer hopes to publish such material differences of reading as he may notice in the ms. in his possession.

exist, no commentary is given here with the text. One of the editors, His Holiness Yadugiri Yatirāja Śvāmī of Melkote (Mysore), is already well-known for his Sanskrit scholarship and for his learned editions of the *Tāpasa-vatsarāja* (from the imperfect Berlin ms.) and of a part (chs. 22-24) of Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa.* The value and accuracy of this edition of the *Bhāva-prakāśa* are thus guaranteed by the names of its editors, but this value is also enhanced by the addition of full indices and a fairly comprehensive introduction in English on the author and his work, his date, his indebtedness to earlier authors, special points of interest in his work, and its place in the history of the Rasa school. The work consists of ten Adhikāras, treating respectively of Bhāva (I), Rasa (II-III), the Hero, Heroine, their adjuncts etc. (IV-V), Śabda and Artha (VI), Nāṭya and Itivṛtta (VII), the ten varieties of the drama (VIII), Nṛtya (IX) and Nṛtya-prayoga (X). There are references to a very large number of dramas and dramaturgic works, some of which are now lost. Among the dramas cited are Amṛta-mathana (Samavakāra), Indulekhā (Vīthī), Udātta-kuñjara (Ullopyaka), Kalikeli (Prahasana), Kusumaśekhara (Īhāmṛga), Kṛtyā-rāvaṇa, Keli-raivata (Hallīsa), Gaṅgā-bhagīratha (Utsṛṣṭāṅka), Tārakoddharaṇa (Dima), Tripura-mardana (Prekṣaṇaka), Devī-pariṇaya, Vāli-vadha (Prekṣaṇaka) Devī-mahādeva (Ullopyaka) Nandimāli (Bhāṇa), Nala-vikrama, Nṛsiṃha-vijaya (Prekṣaṇaka), Padmāvatī-pariṇaya (Prakaraṇa), Pāṇḍavānanda, Maṇikya-vallikā, Taraṅgadattā, Madalekhā, Gaṅgā-taraṅgikā, Rāmābhyudaya, Menakānahuṣa (Toṭaka), Rāmānanda (Śrīgadita), Śakti-rāmānuja (Utsṛṣṭāṅka), Vīṇāvatī (Bhāṇikā), Vṛtroddharaṇa (Dima), Śṛṅgāratilaka (Prasthāna), Sugrīva-kelana, Mārīca-vañcita, Vakula-vīthī (Vīthī), Sāgara-kaumudī (Prahasana), Sairandhrikā (Prahasana) and Stambhita-rambhaka (Toṭaka). Among the authors and works on dramaturgy, we find the names of Āñjaneya, Kohala, Drauhiṇi, Padmabhū (Brahmā ? as the creator of Nāṭyaveda), Mātṛgupta, Sadāśiva, Subandhu and Harṣa. A Svapna-vāsavadatta is also quoted, but the passage has been already discussed in connexion with the Bhāsa-problem by K. Rama Pisharoti in *BSOS*, iii, p. 639. While the latter half of the *Bhāvaprakāśa* deals with the topics of dramaturgy, the first five chapters are devoted to the more general subjcet of Rasa and Bhāva, and are therefore interesting for their bearings on general poetic theories. Although the work borrows very freely ideas and passages from earlier treatises, and is always careful in stating previous opinions, there is yet considerable independence of treatment,

even if marked originality is rare except in matters of detail. As some of the previous works utilised by the author no longer exist, and as there is an attempt to present the subject in a clear and comprehensive form, the work deserves a close study and occupies an important place in the history of Sanskrit Poetics.

S. K. DE

MEGASTHENES EN DE INDISCHE MAATSCHAPPIJ by Barbara Catharina Jacoba Timmer, pp. 325, H. J. Paris, Amsterdam 1930.

The importance of Megasthenes for the history of India cannot be overestimated, and yet little has been done to clear up the mist which shrouds the person and writings of that Greek ambassador since the days of Schwanbeck, who collected all the scattered fragments of the writings of Megasthenes. Almost every writer on the subject has tacitly taken it for granted that the text of Megasthenes as handed down by later historians is in every way dependable. The authoress of the volume under review has, therefore, earned the gratitude of all Indologists by this penetrating study, the purpose of which is to determine in which way Megasthenes collected materials for his book on India and how far we can rely on the text as it has come down to us.

The first part of the book is wholly devoted to text criticism.

The authoress has collected all that is known about the person of Megasthenes. The few passages that she has brought together relating to this point, however, do not yield much information of value. Excepting Arrian, Anab. v. 6, 2, no other passage gives any new information about Megasthenes. Here Arrian suggests that Megasthenes came to Ind ia several times and our authoress seems to favour this idea, although neither Megasthenes himself nor any other later author has spoken of such a thing.

In the second chapter of the first part, which is very important for the purpose of the whole study, the writer has tried to find out which authors have had direct access to Megasthenes and which of them have quoted him only indirectly. Our authoress comes to the conclusion that Diodoros, Arrian, and Strabo have used Megasthenes directly and are therefore more or less dependable. However, here too, in our opinion, a more critical attitude should be taken, e.g., Arrian Ind. v. 3 says of Megasthenes, that he has been with Sandrakottos, the greatest king of the Indians, and also with Porus, who was still more powerful,

Such a statement is wrong because Porus could never have been more powerful than Candragupta Maurya. The Schwanbeck reveals another difficulty viz., that even the text of Arrian has not been handed down to us in its original form. Moreover, we shall have to consider that Megasthenes' text might (or must) have undergone much mutilation and distortion during the period separating him from the later historians.

In the third chapter of the first part, our authoress has tried to reconstruct the original arrangement of the contents of Megasthenes' work and in the fourth she has given some very fruitful general ideas regarding the criticism of Megasthenes. By comparing Megasthenes with contemporary Indian sources, the writer rightly points out that in the latter, the Indian society is represented as it should be and not as it actually was. Megasthenes too is not free from this foible, but his idealisation is more in the nature of uncritical g eneralisation.

In the second part of the work, which covers by far the greater part of the volume, our authoress is on fairly familiar ground. Here she has dealt in detail with the fragments of Megasthenes about the customs and the social organisations of India. Fragments relating to the magnitude and nature of India as well as those on divine service and mythology have been left out of consideration. On every point falling within the plan of the work, the writer has collected the fragments of Megasthenes as handed down by Greek and Roman writers and has added to each a Dutch translation. Then follow detailed discussions on the point in which all relevent Indian sources have been used. Naturally, the Kauṭilīya and the Smṛtis have been very much requisitioned and the Buddhist literature too has been given all due consideration.

In short, this book is hard to beat "in übersichtlichkeit" and a glance at the mass of foot-notes in almost every page will convince the reader that the writer has spared no pains to bring the work into line with the latest researches. It ought to be carefully studied by every student interested in the social history of India.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,

vol. xiii, pt. i (Oct., 1931)

PRALHAD C. DIWANJI.—*Kṛṣṇakutūhala Nāṭaka.* This analysis of a manuscript of the *Kṛṣṇakutūhala Nāṭaka* shows definitely that the work is not a composition of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, the famous author of the *Advaitasiddhi* as has been believed up till now. The poet of the same name who wrote this drama was a son of Arundhatī and Nārāyaṇa of the Śāṇḍilya, Gotra and a disciple of Kṛṣṇa Sarasvatī, while the author of the *Advaitasiddhi* is known to have been a son of Purandarācārya Miśra of the Kāśyapa Gotra and a disciple of Viśveśvara Sarasvatī.

K. B. PATHAK.—*The Text of the Jainendra-vyākaraṇa and the Priority of Candra to Pūjyapāda.*

A. N. UPADHYE.—*Śubhacandra and his Prakrit Grammar.*

B. N. KRISHNAMURTI SARMA.—*An Attack on Śrī Madhvācārya in the Saurapurāṇa.* The scurrilous description of Madhvācārya and the adverse criticism of his systems as found in the 39th and the 40th chapters of the *Saurapurāṇa* have been regarded as spurious interpolations showing historical blunders and metaphysical untenability.

DURGACHARAN CHATTERJI.—*Buddhist Logic* (an introductory survey).

A. N. UPADHYE.—*An Old Prefatory Gloss on Īṣṭopadeśa.*

.—*Authorship of Svarūpasambodhana.* The *Svarūpasambodhana*, a short discourse on the Jaina concept of the path of Liberation, is here fathered upon Mahāsena against its traditional ascription to Akalaṅka.

P. K. GODE.—*The Bharata-Ādibharata Problem and the Ms. of Ādibharata in the Government Oriental Library, Mysore.* Some data bearing on the Bharata-Ādibharata problem have been recorded here and the information has been given that the manuscript described to be a copy of the *Ādibharata* deposited in the Mysore Govt. Oriental Library is really a fragmentary copy of Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra.*

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies,

London, vol. vi, pt. 3

S. K. DE.—*Bhāgavatism and Sun-worship.* Without denying the influence of the solar myths or solar cults on the Pāñcarātra religion or Bhāgavatism, the writer opposes the arguments put forward by Grierson in favour of his theory that the Monotheistic *Bhakti*-doctrine of the Bhāgavata religion is a direct development of or was originally connected with the Sun-worship.

T. N. DAVE.—*Notes on Gujrāṭī Phonology.*

Indian Antiquary, October, 1931

W. H. MORELAND.—*Notes on Indian Maunds.* The Southern maund forms the subject-matter of this instalment.

KALIPADA MITRA.—*The Gāyḍāṇṛ Festival and its Parallels.* This continued paper begins with a description of a cattle festival held in Bihar every year on the day following the *Diwālī* in the month of *Kārtik.* The principal item of the festival is the killing of a pig (tied with cords) by setting cows on it.

ANAND KOUL.—*Lallā-vākyāni* (the wise sayings of Lal Ded.)

HIRA LAL.—*Place Names.* This is an attempt to unravel the mysteries surrounding some names of places in the Central Provinces of India. In this portion of the article, it has been shown that some place-names are related to the names of trees or a combination of names of trees and animals coupled with some terms indicating water. The names noticed here owe their origin to Goṇḍī, the principal language of the Dravidians living in the Central Provinces.

Ibid., November, 1931

W. H. MORELAND.—*Notes on Indian Maunds.* Delhi Maunds have been dealt with in this instalment of the article.

A. BENKATASUBBIAH.—*Aṭhabhāgīye.* This continued paper concludes with the suggestion that the word *aṭhabhāgīye* occurring in the Rummindei Pillar Inscription of Aśoka may have a reference to the

possession of the following eight objects of enjoyment viz., *nidhi*, *nikṣepa*, *jala*, *pāṣāṇa*, *akṣiṇī*, *agāmi*, *siddha* and *sādhya*. That they may be the meaning is inferred from a scrutiny of a few later inscriptions, containing the expression *aṣṭabhoga-tejassāmya*.

HIRA LAL.—*Place Names*. This part of the article deals with the names of the villages derived from a variety of causes, e.g. the nature of the sites they occupy, the temples of gods they possess, and the names of castes of the people dwelling there.

Ibid, December, 1931

W. H. MORELAND.—*Notes on Indian Maunds*. It treats of Agra Maunds.

KALIPADA MITRA.—*The Gāyaḍāṇr Festival and its Parallels*. This is the second instalment of a paper continued from the October issue of the Journal. It contains a description of the *Soharai* festival of the Oraons and mentions some other instances of festivals held in different parts of India in which the pig-sacrifice forms an important item, similar to that of the *Gayaḍāṇr* Festival of Bihar.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.—*Paḍihārs*. The author is of opinion that the Paḍihāra clan of Rajputana is of foreign origin.

Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, vol. VI, pt. i (July, 1931)

C. NARAYANA RAO.—*A Study of the Telugu Roots*.

M. RAMA RAO.—*Political History of the Kākatīyas*. This portion deals with the reigns of Rudra, Mahādeva and Gaṇapati (1158-1261 A.D.).

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR.—*Dravidic Word-Studies*.

A. SUBBARAYA CHETTY.—*New Light on Tippu-Sultan*. The writer expresses the opinion that Tippu was a "broad-minded benevolent ruler, animated with the noble ideals of religious toleration and national unity" and was not a religious fanatic as some have described him to be.

K. VENKATAPPAYYA.—*Education in Ancient India*. This is a small portion (2 pp.) of a continued article dealing with the system of education prevalent in the Buddhist period and showing that the curriculum of study adopted at the Buddhist seats of learning, as described in the early historical records, did not differ much from the curriculum adopted in the Brāhmanical institutions.

R. SUBBA RAO.—*The History of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga.* Continued.

Journal of the American Oriental Society,

vol. 51, no. 3 (September, 1931)

GEORGE W. BRIGGS.—*The Indian Rhinoceros as a Sacred Animal.* It has been shown that the rhinoceros is known in India from very early times, and the literary references and the customs current even now suggest the sacred character of the animal.

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society,

vol. XVII, pt. IV (December, 1931)

JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI.—*Śakastān, the Country of the Śakas: Its Possession by the Ancient Persians.* From references to the name of Śakastān in the ancient literature of Iran as also the occurrence of the word Śaka in the Behisstān inscription of Darius (d. 445 B. C.), the writer reaches the conclusion that *Śakastān* or Seistān on the frontiers of the ancient Hindustan "was under the sway and influence of the ancient Iranians for a long time anterior to 160 B.C."

JADUNATH SARKAR.—*A Contemporary Picture of the Mughal Court in* 1743 A. D. Nineteen sheets of news-letters (containing 36 days' occurrences) of the Imperial Court of Delhi, 1743, during the reign of Muhammad Shah have been translated here into English. These letters deposited in the Bibliotheque Nationale of Paris furnish us with a vivid picture of the lifeless condition of the Mughal Court of the time and contain details of some important events connected with the Maratha history.

SARAT CHANDRA ROY.—*The Effects on the Aborigines of Chota-Nagpur of their Contact with Western Civilisation.*

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA.—*Further Notes on the Kolarian Belief about the Neolithic Celts.*

K. P. JAYASWAL.—*Purāṇa Coin and the Date of the Mānava-Dharmaśāstra.* It has been suggested that the *Purāṇa* coin mentioned in Manu but unknown to the *Pāli* Buddhist canon and the *Kauṭilīya* was so called from the time when a new style of coinage with royal names on the coins was introduced in Magadha and the Mid-country under the Śuṅgas. So the term indicates indirectly the time of the Mānava-Dharmaśāstra.

„ .—*Kumārāmātya.* The object of the note is to show that the expression *Kumārāmātya* occurring in the Hindole Plate refers to the position of the grantee on whom the dignity of a kumāra (prince) was conferred, though he did not come of the royal stock.

„ .—*An Exact Date in the Reign of Aśoka.* A traditional account of the redistribution of Buddha's relics by Aśoka is recorded by Yuan Chwang. He says the relics were redistributed all over India at a time when the face of the sun darkened. M. Robert Razy (*Journal Asiatique*, 1930) suggests that the darkness of the sun indicates a solar eclipse. T. R. Von Oppolzer calculating the dates of solar eclipses for over thirty centuries in his *Kanon der Finsternisse* points out the 4th May, 248 B.C. as the date of a solar eclipse. So the writer of this note takes 248 B. C. as the year when the relics were distributed by Aśoka throughout his empire.

S. PATNAIK.—*Additional Notes on the Śobhaneśwar Inscription of Śrī Vaidyanātha.*

R. CH. PANDA.—*Note on an Oriya Copper-plate Inscription of Ramachandra Deo, Śaka* 1728.

A. BANERJI-SASTRI.—*Two Brāhmī Seals from Buxar.* The legends of these two private seals in Māgadhī Prākṛt read *Śadaśanaśa* and *Hathikaśa*, their script suggesting, according to the writer, a pre-Mauryan date for the seals.

UMESA MIŚRA.—*Mīmāṃsāśāstrasarvasva of Halāyudha.* This instalment of the edition begins with the last portion of the 3rd Adhikaraṇa of Book II, pāda ii and ends with the beginning of the 4th pāda of the 2nd Book.

Journal of Indian History, vol. X, pt. ii (August, 1931)

S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR.—*Abul Hasan Qutub Shah and his Ministers, Madanna and Akkanna.* An analysis of the historical data of the time of Abul Hasan, the last Sultan of Golkonda, who appointed two Brāhmaṇa brothers as his chief minister and controller of the military administration, shows that neither was the ruler incompetent as ordinarily supposed nor was the ministers guilty of maladministration as hitherto believed. The overthrow of Golkonda resulting in the absorption of the kingdom into the empire of the Mughals under Aurangzeb was, according to the

writer, due to "the machinations of a greater power, fanatic in the extreme in regard to a Shiah sovereign and his Brāhmaṇa ministers".

K. M. SHEMBAVNEKAR.—*A Puzzle in Indian Epigraphy.* The expression *Mālavagaṇasthiti* occurring in the Mandalsor Inscription has been given here a new interpretation. It signifies 'the system of reckoning (time) prevalant in the Mālava country'. The authority of a *kośa* has been cited in support of the writer's view that *gaṇa* in the expression means *gaṇanā* (reckoning) and has no reference to a tribe or clan with its republican constitution of government. In the light of this new interpretation of the word *gaṇa*, the theory that the Vikrama Era was founded by Mālava clan in commemoration of its republican form of government has been opposed. Evidences have been adduced to prove that king Vikramāditya of the Hindu legend was an historical personage with his capital at Ujjayanī and founded the era which bears his name. Arguments have been put forward against the view that the era, because of its mention in the earlier inscriptions without the founder's name, can be taken to have been adopted and designated by Candra Gupta II of the Gupta dynasty.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI.—*The Historical Material in the Private Diary of Ānanda Raṅga Pillai* (1736-61).

SAILESWAR SEN.—*The Historical Origin of the Distinction between Svārthānumāna and Parārthānumāna.*

GEORGE M. MORAES—*Sindābūr of the Arab Writers.* The object of this paper is to show that the identification of the town of Sindābūr (mentioned by the Arab writers of the Middle Ages) with Candrapur as suggested by Colonel Yule is confirmed by facts now brought to our notice in connection with the history of Koṅkaṇ.

Journal of Oriental Research, vol. V, pt. iv (Oct.-Dec., 1931)

K. A. SUBRAHMANYA IYER.—*Some More Nyāyas.* Four 'popular maxims' not included in the *Laukikanyāyāñjali* compiled priviously by Colonel Jacob have been explained here.

N. VENKATARAMANAYYA.—*A Note on Śrī Virūpākṣa.* Regarding the reason why the emperors of Vijayanagara used to affix the words Śrī Virūpākṣa to their *dānānuśāsanas* instead of their names, the writer thinks that because Harihara and Bukka fought a battle and saved the kingdom from an external invasion with the help

of the money belonging to the temple of Virūpākṣa, the god was supposed to have become the legal owner of the state and therefore the name of the god was affixed to every document.

N. AYYASWAMI SASTRI.—*Bhavasaṃkrāntisūtra.* This Mahāyāna text is restored from the Tibetan version with an English translation. It deals principally with the transitoriness of *Karman* and its relation to rebirth.

T. R. CHINTAMANI.—*Some Minor Works of Śrī Citsukhācārya.* Citsukha's *Adhikaraṇamañjarī* a short compendium of the *adhikaraṇas* (sections) of the *Brahmasūtra* is edited here for the first time.

P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI.—*History of Grammatical Theories in Tamil and their Relation to the Grammatical Literature in Sanskrit.*

T. N. RAMACHANDRAN.—*The Bāṇas.* The paper deals with the history of the people called Bāṇa or Vāṇarāyars who played an important part in South Indian politics either as officials or as feudatories of the ruling powers.

C. KUNHAN RAJA.—*Mādhava : an unknown Bhāṣyakāra for the Ṛg-veda.* The Adyar Library of Madras possesses a fragmentary *Ṛg-veda-bhāṣya* by a Mādhava, who is different from both Sāyaṇa-Mādhava and Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava, two other known commentators of the Ṛg-veda. As pointed out by Dr. Raja, Devarāja quotes from this Mādhava in the Nighaṇṭu-bhāṣya, but wrongly identifies with Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava. The writer inclines to assign this new Mādhava to a date anterior to 600 A.D., and expresses the intention to bring out an edition of the available portion of the *bhāṣya.*

M. HIRIYANNA.—*Iṣṭa-siddhi : an Old Advaitic Work.* This is an account of the *Iṣṭa-siddhi*, a Vedānta treatise in eight chapters referred to by Madhusūdana Sarasvatī. The limits to the date of the work have been fixed between 850 and 1050 A.D. It is being edited in Gækwad's Oriental Series.

T. N. RAMACHANDRAN.—*Note on the Madras Museum Plates of Bhaktirāja.*

Obituary Notice

The death of Mr. Rakhal Das Banerji has removed one of the leading figures in the field of Indian Archæology. He was born on the 13th April, 1885, and educated in the Presidency College, Calcutta. When studying for the B. A. degree he came under the influence of Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Śāstrī, C. I. E., then Professor of Sanskrit, and was later on introduced to Dr. Theodore Bloch, then Superintendent of Archæology, Bengal Circle. Mr. Banerji attached himself to Dr. Bloch as an honorary worker and accompanied him in his tours of exploration and co-operated with him in his excavations. Mr. Banerji obtained his B. A. Degree in 1907 and was appointed to compile a Catalogue of the Archæological specimens in the Lucknow Provincial Museum. His researches in the Lucknow Museum enabled him to make important epigraphical discoveries that formed the basis of his first two important papers,—(1) "Scythian Period of Indian History" published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol, XXXVII, 1908, pp. 25-75 ; and (2) "New Brāhmī Inscriptions of the Scythian Period" (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. X, pp. 106-121). Soon after the death of Dr. Bloch, Mr. Banerji was appointed Excavation Assistant to the Director General of Archæology in India in February, 1910 and attached to the Archæological Section of the Indian Museum. The Archæological Section was placed under the control of the Director General of Archaeology in India in December, 1910. In November, 1911, Mr. Banerji was promoted to the grade of the Assistant Superintendent of Archæology, In this capacity Mr. Banerji worked in the Indian Museum till he was appointed Superintendent of Archæology, Western Circle, Poona, in August, 1917. During his service in the Indian Museum he contributed a large number of papers to the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, the *Epigraphia Indica* and the *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India.* Two of his most notable publications of this period are "The Pālas of Bengal" published in the series of *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Vol. V, No. 3), and his "History of Bengal" in the Bengali language in two volumes. It was also while working in the Indian Museum that Mr. Banerji collected materials for his Monograph on "Eastern Indian School of Mediæval Sculpture" now in the press.

As Superintendent of Archæology of the Western Circle, Mr. Banerji began the excavations at Mohenjo-Daro in the Larkana District in Sind in 1922-23. The story of the excavation is thus told by Sir John Marshall in his monumental work *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization* (pp. 10):

"The site had long been known to district officials in Sind, and had been visited more than once by local archæological officers, but it was not until 1922, when Mr. R. D. Bonerji started to dig there, that the pre-historic character of its remains was revealed.

"His primary object was to lay bare the Buddhist remains, and it was while engaged on this task that he came by chance on several seals which he recognised at once as belonging to the same class as the remarkable seals inscribed with legends in an undecipherable script which had long been known to us from the ruins of Harappa in the Panjab. As it happened, the excavation of Harappa itself had at my instance been taken up in the year previous by Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni and enough had already been brought to light to demonstrate conclusively that its remains, including the inscribed seals, were referable to the Chalcolithic Age. Thus, Mr. Banerji's find came at a singularly opportune moment, when we were specially eager to locate other sites of the same early age as Harappa. Mr. Banerji himself was quick to appreciate the value of his discovery, and lost no time in following it up.

"With the hot season rapidly approaching, Mr. Banerji's digging was necessarily very restricted, and it is no wonder, therefore, that his achievements have been put in the shade by the much bigger operations that have since been carried out. This does not, however, lessen the credit due to him. His task at Mohenjo-Daro was far from being as simple as it may now appear. Apart from the discoveries at Harappa, which he had not personally seen, nothing whatever was then known of the Indus civilization. The few structural remains of that civilization which he unearthed were built of bricks identical with those used in the Buddhist Stūpa and Monastery, and bore so close a resemblance to the latter that even now it is not always easy to discriminate between them. Nevertheless, Mr. Banerji divined, and rightly divined, that these earlier remains must have antedated the Buddhist stuctures, which were only a foot or two above them, by some two or three thousand years. That was no small achievement! Naturally, some of his conclusions have required modification—it

could hardly have been otherwise—but in the main they have been proved by our subsequent researches to be remarkably correct.

"For another reason also Mr. Banerji's work at Mohenjo-Daro is deserving of special recognition ; for it was carried through in the face of very real difficulties, due in part to lack of adequate funds, in part to the hardships inseparable from camp life in such a trying climate. With the comfortable quarters for the officers and staff which I took steps to have erected at Mohenjo-Daro between 1925 and 1927, exacavation there has become a very much easier and more pleasant task than it was in the first three seasons, when Mr. Banerji and his successors were living under canvas. The fact that two out of these three officers—Messrs. Banerji and K. N. Dikshit—completely broke down in health before their labours were finished is proof enough of the many privations they had to endure."

Ill health compelled Mr. Banerji to leave the Western Circle in May, 1923 on long leave. During his tenure of office as Superintendent of that circle, he compiled two important monographs, *Bas-reliefs of Badami* that has been published as one of the *Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India* (no. 25) and *The Haihayas of Tripuri and their Monuments* (*M.A.S.I*, no. 23). In June, 1924, Mr. Banerji was placed in charge of the Eastern Circle of the Archæological Survey of India and held charge of the Circle for over two years till his retirement in August, 1926. His most notable work in the Eastern Circle is the clearance of the great Buddhist temple at Paharpur. The excavations at Paharpur were inaugurated by the Director General of Archæology in India in 1923 at the instance and with the financial assistance of Kumar Sarat Kumar Roy of Dighapatiya, President of the Verendra Research Society, and the work was placed under the charge of Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar. Prof. Bhadarkar worked for one season only and cleared a part of the rampart of the old fortified city.

After his retirement Mr. Banerji was appointed the Nandi Professor of Ancient Indian History at the Benares Hindu University and held this appointment till his death in 1930. His comprehensive *History of Orissa* in two volumes written during this period has appeared after his death. All the writings of Professor Banerji are inform ative and singularly free from bias. His memory will ever remain associated with the epoch-making discoveries at Mohenjo-Daro and Paharpur.

RAMAPRASAD CHANDA

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12. The Dabhades and the Conquest of Gujarat.
13. Bajirao's Entry into Malwa and Bundelkhand.
14. Maratha Conquests in the North.
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16. The Bassein Campaign 1737-1739.
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The Scripts on the Indus Valley Seals

WITH AN APPENDIX

(containing extracts from the Sumerian and Indian literature throwing light upon the words occurring in the Inscriptions of the Indus Valley, Elam and Crete)

BY

DR. PRAN NATH, D. SC. (London), PH. D. (Vienna)

The Scripts on the Indus Valley Seals

I

Prefatory

The paramount importance for the history of ancient Indian civilization of deciphering the signs, or scripts, engraved upon the large number of seals found at Harappa in the Punjab and Mohenjo-daro in Sindh, as also in Īrān and Sumer, had long impressed itself upon my mind. I made up my mind to try and see whether I could discover a clue. I was encouraged from the beginning by my old English friends, and received much help from them. Messers. Sidney Smith and Gadd of the British Museum were good enough to give me advice, and Prof. S. L. Langdon kindly allowed me to go through a manuscript in which he had already pointed out that the Indus script appeared to be in some way connected with the Brāhmī script of the Aśokan period. This view encouraged me greatly because I had come to the same conclusion though working on different lines. My researches have convinced me that what have previously been regarded as pictographs or ideographs are actually letters or monographs based on characters (*Akṣara*). I published my first note in the July (1931) issue of the *JRAS*. As I proceeded with the work I found more and more grounds for the view that the signs on the Indus seals as well as on the inscriptions of Elam and Crete, are merely monograms and could be deciphered if we knew the language in which they are written and the phonetic value of the syllables. As I gained further experience of the signs, I gradually began to improve my readings of the inscriptions. If I venture to suggest a system for deciphering these inscriptions, my only excuse is to invite the co-operation of other scholars. There is for solution a good number of technical questions regarding the monosyllabic nature of the language, phonetic complements, *dingir* (god) signs, and the order in which the different syllables in a complicated monogram should be combined as well as others concerning the monograms and the symbols of gods and goddesses which appear to have been borrowed by the Indus people from their neighbours. Though the latter are few, still their origin may prove to be of great value.

I am confident that the Brāhmī script, as far as its origin is concerned, has nothing to do with the Phœnicians. Nor was it imported from Asia Minor. Similarly, the scripts of different parts of India cannot all be traced to the Brāhmī of the Aśokan period. It would be as absurd to do this as to derive all the Prākṛta languages of India from the Prākṛta of Aśoka's time. The origin of the Brāhmī script current in the different provinces of ancient India probably dates from pre-historic times. Some of the characters appear to be closely connected with symbols which were used as far back perhaps as 4,000 B.C. They are closely connected with the proto-Elamite signs, and their phonetic values would not appear to differ very much.

II

The Signs on the Indus Seals and their Classification on a Syllabic Basis*

A close examination of the Indus signs discloses that they may be much reduced in number, provided the radical signs and the strokes are indexed separately. When this is done, the strokes show a remarkable resemblance to the vowel signs used in the earliest Brāhmī writing of southern as well as northern India. We find the same type of resemblance between the Brāhmī consonants and the radical signs of the Indus script. In my paper in the *JRAS.*, I have attempted to show that the signs on the Indus seals could be classified on a script basis, and when reduced to their simple forms they showed a remarkable similarity with the characters known as Brāhmī. I prepared a key also for the guidance of scholars interested in the decipherment of the Indus script. For the last six months I have been struggling to identify the signs on the Indus seals with the help of the proto-Elamite inscriptions. During this interval about 500 punch-marked coins were also examined. One of them contains in pure Indus seals script an inscription reading *ni-(ṇa)-Rāma-Raghu-Dusuluda*, and one of much later date, an inscription which reads *Śrī-Rāma-*

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* I am thankful to the publisher Mr. Arthur Probsthain for kindly giving me permission to publish the hand-sketches of scripts and other portions of the illustrations contained in the *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization.*

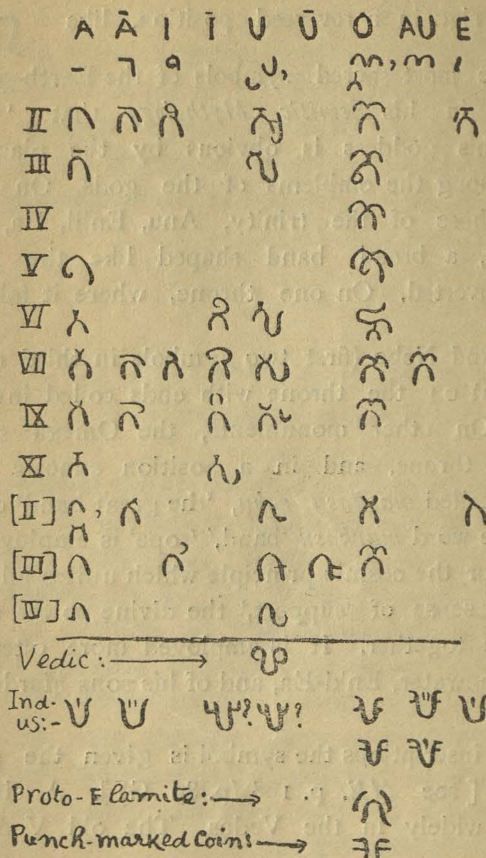
Jānikī. Symbols or monograms of the Lord Kṛṣṇa are numerous.

The sign  occurs frequently in the Indus inscriptions. On the Nāl pottery we also find a somewhat similar sign, . In Babylonia a like sign in a reversed position, like , was considered one of the most sacred symbols of the Earth-goddess. Prof. Langdon writes in his *Semitic Mythology* that "the supreme importance of this goddess is obvious by the place and nature of her symbol among the emblems of the gods. On Fig. 51 her throne follows those of the trinity, Anu, Enlil, Ea, and supports a curious object, a broad band shaped like the Greek letter , Omega inverted. On one throne, where it follows the symbols of Marduk and Nebo (first two symbols in third register here), this band lies flat on the throne with ends coiled inward, not outward as here. On other monuments, the Omega symbol stands alone without a throne, and in a position exactly like Omega. This symbol is called *markasu rabu*, 'the great band' of the Esikilla, 'holy house.' The word *markasu* 'band,' 'rope' is employed in Babylonian philosophy for the cosmic principle which unites all things, and is used also in the sense of 'support,' the divine power, and law which hold the universe together. It is employed more often of the god, the first principle, water, Enki-Ea, and of his sons Marduk and Nebo". (p. 109).

In the Minoan inscriptions the symbol is given the pictorial form of a cow's head [see *ME.* p. 168 (p. 89 G)]. A similar symbol, like  occurs widely in the Vedas. The old Vedic school pronounces it *gum.* This pronunciation has no direct connection with any known script of modern times. It led me to take the radical sign  as *ga*, and the remaining two circles as representing the vowel sign *u.* A careful examination of the northern script of the early period seemed to support the conclusion. The following table may give an idea of how far the identification of the Indus sign  with *go* is borne out by the Brāhmī scripts current in different provinces. The reference numbers within brackets refer to Bühler's Tables, and the other numbers to the Tables given by Burnell in his *South Indian Palæography.*

TABLE I

Showing how the Indus sign  may be identified with gā.



The identification of *na* with three lines is also based on a comparative study of different scripts current in India. The same method was applied in finding out the values *sa*, *ja*, *ra*, *la*, etc. Besides the identification of consonants, I have done my best to identify the vowel signs ; but here there is much still to be done. Further it may be noticed that the sign E occurs frequently on the Indus seals, but there it does not give satisfactory results if taken as *ja*, whereas in the case of the punch-marked coins this value seems to be applicable. I still hope to solve this difficulty with the help of the proto-Elamite inscriptions. Comparative tables upon which the identification of certain

Indus signs is based are given below. The numbers in brackets refer to Bühler's Tables, the other numbers refer to the plates in Burnell's *South Indian Palæography*.

TABLE II

Showing how the Indus signs  and  may be identified with *s*, and the signs  and  with *sa*.

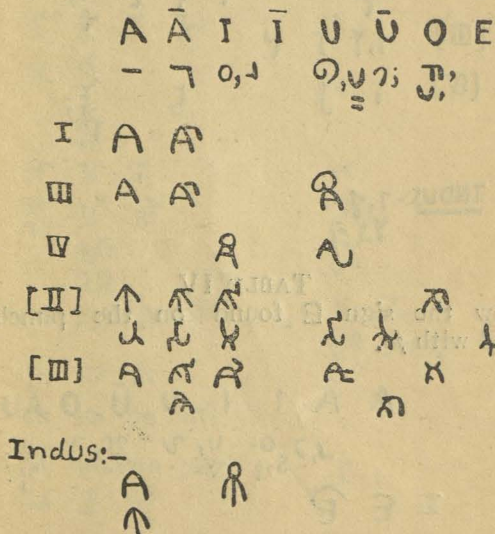
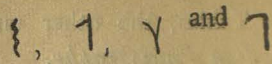


TABLE III

Showing how the Indus signs  may be identified with *r* and *l*.

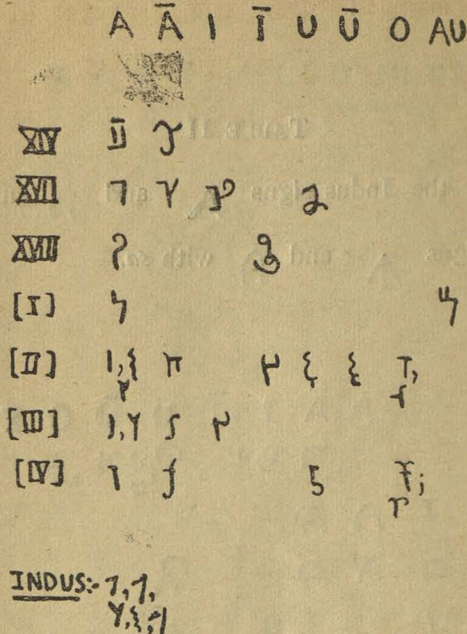


TABLE IV

Showing how the sign E found on the punch-marked coins may be identified with *ja*.

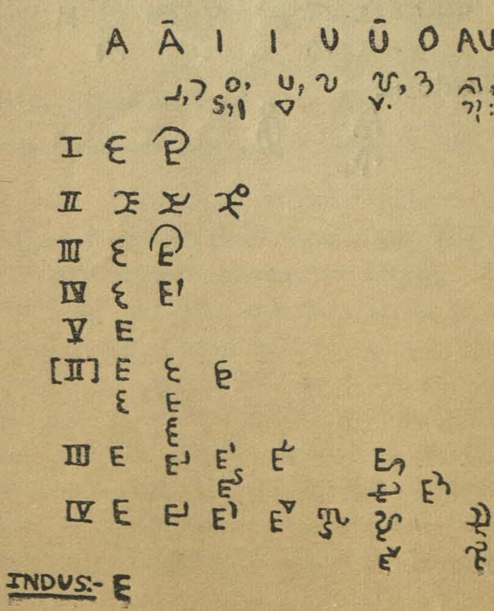
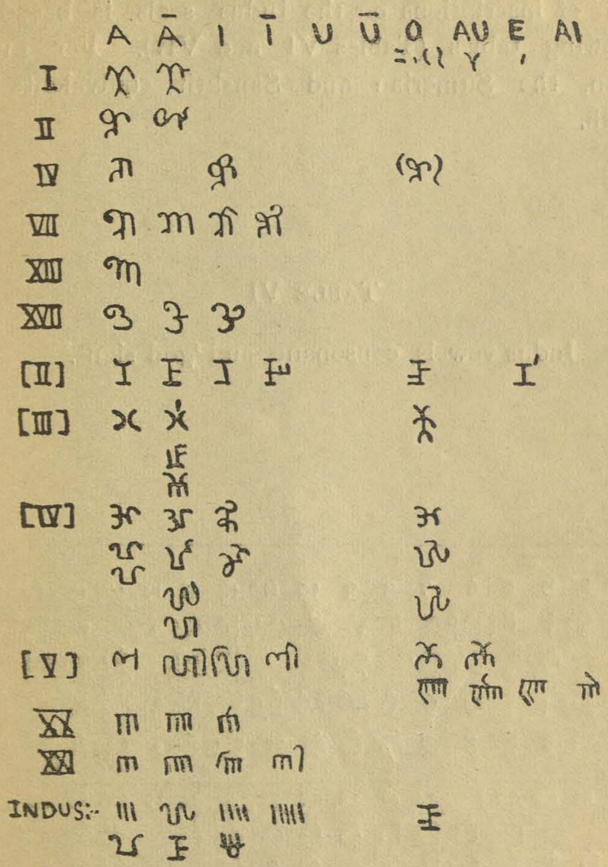


TABLE V

Showing how the three big lines and the three small lines found on the Indus seals may be identified with *ṇa* (?) and *na* respectively.

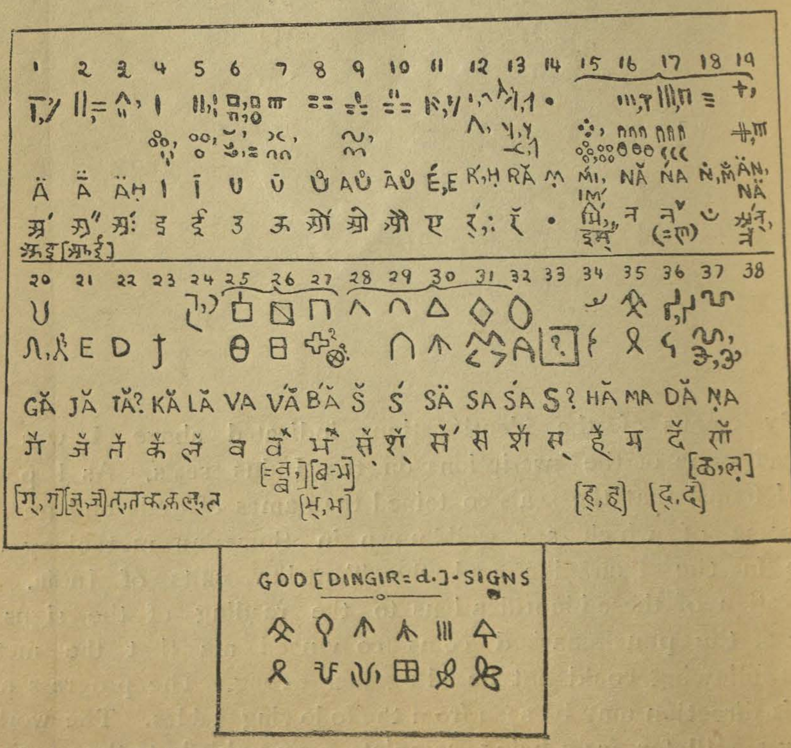


By means of the identifications indicated above, I was able to read some of the inscriptions on the Indus seals. As I proceeded I found that the seals contained the names of gods and goddesses, some of which are well-known in Sumerian mythology and some in the Paurāṇika and the Tāntrika cults of India. The application of these identifications to the reading of the signs on some of the punch-marked coins convinced me that the method I was following could not be altogether wrong. The progress made in this direction may be seen from the following tables. The work is, however, still far from being complete, owing chiefly to the paucity of

materials available. It takes much time to examine the punch-marked coins thoroughly, as they have to be cleaned carefully before an accurate facsimile can be prepared. The syllabary and the system of indexing or classifying the signs upon which my decipherment of inscriptions on the Indus seals is based are given in the following tables (Tables VI and VII). For purposes of transliteration, the Sumerian and Sanskrit equivalents have been noted beneath.

TABLE VI

Indus vowels, consonants and 'god signs.'

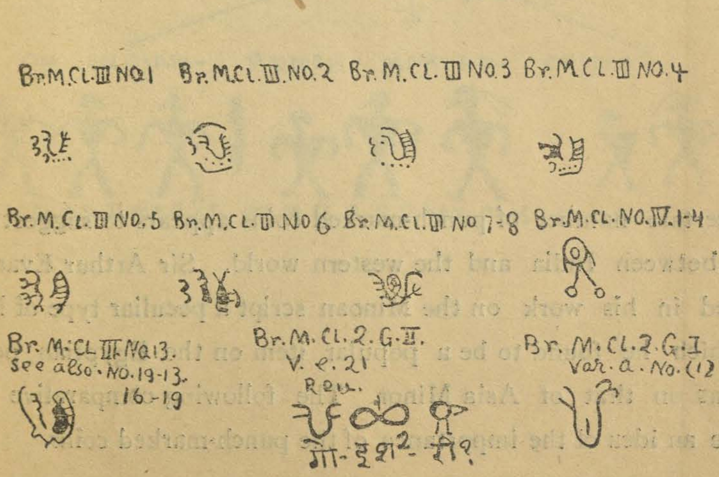


III

Ancient Indian Punch-Marked Coins

Before discussing the decipherment of the inscriptions of the Indus basin as well as those of other countries it is desirable to note a few facts regarding the punch-marked coins which have been found throughout India in considerable quantities. These coins are many thousands in number. The British Museum alone has a collection of more than two thousand. For the history of India they are probably as important as the finds in the Indus basin. My researches lead me to assign these coins to different, and probably widely separated, periods of history. Some of them appear to contain monograms prepared from the syllabic signs current in the later period in Elam. There is a good number of punch-marked coins which bear signs found in the Indus script. The following table will show how the sign *gu* or *go* in the Indus script has been preserved on the punch-marked coins.

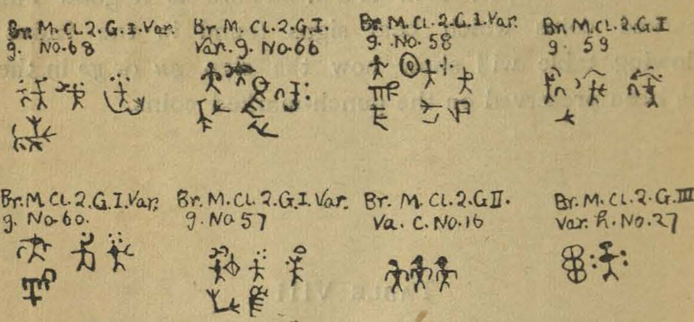
Table VIII



There is a large number of coins in the British Museum which bear the 'homo-sign' found in the Indus script; and one homo-sign on a punch-marked coin is exactly the same as those on some of the Indus seals. The following table shows some examples of such signs.

TABLE IX

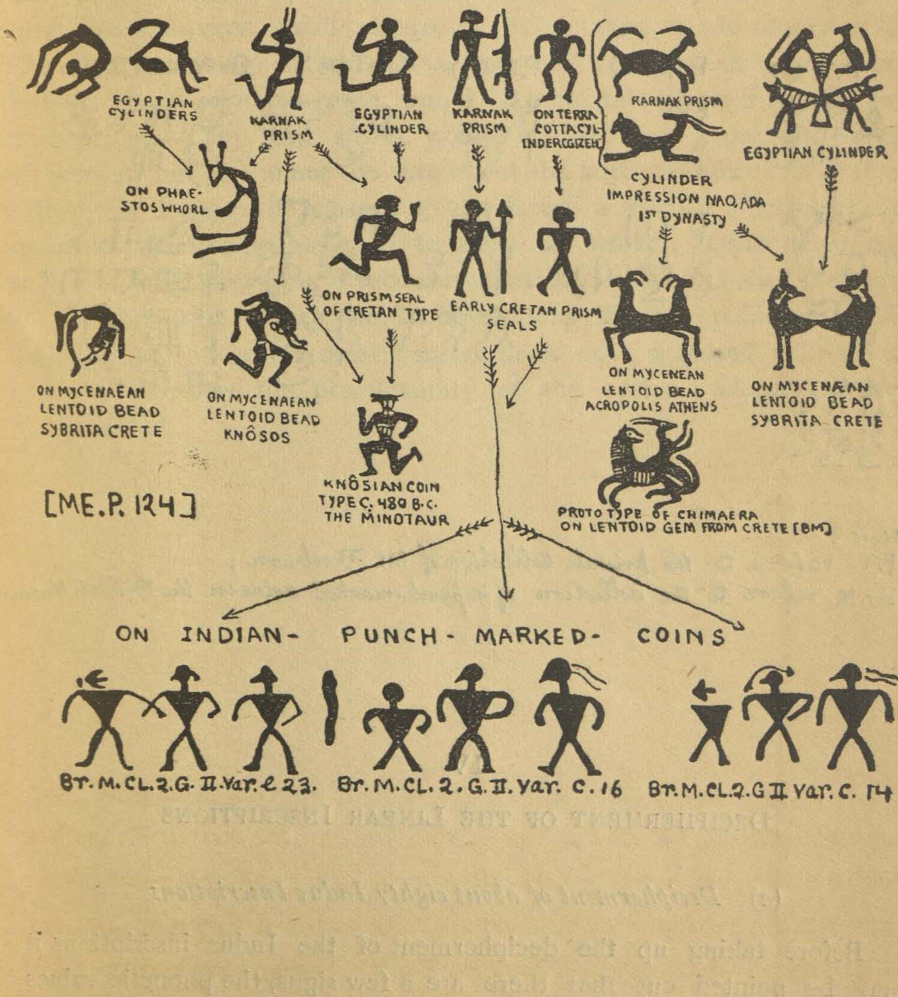
Homo-signs as found on the punch-marked coins



A certain number of punch-marked coins appears to suggest intercourse between India and the western world. Sir Arthur Evans has discussed in his work on the Minoan script a peculiar type of homo-sign which he found to be a popular item on the Egyptian pottery as well as on that of Asia Minor. The following comparative table will give an idea of the importance of the punch-marked coins.

TABLE X

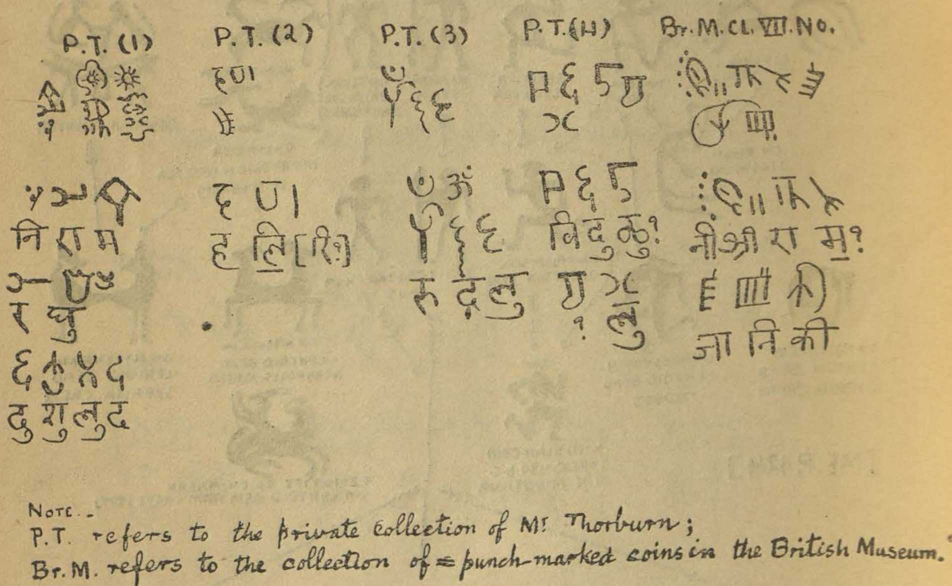
The homo-sign as found in Asia Minor compared with similar signs found on punch-marked coins



The following punch-marked coins contain what I read as inscriptions.

TABLE XI

Punch-marked coins which appear to contain inscriptions.



IV

DECIPHERMENT OF THE LINEAR INSCRIPTIONS

(a) *Decipherment of about eighty Indus Inscriptions*

Before taking up the decipherment of the Indus inscriptions it may be pointed out that there are a few signs, the phonetic values of which have yet to be ascertained. In some cases the Indus inscriptions do not help because the sign occurs only once or twice in them. The method usually followed by me hitherto in identifying doubtful signs has been to compare them with the signs found in the proto-Elamite inscriptions. Fortunately the script of the Indus

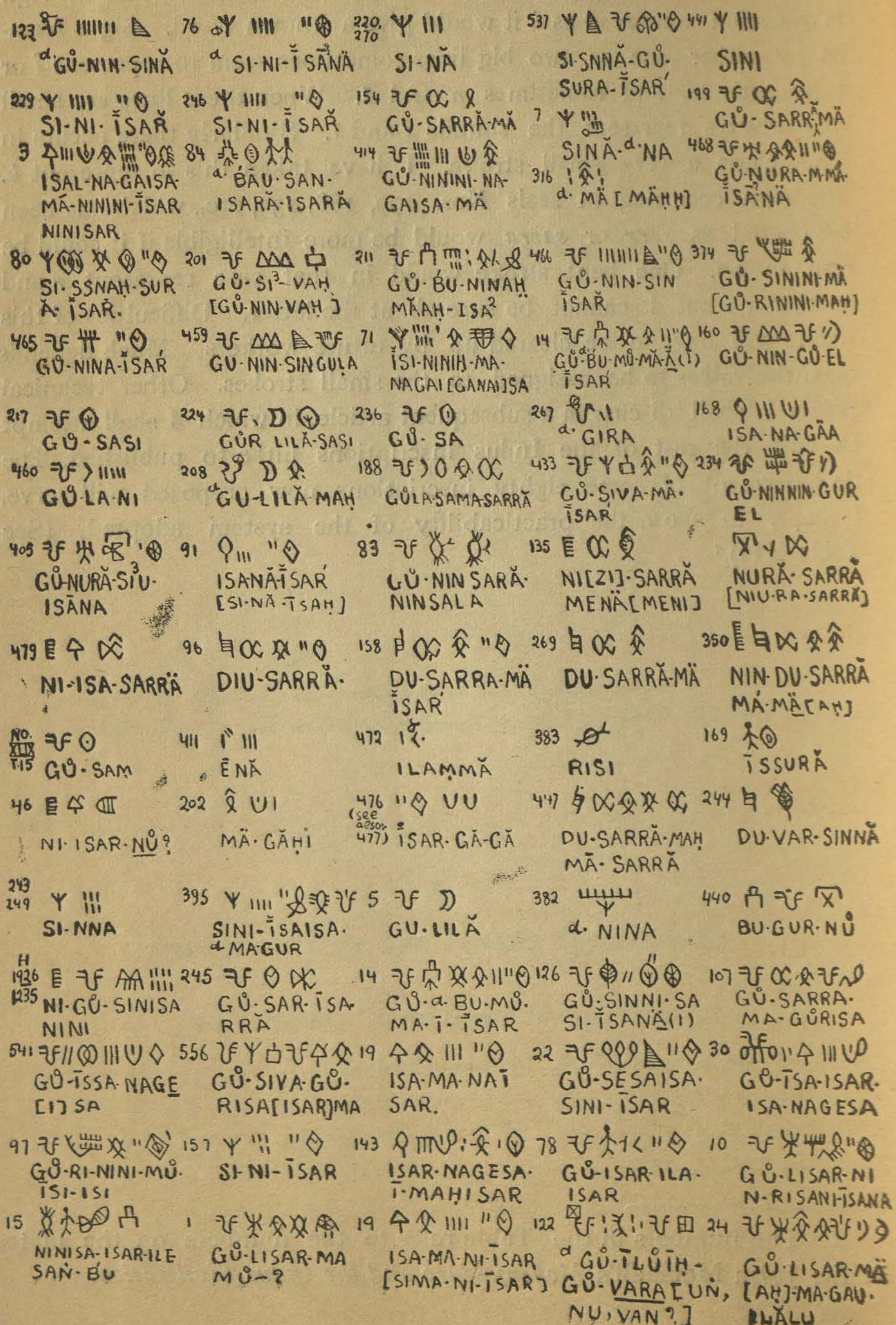
basin is not wholly isolated. It appears to have characters derived from the proto-Elamite script.

It may be added that wherever *a* is given in the decipherment, its value is uncertain. Similarly the value of *r* is doubtful. If the sign in question were read as *h* it would give a known word. Signs formed by either one or two big lines sometimes seem to represent *i* or *ī* respectively, and sometimes *a* and *ā*. When these lines are small they always represent the sounds *i* and *ī*. Similarly there occurs in some cases a very small stroke. I have taken this to represent *h*. The sign occurring in seals Nos. 199, 188, 135, etc., which has been deciphered as *sarr* or *sarra* would be more intelligible if it could be read as *sri*. One bent stroke would in that case represent *r* and another *i*; but I cannot be sure about the latter. Difficulties of this nature will have to be cleared up by future workers. Much depends upon the values to be assigned to the small strokes. Other technical points I shall discuss in a subsequent article, in which I shall attempt to edit the rest of the Indus inscriptions hitherto published. The decipherment of some eighty inscriptions now proposed will serve, I hope, to show the practicability of the system adopted. (See Table XII).[1]

1 The numbers in the Table refer to the numbers on the plates in Sir John Marshall's *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization.*

TABLE XII

Selected inscriptions on Indus seals and sealings, with proposed decipherment in Roman characters.



The decipherment of the Indus inscriptions given in the above Table contains only the names of gods and goddeses worshipped by the Indus people. It seems that in Sumer, as in India, a god was hardly ever named without some particular epithet. Even in modern times we always say Lord Kṛṣṇa, or Bhagavān Buddha, etc. Removing the epithet, we have the actual name of the god or goddess left. The tradition in this respect seems to have been much the same in Sumer as in India. For instance, the god Lila that appears in the Sumerian pantheon under the name En-Lil, appears in the Indus inscriptions as Go-Lila. If we understand the words *go* and *en* to be epithets we can identify the god. The following words often appear before the names of gods and goddesses :—

(1) *go* ; (2) *nin*, *ni* ; (3) *nun*, *nu*, *no* ; (4) *nana*, *nanar*, *na* ; (5) *en*, *ena* ; (6) *isa*, *isar*, *isara*, *isana*, *isan*, *isi*, *isani* ; (7) *gur*, *guru* ; (8) *ma* ; (9) *gula*. (For the meaning of these words see Appendix, Extract No. VIII).

If the meanings of the words as given in the Appendix be taken into account it will become easy to recognise the proper names of gods and goddesses occurring in the Indus inscriptions. The following comparative table may give some idea of the links between Indian mythology aud that of the western countries.

	Indus inscriptions as deciphered by me	Names of gods and goddesses probably referred to	Names as fonnd in Sumerian mythology	Names as found in Indian literature
123 *d.*	Gu-nin-sina	Nin-sina	Ninsinna	Nicīna
229	Sini-isar	Sini	Sin	Sinī-vali
3	Isal-Nagesa-ma-ninini-isar	Nagesa	......	Nageśa
		Ninini	Innini	......
	ninisar	Ninisa	......	......
80	Sissnah-suresar	Sissna	......	Śiśna
465	Gu-nina-isar	Nina	Nina	(Nainā)
217	Gu-sasi	Sasi	......	Śaśi
460	Gula-ni	Gula	Gula	Gula
405	Gu-nura-si^{8}u-isana	Gunura	......	(Gunūra)
479	Ni-isa-*sarra*(srih)	Sarra ?	Sara	Śara

Indus inscriptions as deciphered by me		Names of gods and goddesses probably referred to	Names as found in Sumerian mythology	Names as found in Indian literature
No. xlix T. 45	Gu-sam	Sa or Gu-sam	(Samgu)	Saṅgu or Saṅgo
46	Ni-isar-*no* (Gana)	Nisa or Gana	......	Gaṇa or Naga
243, 249	Sinna	Sinna	Sin	Śina
H. 1926 1235	Ni-gu-sinisa-nini	Sini Nini	...... Inni	Sini-vālī (Nainā)
541	Gu-issa-nagesa	go-issa Nagesa	......	(Gorīsa, Go-iṣa-Nageśa)
97	Guri-nini-mu-isisih	Guri	......	Gaurī
15	Ninisa-īsara-ila-i sanbhu	Ila-isa Bhu	....	Śaṅbhu, Śaṃbhu
76 *d.*	Sini-īsana	Sini	Sin	Sini-vālī
246	Sini-isar	Sini	Sin	Sini-vālī
84 *d.*	Bau-san-isar-isar	Bau Sa	Bau	Bhu, Śa Bhuṣa
201	Gu-si[3]vah	Siva	......	Śiva
224	Gur-lila-sasi	Lila, Sasi	Lil	Śaśi, Lila
208 *d.*	Gu-lila-mah	Lila	Lil	Lila
91	Isana-isar	Isana		Īśāna, Īṣāṇa
96	Diu-(Du)-sarra-mu-isar	Diu-(Du)-sarra	Dusar	
411	Ena (Ea-na)	Ena	Ea	Ena
202	Ma-gah-i	? (Maga, Ma-Gei)	Ge	Māghi
395	Sini-isa-[2]*d.* magur	Sini, Magur	Magur, Sin	Sinī-vālī, Maghona
245	Gu-sar-isarra	Isarra, Sa	Isar	Śrīśa
556	Gu-siva-gu-isah-ma	Siva, Guisah	......	Śiva, Gorīśa, Go-īṣa
157	Sini-isar	Sini	Sin	Sinī-vālī

	Indus inscriptions as deciphered by me	Names of gods and goddesses probably referred to	Names as found in Sumerian mythology	Names as found in Indian literature
1	Gu-lisar-mama-?	Gulisa	......	Gorisa, Gaurīśa
220,270	Si-na	Sina	Sin	Śina
154	Gu-sarra-ma	Sarra (Sri)	Sara	Śara
414	Gu-ninini-nagesa-mah	Ninini, Nagesa	Innini	Nageśa
211	Gu-bu-ninah-mara-isa[2]	Bu, Nina, Mara	Nina, Bau	Bhū, Nina, Mara
71	Isi-ninih-ma-*nagesa* (ganesa)	Nini, Nagesa or Ganesa	Ini, Nina	Ninī, Nageśa Gaṇesa
236	Gu-se(sah)	Sa		Sa, śa
188	Gula-sama-sarra-	Sama-sarra	Samasa	Camasa
83	Gu-Ninsara-Ninsala	Ninsara, Ninsala	Ninsar	Śara-ṇi
158	Du (Deva, Dyu)-sarra (sri)-me (mah)-isar	Du-sârra (Dvu-sri, Deva-sri)	Dusar	
472	Ilamma	Ilamma		(Ilamma)
476,477	Isar-ga-ga	Gaga	Gaga	Gargara, Ga, Gagaṇa
5	Gu-Lila	Lila	Lil	Lila (Līleśa)
14	Gu-*d.* Bu-m*u* (a)-m*i*-(a)-isar	Bu-mami, Bu-ma	Bau, Mami	Ma-bhū, Bhūmi, Bhūma
19	Isa-ma-na-isar	Na	......	Ṇa
143	Isah-nagesah-mah-isar	Nagesa	......	Nageśa, Maheśa, Mahiṣa
537	Sisnna (Isa-sina)-gu-*sura* (sri)-isar	Sisnna	......	Śiśna
7	*Sinna* (Sinnisa)	Sinna, Sinnisa	Sin	......
316	*d.* Mah (Ni-Mah, Mah)	Mah	Mah	Mā
466	Gu-nin-sina-isar	Nin-sins	Ninsinna	Nicīna
267	*d.* Gira	Gira	Gir	Girijā, Gir
433	Gu-sivah-mah-isar	Siva		Śiva, Maheśa
135	Ni-sarra-*mah* (me) ni	Mahni	Mana, Mena	Meni, Mana

	Indus inscriptions as deciphered by me	Names of gods and goddesses probably referred to	Names as found in Sumerian mythology	Names as found in Indian literature
269	Du (Ud)-sarra-mah	Udsarra	Udsar	Maḥ (Candra-mas)
383	Risi	Risi	......	Riṣi
447	Du-sarra-mah-mu-sarra	Dusarra-mah	Dusar	Mah, Doṣa
382	*d.* Nini (Ninisi, Sinini)	Nini, Sini	Inni, Sin	Sinī (Nīnā)
126	Gu-sinni (sinini)-sasi-isana	Sinni, Sasi	Sin	Sinī
22	Gu-Sesa-isa-sini-isar	Sesa, sini	Sera, sin	Seṣa, Sinī
78	Gu-isar-ila-isar	Ila	El	Ila, Ilā
122	[Gu-*anu* (nu)-*iluih* (luhh) gu-nu ? or *d.* Gu-*d.* luh gunu ?]	Guru, Iluih Anu	Ilohi	Guru, Anu
199	Gu-sarra (sri)-mah	Sarra	Sara	Śara
468	Gu-nura-ma-m*a* (i)-i-ana	Gunura, Mami	Gunur	(Gunūrā)
374	Gu-ri (si)-nini-mah	Gori, Nini	Inni	Gaurī, Nīnā, Nainā
160	Gu-si³ (Nin)-gu-Ela	Ela or Ila	El	Ila
158	Isa-na-ge-i	Gei, Naga	Ge	Gir, Naga
234	Gu-Ninnin-gu*r* (h)-Ela	Ninnin, Ela	Inni, El	Ila, Nīnā, Nainā
	Nu (sini) *ra-sarra	Nura	Nur, Sara	Śara
350	Nin-du-sarra-ma-mah	Nindu, Sarra, Dusar		Indu, Maḥ
169	Iss*u* (va) ra	Issura, Issvara	Isar	Iśvara
244	Du-*va* (u)r-Sinna	Duvar, Sinna	Duvar, Sin	Śina, Sina
440	Bu-*Gur-Nu* (Guruna)	Bu, Gurnu, Na	Bu, Gurnu	Bhū, Guru-Ṇa
107	Gu-sarra (sri)-ma-gu-risa			
30	Gu-i-sa-isa-ah-nagesa	Nagesa		Nageśa
10	Gu-lisar-Nin-nirisa-isana	Gulisar, Ninnirisa	Inni	Gaurīśa, Go-iṣa
24	Gu-lisar-mah-ma-gur-ila-lu	Golisar, Magur, Illlu	Magur, Illu	Gaurisa

Note.—For details in connection with the above names, see Appendix.

The names of gods and goddesses occurring in these inscriptions have been arranged according to Sumerian and Indian mythology, and the references bearing on these names have been appended. What relation the language represented by the Indus seals inscriptions bears to Sanskrit must be left to competent scholars to decide.

(*b*) *A glance at the proto-Elamite and Minoan inscriptions*

As far as my researches go, I am inclined to regard the script of Elam as having been the original source of the Indus as well as of the Minoan script. There is no doubt that the proto-Elamite script is more complicated than that of the Indus valley and of the Minoan seals. Want of time has prevented me from devoting more attention to the decipherment of the proto-Elamite inscriptions, which appear to be very important. These inscriptions appear to be written according to a syllabic form of writing, in which each character represents a syllable. According to this system the name *Viṣṇu* would be written *Va-i-sa-na-u*. It must be clearly stated that the proposed decipherment of the proto-Elamite and the Minoan inscriptions given in the tables below is purely tentative. I have added in another column some Sanskrit words which seem to bear a resemblance to some of the proto-Elamite and the Minoan words as deciphered by me. It would be quite premature to suggest that a linguistic connection has been disclosed; but if such connection is shown to exist as a result of further research, no documents could be more important for the cultural history of the ancient world than those discovered by the French mission in Elam and by Sir Arthur J. Evans in Crete.

TABLE XIII

Proposed decipherment of certain proto-Elamite inscriptions

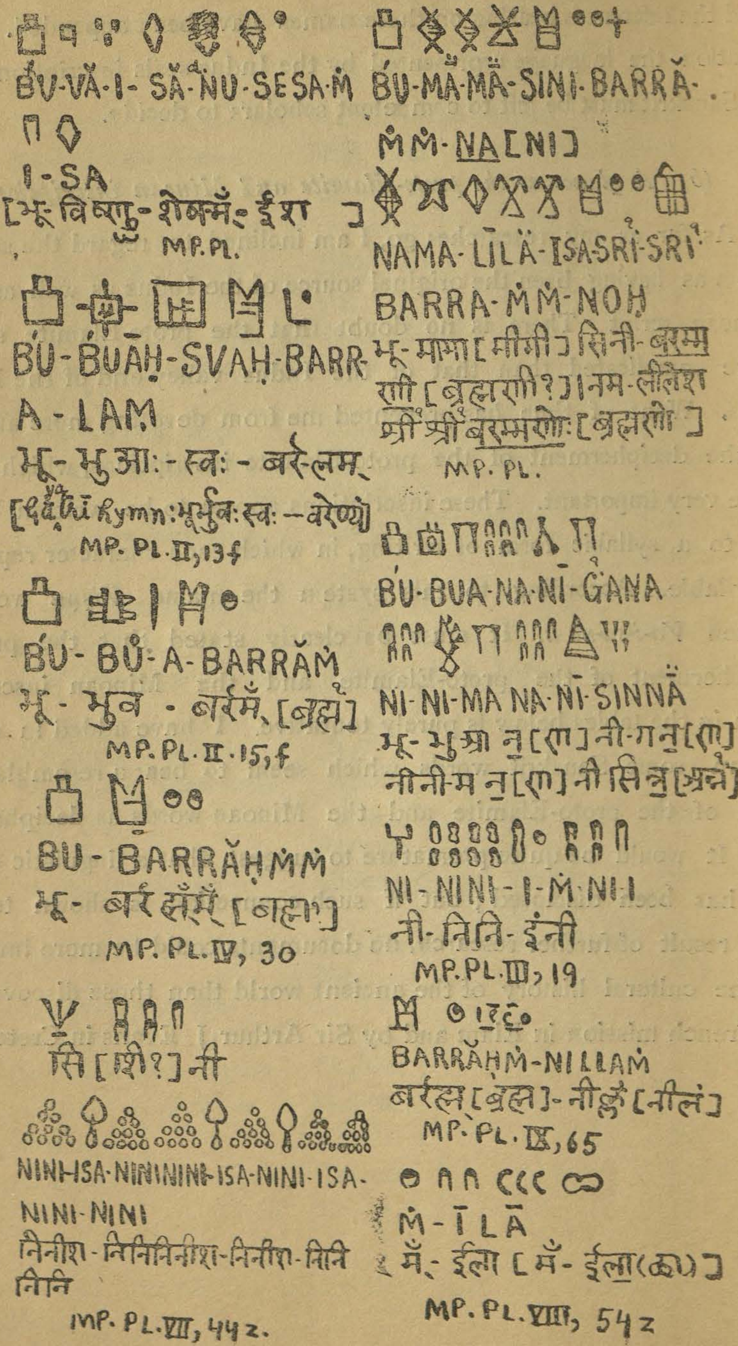
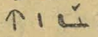
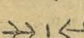
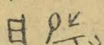
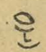
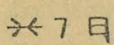
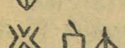
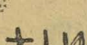
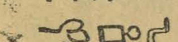
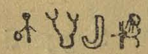
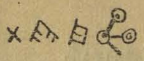
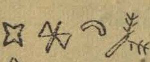
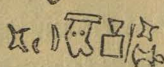
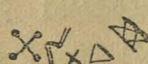
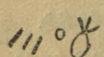
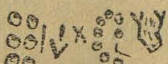
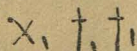


TABLE XIV

Proposed decipherment of certain Minoan inscriptions

Reference	Inscription	Tentative decipherment	Suggestions Roman	Suggestions Devanāgarī
PL.I.P.1, b.		d. GŮRR[U]? [I]?	d. GŮRU[I]?	गुरु, गौरी?, गु॰ गौ
PL.I.P.1.c.		? GA-IŚA	?. GEŚA	गण (गणे)? गेश
PL.I.P.2, a.		SĂI-LI-I	SILI	सिली, श्री. सिरी
PL.I.P.2, c.		SA-I-RI	SIRI	सिरि, श्रि
PL.I.P.2, b.		SI(A)SA-I-SAR	SISA-ISAR	सीसेशः; शशेशः
PL.I.P.1.a		VI-ISARŮ (a)	VI-ISĂRŮ	[विल्ह, विष्लु, विष्णु]
PL.I.P.6.a.		VÁRANI-[VISNI] -SAR-SURA	VÁRA[VIS]NI-SA-SURA[MAHA]	वि[ष्णु]वरनीशः सुर [मह]
PL.I.P.6, b.		LI?-SASI-BÚ	LI?-SASI-BHU	ली[इल]शशी भू
PL.I.P.7, a.		d. SOMA-ISSA? -?	d. SOMA-ISSA-ISSANAH?	सोम-ईश-ईशानः
PL.I.P.14		SURA-U	SURO	सुरो; सुर-उ
PL.I.P.11.c		SISA-LA-VI	SISA-RAVI	सीस-रवि। शशी-रवि।
PL.I, P.L.5		MAMA-NANA	MAMA-NANA	मम [मेम]-नन
ME.P.163		BÚ-SŬRA-IM-MA [MI-MA]	BHUSURA-IM MA [MEMA]	भूसुरेम्म, भूसुरमेम
ME.P.163		SASI	SASI	शशि
ME.P.163		LIILĂ-VI-ISA LILI-VI-ISA	LILA-VISA [ILLI-VISA]	इलीविष
ME.P.163		NA-I-NA	NINA	निन, नैन
ME.P.163		ISSAR-VU-DA		ईश-ग्रर्बुद; ईशः बुध; उबर्बुध

Reference	Inscription	Tentative decipherment	Suggestions: Roman	Suggestions: Devanāgarī
ME. P. 163		ISI-GULA-?	ISI-GULA-?	ईशी-गुल-नीनि म-इल ?
ME. P. 164		NA-SIN[NI-NISA] VA-SU	NA[NI]-SIN- VASU[VI-ISA]	ण-शिन-वसु। निशिन विश
ME. P. 164		LILA-ISSA-LA		लीलेशः,
ME. P. 164		SI-NA; SANI	SINA[SINI]	शिन; शानि, सिनी
ME. P. 164		SARRA-BA-NI?	SARRA-BHA-NI?	शरभु-नी
ME. P. 164		SALL[RR]Ă	---------	शल, शरे
ME. P. 164		LILA-LI(A)-?- BISA-A-LILA- ISALLU	LILA-LI-ILL I[A,U?]MM- BISA-LILA- ILLISA	लील-लि-इलुं[इल्लीं इल्लुं] विश-लीलेश [लील-इल्लीश]
ME. P. 165 (P. 68 b.)		NI-SI-VU[VA] LĂ	NA-SI-VA-LĂ	नीशिवल[नीशिवः णा-शिवः
ME. P. 165 (P. 69 b.)		SASA-Ṁ	-----	शशं। ईशा शिं
ME. P. 165 (P. 70 b)		NI[NA]-Ṁ- SIN-ISA-ṆO?		निं शिन ईशानो निं शिन ईषाणो
ME. P. 166 (P. 80 a)		SINA[I]-M̐A [MU?]	SINI-M̐A	शिनि-मँ। शिन मँ। शिनीम।
,,		MINI-ILA-NI- SA-NINI?	NINI-[MINI]- ILANISA-NINI	मेनि-इलानीश- निनी
,, (P. 82 b)		NA M̐[I] SASI [A]	NI [NA-M̐] SASA [SASI]	नी-शाशी। णमुँ[इ] शाशा।
ME. P. 171 [P. 101 (c)]		MAMA-I-SI-NI MIMILA-GO	NANA-I-SINI- NI-NILA-GO	ममी[नन-इ]-सिनी -मिमिल[नीनील] गो।
ME. P. 174 [P. 108, (e)]		NIR-KUR-KUR		

V

The Indus Culture

The question naturally arises, what new light would be shed by the decipherments proposed in Table XII? It appears that a new era in the whole field of research will be started if the system of decipherment suggested can be established to be on the right lines. As illustrating my meaning I may cite the following few points, further research in regard to which is likely to yield far-reaching results.

(1) In the Appendix it is shown how some of the Indian gods like *Sina*, *Sini*, *Nina*, *Bhu*, *Lila*, *Ila*, *Isara*, etc., bear names similar to certain Sumerian gods and goddesses. This opens a new vista.

(2) The Vedic as well as the Paurāṇika pantheon will have to be re-examined. When the decipherment of the proto-Elamite inscriptions is accomplished, we shall be in a better position to understand the origin of the Indo-Aryan languages and of the system of writing which has been handed down to later generations.

(3) Hitherto the punch-marked coins of India have not played a part in building up the history of our motherland. This is a field in which the Archæological Department of India can help much. It is for consideration whether an officer conversant with the details of the proto-Brāhmī script should not be deputed to prepare a correct and complete sign-list, which could be circulated among scholars interested in the work of decipherment. On examining the punch-marked coins in the British Museum, I was much impressed with their value and the important part they may yet play in elucidating the early history of India and the development of the Brāhmī scripts; and I hope the few examples I have cited in this paper will suffice to justify this view. My researches have tended to convince me that the history of the Brāhmī script goes as far back as 3000-4000 B. C., and that its origin is ultimately connected with that of the proto-Elamite script.

(4) The cults of Śiva and the Mother-goddess had already been shown to be very old. It is interesting to find them current as far back as 3000 B. C. In the Purāṇas it is clearly mentioned that the worship of Śiva at one time extended throughout Jambudvīpa: but this statement was little credited. Sir Aurel Stein, in his *Archæological Tour in Gedrosia*, referring to figures of humped bulls (the *vāhana* of Śiva) which he discovered in large numbers at several prehistoric sites in southern Baluchistan, writes as follows :—"Consider-

ing the numbers of these representations of the humped bull and the uniformity of the type throughout all Chalcolithic sites of Markān and Jhalawān it seems difficult not to believe that this animal was, like its Indian counterpart, the 'Brahmani' bull, an object of popular reverence, if not of actual worship. If this assumption is right the temptation is obviously great to seek some connexion between that prehistoric worship of the population which occupied the extreme western marches of India before the 'Aryan' invasion of Vedic times, and the great rôle played by Śiva's bull in the Indian cult from a very early period. There is scarcely any indication of such a cult to be found in the oldest Vedic literature. This might lead us to infer that it was an inheritance from much earlier times to which the autochthonous population of northern India with its deeply rooted archaic bent has clung notwithstanding the great transformation brought about in its civilization, racial constitution and language by the triumphant invasion of its northern conquerors. But the subject touched upon is too wide and at present still too speculative to be pursued here further in what is meant for a plain record of antiquarian facts". *Memoirs of the Arch. Sur. of India*, No. 43 (1931), p. 161.

That the Indus inscriptions when deciphered according to the system evolved by me should present the names of gods and goddesses well-known to Sumerian mythology was a matter of astonishment to me, specially to find many of these names in the Vedas. (See the extracts from the texts given in the Appendix). The connection between the Indus basin culture and those of countries much further west seems to be corroborated to some extent by the view expressed by Mr. Ernest Mackay in a paper published in the *Antiquity*. He writes : "The close association of the dove with the cult of the Mother-goddess in Crete, Sumer, and elsewhere in the Near and Middle East, in Sardinia, and even further west, together with the fact that so many models of this bird are found at Mohenjo-daro, leads us further to believe that the goddess whose semi-nude, bejewelled pottery images are such a feature of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa was also a Mother-goddess. The great respect in which the dove is held even at the present day in Northern India by Muhammadans and Hindus alike is quite possibly a survival of this cult. Perhaps there was a closer connexion than we at present know of between the Sumerian goddess Ninkharsag and the goddess of the Indus Valley people". (*Antiquity*, Dec. 1931, p. 467).

APPENDIX

I

Names of gods and goddesses occurring in the Indus inscriptions

I GU-NIN-SINA (123) ; GU-NIN-SIN (466)
SINA (220) ; SINA (270) ; SINNA (243) ;
SINNA (249) ; SINNA (7) ;
SIN (12) ; SIN (91) ;
SINI (537) ; SINI (76) ; SINI (395) ;
SINI (229) ; SINI (382) ; SINI (22) ; SINI (126)
SASI (217) ; SASI (224)
d. MA-GUR (3) ; GUR-MA or *d.* SIN-GUR-MA (3)
d. SIN-GUR (3) ; SIN-GULA (459)
I UD-SARRA (95) ; DU-SARRA (158) ;
UD-SARRA (350) DU (UD ?)-SARRA (447) ;
DU-WARA (244)
I(b) El (40)
E (I ?) LOIH

EXTRACTS

(1)

Sin

"In Accadian it is the Sumerian name of the Moon-god which is invariably used from first to last in their inscriptions, namely Zu-en, commonly pronounced Sin. There is no doubt at all concerning the Sumerian derivation of this name. It occurs twice in Himyaritic inscription written S-i-n, clearly the god Sin, where it cannot possibly be an Arabic name, but an importation from Babylonian..................If the name Sin is the origin of the word Sinai, Mount Sinai, which occurs in early documents of the Hebrew scriptures, not earlier than 1000 B.C. ; then this mountain range in the extreme north-western part of Arabia and especially its principal mountain, Horeb, connected

with the worship of the Hebrew gods Yaw and Elôhim, must have been an ancient North Arabian centre of Moon worship, and the name itself is taken from the Sumero-Babylonian Sin, after the name had been transmitted to Arabia, and replaced some older Arabic name for 'moon' as the name of these mountains. In any case this Sumerian name of the Moon-god was known to the Hebrews; for it occurs in the names Shenazzar (sixth century) and Shinab, king of Admah; and the Canaanitish cult of the moon was actually favoured by the kings of Judah before the reign of Josiah". (*L. S.*, pp. 5-6).

(2)

Innana, Nanna, Nannar, Ma, Magur, Magula-anna

"The Sumerian Moon-god, Sin, originally Zuen, 'Knowing lord,' belongs like Utu to the Enlil pantheon. The original and oldest name was Nanna, or Innana, "Lord of Heaven," and written ideographically ses-ki, 'brother of the earth.' The Accadians by false etymology with their word *nannaru*, 'light,' always called this god Nannar. Besides these two titles, which are based upon the moon as a luminary and on his character as god of divination or deity by whose appearances and relations to the stars, omens were derived (Sin), there are other titles, of which the following are of most importance: Udsar, 'the crescent,' the 'new-moon,' hence also 'god of the Boat,' Ma, Magur, and Magula-anna, 'Great boat of Heaven.' 'As god of the new moon the title Asimur is common."—(*L.S.*, p. 152); for further information, see *L.S.*, pp. 153-154.

(3)

Dhusarā, Esh-sharā, Dušurā

"Babylonian influence becomes particularly prominent in the great Nabatæan kingdom whose principal capitals were Petra and Damascus and whose history can be traced from their first mention by Ashurbanipal in the middle of the seventh century B.C. to their absorption into the Roman Empire in 106 A.D. They were a North Arabic race who used the Aramaic script, and their principal male deity is Dušurā, rendered into Greek as Dousares, and identified by the Greeks with Dionysus. The name means 'he of Shara' (*dhu šarā*), i.e., "he of the mountain range *esh-sharā*,' at Petra, and he is a Sun-god according to Strabo."—(*L.S.*, pp. 15-16).

(4)

Dusares

"As an Arabian Bacchus, Dusares is a Greek and Roman deity; as a god of Fertility, represented by a bætyl, he is a local Arabic Earth and Sun deity; and, as son of virgin Earth-goddess, he is a Babylonian deity."—(*L.S.*, pp. 17-18).

(5)

Ishtar

See *L.S.*, 'Maid of Sin, as cow,' 97, 395 n.25. "Symbol, a star with seven or more rays, 150. As female principle of Anu in founding government, 167 and in the highest heaven, 173. Weeps for destruction of men, 220. Story of her love for Gilgamish, 256 ff."

(6)

Sin

See the myth concerning the birth of divine calf Amarga from the cow or the Maid of Sin the Moon-god.—*L.S.*, pp. 96-97.

(7)

Ilāh, Il, El, Elōhim

"According to D. Nielsen the South Arabian deity Ilāh, or Il, which is also the common Semitic word for 'god,' and corresponds to the Hebrew and Aramaic deity EL; Elōhim is one of the names of the Moon-god."—*L.S.*, p. 5.

(A)

सिनीवाली

(1) According to Böhtlingk und Roth "**सिनीवाली** f. 1) N. einer Göttin, welche fruchtbar macht und die Geburt erleichtert;...**प्रसिनीवाली जनयति** TBr. 1. 7. 2, 1.........**या पूर्वांमावास्या सा सिनीवाली योत्तरा सा कुहूः**...... **सिनीवालीकुहूशान्ति**..." See also in the same dictionary the words **सिनवन्तु, सिनीपति, सिनीवाक।**

(2) According to Monier-Williams "सिनीवाली Sinīvālī, f. (of doubtful derivation) N. of a goddess (in RV. described as broad-hipped, fair-armed, fair-fingered, presiding over fecundity and easy birth, and invoked with Sarasvatī, Rākā etc.; in AV. she is called the wife of Viṣṇu; in later Vedic texts she is the presiding deity of the first day of new moon, as Rākā of the actual day of full moon), the first day of new moon when it rises with a scarcely visible crescent, RV. &c.; N. of a daughter of Aṅgiras, MBh.; of the wife of Dhātṛi and mother of Darśa, BhP.; of Durgā L.; of a river, Mārk P.—Kuhū-śānti, f. N. of a religious ceremony (for averting the evil effects of being born on Sinīvālī and Kuhū days), Saṃskārak." [*A Sanskrit English Dictionary*]. He writes about Sina "सिन 2. Sina,......provision, store.......f. = Sinīvālī, Kāsikh;"

(B)

शिन, शिनि

(1) See Böhtlingk und Roth for शिन, शिनि, शिनिवाछ्देवाः, शैनेय, शैन्य, शिनिबाहु, शिनिवास, शिनीवास, शिनेयु etc.

(C)

Sinīvāli

सिनीवालि पृथुष्टुके या देवानामसि स्वसा ।
जुषस्व हव्यमाहुतं प्रजां देवि दिदिड्ढिनः ॥१॥
या सुबाहुः स्वङ्गुरिः सुषूमा बहु सूवरी ।
तस्यै विश्पत्न्यै हविः सिनीवाल्यै जुहोतन ॥२॥
अथर्ववेद ।

(D)

Śina

शैन i.e., शिनाय स्वाहा शिन i.e., शिन आन्स्यायनाय स्वाहा............ । यजुर्वेद । अ० मन्य २० ।

(E)

Māghī.

माघी "the day of full moon in the month of Māgha" [M. Ws.] also माघ पूर्णिमा, माघ माहात्म्य, माघ मा, माघव्रत, माघवन, मघा, मघाभू ।

(F)

Dūsarra [=दोज-र]

दोजः "दोजा *dosha*, m. evening, darkness (only Bhp., where personified as one of the 8 Vasus and husband of night, vi, 6, 11, 14)" [M. Ws.]

रः—'Raz-*ra*, mfn. (√rā)—n. brightness, splendour" [M. Ws.]

(G)

Nānānam Nanā Nanāṃdari.

नानानं घा उ नौ—ऋग्वेद ६. ११२. १.

कारुदहं ततोभिस गुपलप्रक्तिणी न ता ।—ऋग्वेद ६. ११२. ३.

ननांदरि सम्राज्ञी—ऋग्वेद. १० ८५. ४७.

II

Names of gods and goddesses occurring in the Indus inscriptions

II BU (211) ; BU (14) ; BAU (84)
MA (374) ; MA (199) ; MA (414) ;
MA (374) ; MA (433) ; *d.* MA (316) ;
MA (158 ; 269) ; MA (202)
MAMA (468) ; MA-MA-A (14) ;
MAMA (350)
MAR (208) ; MAAR (211)
NININI or INNINI (3) ;
NIN-NIN (234)
GAII (202) ;
GU-LILA (224)

EXTRACTS

(1)

"The order in the official Assyrian theogony places the Earth-mother-goddess *dingir-Mah* immediately after the Earth-god Enlil, and she was in fact his sister. The supreme importance of this goddess is obvious by the place and nature of her symbol among the emblems of the gods. On Fig. 51 her throne follows those of

the trinity, Anu, Enlil, Ea, and supports a curious object, a broad band shaped like the Greek letter ℧, Omega inverted. On one throne, where it follows the symbols of Marduk and Nebo (first two symbols in third register here) this band lies flat on the throne, with ends coiled inward, not outward as here. On other monuments the Omega symbol stands alone without a throne, and in a position exactly like Omega. This symbol is called *markasu rabū*, "the great band", of the Esikilla, "holy house". The word *markasu*, "band", "rope" is employed in Babylonian philosophy for the cosmic principle which unites all things, and used also in the sense of "support", the divine power and law which hold the universe together. It is employed more often of the god of the first principle, water, Enki-Ea, and of his sons, Marduk and Nebo. Ninlil, wife of Enlil, frequently identified with Mah, ruled the constellation Margidda, Ursa Major, the wagon star, which was also called the "band of the Heavens", because it remains fixed at the pole of the Heavens". (*L.S.*, p. 109).

(2)

Ninanna, Nininni, Innini, Aruru, Ninasianna, Ninsianna,
Ninsinna, Ninisinna, Gula

"The Earth-goddess, as female principle of An, received the title Ninanna, Nininni, Innini, but, as goddess of child-birth, Nintud, Aruru, Ninhursag, Ninkarraka, and as the planet Venus, Ninanasīanna, Ninsīanna, Ninsinna, Ninisinna, "Heavenly lady, light of heaven" ; as patroness of medicine she was Gula." (*L.S.*, p. 91).

(3)

Ninanna, Innini, d.*Mah*

"In religion and mythology of even greater importance than these three heads of the trinity, Anu, Enlil, and Enki, is the Sumerian Mother-goddess, whose character was so manifold that she became many distinct goddesses. The great and ubiquitous cult of the virgin Earth-goddess in Canaan, Phœnicia, and Syria seems to have been entirely borrowed from Babylonia. As already suggested, the primitive name of this Sumerian goddess seems to have been Ninanna, Innini, "Queen of Heaven", but the pictograph first used

to write her name represents a serpent twining on a staff. The name probably rests upon the primitive identification with the planet Venus, and upon the theological principle that she was created by Anu, the Heaven-god, as his female counterpart. Three main types of the Earth-goddess, together with their minor manifestations, are clearly recognizable, Innini, the Semitic Ishtar, Mah, 'the mighty goddess," Accadian Belit-ili, "Queen of the gods," and the underworld goddess Eresh-kigal.

The order in the official Assyrian theogony places the Earth-mother goddess *dingir-Mah* immediately after the Earth-god Enlil, and she was in fact his sister." (*L.S.*, pp. 108-109).

(4)

Gula, *Bau*, *Nin-mah*, d. *Mah*, *Ninhur-sag*, *Ninmea*, *Nunu sesmea*, *Nesu*

"After the multifarious activities of the Earth-goddess were apportioned to the three major types, for Mah or Belit-ili was reserved in particular the protection and increase of animal life. It was she who, in the teaching of the great theological school of the cult of Enlil and Ninlil of Nippur, created man from clay, and her salient character is the goddess of child-birth. Under a minor form (Gula) she became the patroness of medicine. Essentially an unmarried goddess, her minor types, Bau, Gula, became wives of the sons of Enlil, Ningirsu Ninurta, as Erishkigal became the wife of Nergal, son of Enlil. The official pantheon gives forty-one names for *dingir-Mah*, among which the scribes indicate five as the most important, These are Ninmah, "Mighty queen", Ninhursag, "Queen of the earth mountain", Nintur (dialectic Sentur), "Queen, the womb", Ninmea, or Nunusesmea, "Queen who allots the fates," and Ninsikilla, "the pure Queen." Under the last title she was the wife of her son Nesu (dialectic Lisi). The god Nesu is known almost entirely by his star Antares in Scorpio, which was also identified with Nebo." (*L.S.*, pp. 109-110).

(5)

Aruru, *Mama*, *Mami*

"Among other titles which appear in the myths are Aruru, Nintud, "Queen who bears," Amatudda, "Bearing mother," Amadubad, 'Mother who opens the lap (womb)," and Mama, Mami." (*L.S.*, p. 110).

(6)

Mar, Ninmar, Bau

"The Sumerian Earth-mother is repeatedly referred to in Sumerian and Babylonian names as the mother of mankind—Ninmar-ama-dim, "Ninmar" is a creating mother ; Amanumunzid, "the mother legitmate seed (has given) ; Bau-amamu, "Bau is my mother." (*L.S.*, p. 12).

(7)

Aruru, Gula, Ishtar, Asdar

According to Professor Langdon the doctrine of Mother-goddess is thoroughly accepted in Babylonian religion. "A poem has the line : 'All creatures with the breath of life are the handiwork of Aruru,' and a prayer begins : "O Gula, the mother, bearer of the dark-headed people." In early Accadian, this mythology is already firmly established among the Semites, although it does not appear to belong to their primitive religion. Ummi-tabat, "My mother is good," Ummu-tabat, "the mother is god" occurs in the fifth century in Babylonia. Asdar-ummi, "Ishtar is my mother" ; the latter name is common in Babylonia. Belit-umma-nu, "Belitis is our mother", has the same meaning as "Sarpanit is our mother." Istar-ummi-sarri-ni, "Ishtar is the mother of our king" ; Mannu-ki-ummi, 'Who is like the mother ?" (*L.S.*, pp. 12-13).

(8)

"In West Semitic this mythology is apparently almost unknown. In Canaanitish there is only the Phœnician name 'Am, 'Ashtart, "the mother is Ashtoreth." In Hebrew there is no evidence at all. But names of deities in Phœnicia like Melk- 'Ashtart, at Hammon near Tyre, Eshmun-'Ashtart at Carthage, 'Ashtar-Kemosh, of the Moabites, clearly prove that the mothor-goddess of the West Semitic races held even a greater palce in their religion than the local gods of their most important cults." (*L.S*, p. 13).

(9)

Ininni, Enlil, Lil, Aruru, Gula, Bau, Ilani, Ninlil, Zamama

"The entire mythology of Astarte goes back to the Sumerian Ininni-Ashdar-Ishtar, goddess of Venus and mother, wife, and lover

of the Sumerian dying god Tammuz. This is inextricably united with the other fundamental Sumerian mythological concept of the Earth-god Enlil, father of mankind, and his sister the Earth-goddess Aruru, Gula, Bau, Ninhursag, Nintud, commonly called in Babylonia Bêlit-ilāni "Queen of the gods". In certain cults she is also the wife of the Earth-god, as Ninlil, wife of Enlil, at Nippur, or Bau, wife of Ningirsu, son of Enlil, at Lagash, or Zamama, son of Enlil, at Kish". (*L. S.*, p. 14).

(10)

Innini ; *Ninsianna* ; *Ge* ; *Uranus*

"In Western Semitic religions 'Ashtart represents the Sumero-Babylonian Mother-goddess, Gula, Bau, Aruru, etc., rather than Innini-Ninsianna-Ishtar, who is both Venus and the Mother-goddess.' In Canaanitish religion 'Ashtart is not the planet Venus. That is clear by the Greek identifications of this goddess with Gê, the earth, sister of Uranus, in Sanchounyathōn, and the regular identification of Astarte with Aphrodite, who is never identified with the planet Venus". (*L. S.*, p. 15).

(A)

Mā

[3]उमाहिर्भुम्र्मां पृदाकुः......... । यजुर्वेद । अध्याय ८ । मन्त्र २३ ॥

Mākī

माकी "heaven and earth" [M. Ws.]

Bhū

भूर्भुवः स्वः [Gāyatrī hymn]

Bau-mā

भौम is one of the nine Grahas

(B)

Ni-ma-iṣā, *Ni-r-ni-ma-iṣā*, *Mā-na-gī*

मातङ्गीशतनामानीदानीं कलिमते श्रृणु । १ ।

निमेषा निर्निमेषा च मानगी......... ॥ ६ ॥

श्रीकालीविलासतन्त्रम् । 37-38 ।

(C)

Bhūma, Bhūmi, Bhūṣa

भूम, भूमि, भूष all these words occur frequently in the Ṛgveda. For भूष compare the following verses :

अग्ने देवाँ इहा वह सादया योनिषु त्रिषु ।
परि भूष पिब ऋतुना ॥ ऋ. १. १५. ४ ॥

See also ऋग्वेद, ७ ६२, १ । ८, ६६. १२ ।

Bhūṣan

See Ṛgveda, १,१४०,६ ; ३,२५,२ ; ३,३४,२ ; ६,६४,३ ; १, १५१,३ ; १०,४२,१.

III

Names of gods and goddesses occurring in the Indus inscriptions

SISSNA(80) ;
SI^{3}WA(210) ;
NAGA-ISA(414) ;
GAGA(476,477)

EXTRACTS

(A)

Śiśna

It is mentioned in the Ṛgveda that Indra destroyed *śiśna-devas.*

अनर्वा यच्छत दुरस्यवेदो ह्यञ्छिश्नदेवाँ
अभिवर्पसा भूत् ॥ ऋग्वेद. १०. ६६, ३ ॥

Gur

न यातव इंद्र जूजुवुर्नो न वंदना शविष्ठ वेद्याभिः ।
स शर्धदर्यो विषुणस्य जंतोर्मा शिश्नदेवा अपि गुर्ऋतं नः ॥
ऋग्वेद ७, २१, ३ ॥

(B)

Śiva

The word शिव occurs many times in the Ṛgveda and the Yajurveda. Examine the passages with a view to see whether it could be taken for a proper name in certain places.

For शिव see Ṛgveda.

म०.	सूक्त.	मन्त्र.	म०.	सूक्त.	मन्त्र
८	२६	२३	७	६	३
१	३१	१	,,	१९	१०
१	१८७	३	,,	३४	१५
२	२०	३	८	४	१८
४	११	६	,,	३९	३
५	१	८	,,	६३	४
५	६	२४,१	,,	९३	३
६	१५	६	१०	२५	९
,,	४५	१७	,,	९२	९
			,,	१६५	२

Gaga

Ga-ga :—messenger of Anu (see *L. S.*, p. 298)

Ga

ग : "ग ३. ga ... m. a gandharva or celestial musician" [M. Ws.]

"ग १. ga ··· N. of Gaṇêśa" [M. Ws.]

Gaṇá

गण : "Gaṇá ··· a single attendant of Śiva, ... N. of Gaṇeś ... troops or classes of inferior deities ..." [M. Ws.]

Gaga-nā, Gaga-na-iśvarī

गिरीशा गिरिशा गन्धा गगना गगणेश्वरी ॥ १३ ॥
श्रीकालीविलासतन्त्रम् ॥ ॥ षष्ठ ३७-३८ ॥

Go-iṣa

Go-isa occurs frequently in the Indus inscriptions. We find similar words occurring in the Ṛgveda.

गोऽइषः :—ऋग्वेद-४,४१,७ ; १०,७६,७ ; ४,१३,२ ; ४,४०,२ ; ८,२४,२०.

Gaurī

The word गौरी also occurs in the Ṛgveda. Examine the following stanza.

मदच्युत्क्षेति सादने सिंधोरूर्मा विपश्चित् ।
सोमो गौरी अधिश्रितः ॥ ऋ. ९, १२, ३ ॥

IV

Names of gods and goddesses occurring in the Indus inscriptions

SARRA (154) ; SARRA (199) ;
SARRA (136) ; SARRA (188) ;
SARA (479) ; SARA or SALA (183) ;
SARRA (96, 158, 269, 447).
ISAR ; ISSURA (169)
ISUM ;
NINSAR (3) ; NI ?-SARRA (135) ; NIN-SARA (83) ;
NIN-SALA (83) ;
GU-NURA (468) ; NURA-SARRA (136) ;
d. GIRA (267)

EXTRACTS

(1)

Ishura, Asaru

"Marduk owes his prominence in Babylonian religion and his wide influence upon West Semitic mythology entirely to the political importance of the city Babylon, which became the capital of Sumer and Accad after the Sumerians had almost entirely disappeared. In the ancient pantheon his title was Asar, of unknown meaning, but certainly a minor deity of Eridu, where the ideogram employed in writing his name also had the value *ishura*, a name of the Grain-goddess. His augmented title Asarri was commonly pronounced Asaru, and explained as 'the bestower of husbandry'. By origin a vegetation deity and son of the Watergod Enki of Eridu, his sudden appearance at Babylon under the new title Marduk as a Sun-god is still unexplained". (*L.S.*, p. 155).

(2)

Gira, Ira, Irra

"Under the title Gira, Ira, Irra, Nergal appears in a long Accadian myth known as 'King of all habitations' or the 'Series Irra,' said to have been revealed by night to a scribe Kabti-ilāni-Marduk............

It was Ishum, messenger of Irra, who revealed the poem to this scribe". (*L.S.*, p. 137).

For characteristic of Ishum see *L.S.*, p. 148.

(3)

Gir, Girra

Gir, *Girra*, title of Nergal (early), 93. Word means "fire," 136. Mythical poem of Gira, 137 ff. See also Irra.

(4)

Ninā, Nanā, Ishara, Istar

L. TI. "It is probable that *Ninā* gave rise to the name *Nanā*, who is on this assumption ultimately identical with Ishara, but a divergence in pronouncing the name gave rise to a distinction in attributes. Under the name Ishara the Sumerians retained the ophidian aspects of the old water goddess, and under the name *Nanā* they retained her as a patroness of flocks and irrigation. At any rate in the period of the dynasty of Ur, Ishara and *Na-na-a* are distinct deities. The name which appears more often is Nanā, and she became under this title one of the most important of the deities". (p. 48)

(5)

Es-Ha, Es-Ha-Na, Esha, Nanā, Ishara, Scorpio

L. TI. 'Hommel is, I believe, correct in assuming that the ideogram for Nina was also pronounced *és-ha*, but the form *és-ha-na* probably arose by adding *an* 'heaven' to *esha*, as in the case of *Gestin*, *Usumgal*, and many other deities who had been identified with stars. The evidence for the pronunciation Ninā is too strong to be rejected, and if Nanā be a corruption of Ninā the evidence is conclusive. The Sumerians pronounced her name both ways, viz. Nin-ā, 'lady of waters' which survived as Nanā, and *Esha*, 'goddess of the fish-house', i.e. the sea ; after the identification with Scorpio she became *Ishana*, 'Heavenly goddess of the fish-house', a word which survived as Ishara". (p. 47)

(6)

Ishara, Nina-Ishara, Scorpio

L. TI. "In any case Ishara is a water deity, even in her astral form, since the constellation Scorpio is called 'Ishara of the sea',

and in the chapter on the ophidian deities we shall find her connected with the python of the sea. Ninā-Ishara is, therefore, a type of Mother-goddess connected not only with fresh water but with the ocean as well". (p. 48)

(7)

Serah, Sahan, Śah'an, Sīru

L. TI. "The Sumerian word for serpent is *mus*, but the theologians give the pronunciation of the ideogram, employed in writing the name of this god, as *Serah*, which the Semites translated by *Śahan* or *Sah'an*, a word for fire. For some obscure reason, the serpent god became a fire-god, for not only was Ningishzida also a sun-god, but a seal cylinder represents the god *Ṣīru* with rays from his shoulders". (p. 120)

(A)

Śara

विद्मा शरस्य पितरं पर्जन्यं भूरिधायसम् ।
विद्मो ष्वस्य मातरं पृथिवीं भूरिवर्पसम् ॥ १ ॥
वृत्तं यद्गावः परिसष्वजाना अनुस्फुरं शरमर्चन्त्यृभुम् ।
शरुमस्मद्यावय दिद्यु मिन्द्र ॥ ३ ॥
विद्मा शरस्य पितरं पर्जन्यं शतवृष्ण्यम् ।
... ... ॥ १ ॥
विद्मा शरस्य पितरं मित्रं शतवृष्ण्यम् । तेना० ॥ २ ॥
विद्मा शरस्य वरुणं शतवृष्ण्यम् । तेना० ॥ ३ ॥
विद्मा शरस्य पितरं चन्द्रं शतवृष्ण्यम् । तेना० ॥ ४ ॥
विद्मा शरस्य पितरं सूर्यं शतवृष्ण्यम् ।

अथर्ववेद १.२.१,३ ; १. ३. १-४

According to the hymns quoted above the fathers of शर were पर्जन्य, मित्र, वरुण, चन्द्र and सूर्य. He was also termed ष्व, as is clear from ष्वस्य मातरं। His mother was पृथिवी the earth-goddess. Whitney has translated शर as 'reed.' The meaning 'reed' is not convincing.

(B)

Śera

The following hymn of the *Atharva-veda* throws further light on the Sumerian serpent-god Śerah′. In the hymn cited below Śera-bhaka is clearly mentioned as सर्पानुसर्प .

शेरभक शेरभ पुनर्वो यन्तु यातवः पुनर्हेतिः किमीदिनः ।
यस्य स्थ तमत्त यो वः प्राहैत्तमत्त स्वा मांसान्यत्त ॥ १ ॥
शेवृधक शेवृध पुनर्वो ०।०॥ २ ॥
म्रोकानुम्रोक पुनर्वो ०।०॥ ३ ॥
सर्पानुसर्प पुनर्वो ०।०॥ ४ ॥
जूर्णि पुनर्वो यन्तु यातवः पुनर्हेतिः किमीदिनीः ।०॥ ५ ॥
उपब्दे पुनर्वो ०।०॥ ६ ॥
अर्जुनि पुनर्वो ०।०॥ ७ ॥
भरूजि पुनर्वो यन्तु यातवः पुनर्हेतिः किमिदिनीः ।
यस्य स्थ तमत्त यो वः प्राहैत्तमत्त स्वा मांसान्यत्त ॥ ८ ॥

अथर्ववेद । २. २४. १-८

(C)

Gir-īśā, Gir-iśā

गिरीशा गिरिशा गन्धा......श्रीकालीविलासतन्त्रम् ।

पृ. ३७-३८

(8)

"Very primitive seals represent a male deity whose upper parts are human, but whose lower parts are a long coiled serpent, undoubtedly the serpent deity Mush, whose Accadian names Sherah, 'grain', 'vegetation', and Shahan, 'fire' clearly reveal his connection with the generative powers of the earth and the heat of the sun". (*L.S.*, p. 90).

(9)

Anu, Ninsar

"When Anu had created the heavens,..............He created the Corn-goddess, the goddess of flocks and wine, Ningishzid, Ninsar...... as those who enrich the fixed sacrifices...........(*L.S.*, p. 104).

(10)

Nurra

Nurra is the god of potters (see *L.S.*, p. 105).

(11)

Ea

Ea is the god of all mystic learning and the *Mummu* or creative Word (*L.S.*, p. 104).

(12)

Gu-nura

L. TI. "For Gunū as a grain, see Ungnad *Orientalische Literaturzeitung*, 1912, 447; Jastrow, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, vol. II, 713." (p. 11).

L. TI. "Tammuz occurs once again in the same list as Damu of the floods, where his consort is named Gunura, probably a type of Ninā, since Gunura is the daughter of Ea (SBH. 93, 6). She is called 'sister of Damu' in Zimmern, *Kultlieder*, 26, ii, 13" (p. 53).

(13)

Gunura in Bhāgalpur

I have learned from a reliable authority that a goddess named 'Gunura,' or 'Gunurāy' is worshipped in the district of Bhāgalpur. From the description given to me it appears that she is an agricultural goddess connected with fertility.

V

Name of a goddess occurring in the Indus inscription

MENI (135)

EXTRACT

(1)

Meni

"A goddess of Fate, whose name is based upon the verb m-n-w, or m-n-j, can be traced throughout Semitic mythology. She appears in Hebrew as Menī in the post-exilic accusation of Deutero-Isaiah :

'As for you who abandon Yaw, forgetful of my holy mount,
Preparing for Gad a table, and filling for Meni spiced wine.'

Etymologically, the form Meni is masculine, but the deity is a goddess and belongs also to the Assyrian pantheon, where Ishtar has the titles 'goddess Minu-anni,' 'Minū-ullū,' she who 'apportions unto men sanction or denial.'—(*L.S.*, p. 21).

(2)

Manajja

"The Nabatæan goddess Manawatu, plural of the form Manat, which occurs in Thamudic, i.e., before the Nabatæan period, consequently belongs to the old South Arabian pantheon. The Coran writes the name Manatun ; and *manijjat*, plural *manaja*, is an ordinary Arabic word for 'fate,' 'death.' Also *Zawwa-al-manijjat*, 'the shears of fate,' supports the evidence from early Arabic and Nabatæan inscriptions for assuming that the Arabian Mother-goddess was a goddess who fixed the fates of mankind, of cities, and of nations.''—(*L.S.*, pp. 20-21).

(3)

"In Assyria, at least after the ninth century B, C., and in Babylonia, perhaps from the early period, Ishtar was regarded as the goddess of Fate, under the title Shimti, a word for "fate" peculiar to the Accadian language."—(*L.S.*, p. 21).

(4)

"All Mother-goddesses in Babylonian religion appear in this *rôle* as Moira, and Bau is addressed, 'Fate of kings, Lady of Adab.'"

(A)

Meni

मेनिः शतवधा हि सा ब्रह्मज्यस्य क्षितिर्हि सा ॥ अथर्ववेद १२.५ (३)—१६

मेनिः शरव्या......। अथर्ववेद १२.५ (६)—५९

मेनिराशसनं......। अथर्ववेद १२.५ (५)—३९

(B)

कतरो मेनिं प्रति तं मुचाते य ईं वहाते य ईं वा वरेयात् ॥ ऋग्वेद १०. २७. ११.

Mena-kā

मेनका माधवी मध्या मानसी मनमोहनी ॥ ३ ॥

श्रीकालीविलासतन्त्रम् ॥प. ३६-३९ ॥

VI

Names of gods occurring in the Indus inscriptions

SAN (84) ; SAMA (37) ; GU-SAM (NO. XLIX. T. 15)

NI-SAR-GANA or NI-ISAR-GANA (46) ; MAHISAR (143)

EXTRACTS

(1)

"*Shamash*, Sun-god, 2 ; Shamsu, 2, 4 ; Samsu, 377, n. 7. As female, 4. Rising, fig. 36. God of Justice, 139, 150" etc.—(see *L.S.*, p. 450).

(2)

GADD : SANGU, a class of priests.

(A)

Mahiṣa, Srīṁ, Saṃ, Ga

अधुना संप्रवक्ष्यामि महिषस्य च पूजनम् ।
महिषस्त्वं महावीर शिवरूपः सदाशिवः ॥ १ ॥
ह्रीँ ह्रीँ हं महिषायेति हं ह्रीँ ह्रीँ च ततः परम् ॥ २ ॥
"ह्रीँ ह्रीँ हं महिषाय हं ह्रीँ ह्रीँ"
ह्रीँ गं गणपतये गं ह्रीँ

श्रीकालीविलासतन्त्रम् ॥ p. ४१ ॥

In the above text ह्रीँ and हं seem to be the same as *srīṃ* (of the punch-marked coins) and *saṃ* (of the Indus inscriptions) respectively. Change of *sa* into *ha* is not very uncommon. It may be noted that in many of the punch-marked coins श्री is written स्री.

(B)

Śa

श-कारश्च महेशानि ! वृषघ्नः कथितो वकः । २७ ।

Ibid., p. 23.

(C)

Ha

हः शिवो गगनं हंसो नागलोकोऽम्बिकापतिः । १३ ।

Ibid., p. 21

(D)

Māra

Māra a well-known god in the Buddhist literature.

VII

Names of gods and goddesses occurring in the Indus inscriptions

ILAMMA (412);
d. SIN-GUR (3);
SIN-GULA (459)

EXTRACTS

(1)

[*Ind. Ant.*, *vol. X*, *1881*, *pp.* 245, 246]

"As far as I can ascertain, the worship of *Hinglāz*[1] seems to have been the most widely extended of all in Western India. The present Admiralty Chart of the Persian Gulf shews a temple of *Hinglāz* on the Mekran coast which seems to be a well-known landmark. Tod[2] speaks of this as a favourite resort for pilgrims among the old Rājpūts, and also refers to a place of the same name in Rājputana, which was taken by Lord Lake's army.[3] Coming down to the Dekhan we find in the Kolhāpur State a Māmlatdar's district called Gaḍh Hinglāz, so named from the headquarter station, which derives its name from a shrine of the goddess. From a recent paper in this journal[4] it appears that Hinglāj is the favourite goddess of the Talirājās."

"Yellamma or Ellemma is a very favourite goddess in the Canarese country, and judging from the company she keeps, or rather from the classes that worship her,[5] she is not a very reputable one. In a list of the wandering tribes of Kolhāpur given at p. 130 of the work above quoted, she is described as the patron goddess of no less than three of these tribes, viz., the Dombaris, the Gols and the Ganthi-chors............ I subjoin a cutting from a newspaper regarding a temple of this goddess, which I find in a note-book. Is the extraordinary practice therein referred to still kept up? I remember reading of a similar practice observed by women in Maisur or Kodag (Coorg) which is noted by Mr. R. H. Elliot in his *Experiences of a Planter*, but I have mislaid the reference :—

"A Hindu Temple is the Jat Jahāgir.—A correspondent of a mofussil paper states that there is a temple of the goddess Ellamma about a mile distant from the town of Jat, in the Jat Jahāgir. An

1 It seems possible that Hinglāz may have been not an indigenous, but an imported deity, introduced by the Kshattriyas.

2 *Rajasthan*, vol. II, pp. 5 and 572 (Madras reprint).

3 *Ibid.*, p. 658.

4 *IA*, vol. IX. p. 280.

5 She is the same as Reṇukādevī of the Marāṭhās etc. Ed., *IA*.

annual fair is held in honour of this idol at which about ten thousand people assemble. It has been held there for the last fourteen or fifteen years. Fifteen years ago a Mali or gardener set up the idol[6] and began to cheat the people by stating that it had appeared there of its own accord. Both men and women visit the temple and worship the idol. The very strange fact regarding this worship is, says the writer, that the worshippers, before commencing their worship, strip naked, apply powdered sandal wood, to their whole bodies, put on the ornaments they may have, hold a small branch of the *nimb* tree in their folded hands, and leave their places of residence to visit the idol. After visiting the idol, they go round the temple for a certain number of times. They then leave the temple to bathe in a neighbouring tank. After bathing, they return to the temple, worship the idol and return home."

(*Extract from a manuscript note by the late*
Mr. Robert Sewell, I. C. S.)

"BOUNDARY GODS.[1]—*Ellamma* or *Ellai devatā* worshipped largely throughout the whole of southern India. The Tamil Brāhmaṇas do not join in this worship. So in the Tamil districts the non-brahmin population alone worships these gods or goddesses. In the Telugu and Kanarese districts, mostly in the latter, the Brāhmaṇas join very largely in this worship. Every village has a goddess which has a special name or is called after the village. Patniamman is the goddess of Negapatam ; Mundakakanni for Mailapur ; Hosuramman for Hosur, etc. Śūdra priests enjoy *manyams*, grants of land, for the worship of the village goddess. Whenever epidemics break out, or once a year before the agricultural operations commence, the Boundary Goddess is worshipped on a large scale. The villagers assemble near her temple and conduct worship for several days—10, 12, 20, 22, as their funds afford, and on the last or closing day, sacrifice of animals is largely made. At midnight the cheif priest starts with cooked rice and blood mixed together and goes on distributing these in small balls throughout the

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1 The principal shrine or temple of Ellamma is at Ugargol near Saundatti in the Belgaum district, and is certainly a very old one, and so probably is the idol. It would be interesting to know the details of its history within recent times. Ed., *IA*.

village. Before starting on this expedition, the priest gets himself shaved completely and starts naked. On his return he bathes and gets a new cloth.

"When epidemics occur, the Mariyamman's image, in the form of a palm-leaf image or mud image, is dragged in a village and left at the end at the boundary-limit of the village; then the adjoining village takes it up and drags the chapper in that village and leaves the same at the end of the village. Thus the god or goddess is worshipped in every village on all special occasions."

Man or *Manna*

Professor Langdon writes :

"An incantation for child-birth contains this same legend of angels descending from heaven with jars of oil and water to lave the body of the 'hand-maid of the Moon-god', when in pain she bore the divine calf Amarga........This myth of the water of life, bread of life, plant of birth, and probably that of the plant of life, also current in Sumerian mythology, is surely the origin of the manna in Hebrew mythology said to be the exudation of the tamarisk. Yaw rained bread from heaven, which the Israelites called *man* during their wanderings in Sinai; it must have occurred to a people familiar with this Babylonian myth to call the food so miraculously sent by nature 'bread from Heaven'." (*L.S.*, p. 96, 97).

VIII

Words occurring in the Indus, proto-Elamite and Cretan Seals :—

(1)

Gu, *Go*, *Gau*

Go has got many meanings in Sanskrit literature. In the Indus inscriptions it seems to convey some lofty or exalted sense. In Sanskrit *go-loka* means heaven. The most popular name of the god Mahādeva is *Gaurīśa*. This word occurs frequently in the Indus inscriptions. It may refer to a similar god.

(2)

Nin, Ni

According to Mr. Gadd, *nin* means "lady, mistress (beltu); but can also be masc. lord, cf. *d*.nin-gir-su." (*SRB.*, p. 189).

In the Vedas instead of *nin* the word *ni* is frequently used in some cases in the sense of 'lord.' Hitherto this meaning of *ni* has not been generally recognised. The common custom is to connect it with the predicate. A careful examination of Vedic passages shows that this practice is not always satisfactory; in some cases it spoils the meaning and in others it makes *ni* practically superfluous. In the *Atharvaveda* we find mention of *Arbudi* and *Nyarbudi*. The prefix *ni* in *Nyarbudi* seems to have the meaning of 'lord.' The following passages may be examined:

नि गावो गोष्ठे असदन्नि मृगासो अविक्षत।
न्यूर्मयो नदीनां न्यदृष्टा अलिप्सत॥ अथर्ववेद ६, ५२, २
अर्बुदिर्नाम यो देव ईशानश्च न्यर्बुदिः। अथर्ववेद। ११. ९. ४
निर्वै क्षत्रं नयति...अथर्ववेद। ५. १८. ४
निरयः संनद्धो मनसा चरामि। अथर्ववेद। ९. १०, १५।
निर्वो मगुन्द्या दुहितरो......अथर्ववेद। २, १४, २.

Ṇi [Bhūrṇi]

See Ṛgveda : १. ५५. ७; ८. २५. १५; ८. ९९. १; ९. १५. ३;
९. १७. १; ९. ४१. १; ९. ७३. ४;
१. ६६, १; ७. ८७. २;
७. ८६, ७; ९. ५१. ४.

(3)

Nun, Nu, No

According to Mr. Gadd, *nun* means "prince, lord (rubú); adj. great, noble, goodly" (*SRB.*, p. 189). In the Vedic literature the words *nu* and *ṇo* occur. They are generally taken as personal pronouns. I have seen many passages in which the meaning 'lord' gives better sense. On the punch-marked coins the so-called 'elephant sign' reads to me something like *ṇo* or *nun*.

(4)

Nana, Nanar, Na

According to the Sumerian mythology the words *nana* and *nanar* denote some lofty ideas (see Appendix, Extract no. I-2) In the Paurāṇic and Tāntrik cults *Ṇa* is a proper name of the god Śiva.

णा-कार श्चाप्युमाकान्तो विज्ञेयो नरजित् प्रिये ॥ १९ ॥
श्रीतन्त्राभिधाने मन्त्राभिधानम् । p. १.
Saṃskṛta Press, Calcutta, 1913.

Originally it may have had some similar meaning. I have not been able to go into the question fully for want of time. The word *nana* is current in Indian languages, and in Hindustani *nānā* is applied to the mother's father. What is its origin ? (see also Appendix, Extract no. I-G)

(5)

En, Ena

According to Mr. Gadd, *en* means "lord (belu) ; adj. noble ; abstr. Nam-en, lord-ship (belūtu)." The word *ena* occurs frequently in the Vedas. There are passages where it may well be taken in the above sense.

(6)

Iśa, Iśar, Iśara, Iśan, Iśana, Iśi, Iśani

These words are current in the Sanskrit language under slightly different forms. For the meaning of these words current in the Sumerian mythology, see Appendix, Extract no. IV-5.

(7)

Gur, Guru

According to Mr. Gadd, the meaning of *gur* when used as an adjective is 'huge', 'mighty.' The meaning of *guru* in Sanskrit is exactly the same.

(8)

Ma, Mu, Mo

According to Mr. Gadd, ."MA²-E, MA². I, indep. pers. pron. Ist sing. 12.-M², suffixed pers. pron. Ist sing. indir." (*SRB.*, p. 187).

Sumerian *mu* and the Sanskrit *mo* and *ma* do not differ materially in their meanings.

(9)

Gula

In the Sumerian language *gula* means 'great' or 'mighty'. It occurs in the Vedas, but its meaning is not well understood. Lord Kṛṣṇa is called Guḷā-keśa. The following passages may be examined :

उलूखल सुतानामवेद्विंद्र जल्गुलः ।

ऋग्वेद । १. २८. ४.

उरुगुलाय दुहिता । अथर्ववेद ५, १३, ८.

(10)

Sisa

According to Mr. Gadd, *si-sa* means "straight, just" (*SRB.*, p. 190. see *SI*). It occurs frequently in Cretan as well as in Indus inscriptions. The following passages may be examined :

येऽमावास्यां रात्रिमुदस्थुर्व्राजमत्रिणः ।

अग्निस्तुरीयो यातुहा सो अस्मभ्यमधि ब्रवत् ॥ १ ॥

सीसायाध्याह वरुणः सीसाग्निरुपावति ।

सीसं म इंद्रः प्रायच्छत्तदङ्ग यातुचातनम् ॥ २ ॥

... ...

तं त्वा सीसेन विध्यामो................॥ ४ ॥

अथर्ववेद । १. १६.

इद ं सर्वं ं सिषासताम ॥ ३ ॥

तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मण का० ३, प्र० १२, अ० ६, पृ० २६१

शश्वदासत सिषासताम् ॥ ६ ॥

तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मण का० ३, प्र० १२, अ० ६, पृ० २६३

जपेत् 'सासी' त्यमुं मन्त्रं...अत्र विनियोगसंग्रहः ॥

तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मण-भाष्य. का० ३, प्र० ७, अनु ७, पृ० ५१७

नडमा रोह न ते अत्र लोक इदं सीसं भागधेयं त एहि।

अथर्ववेद । १२. २. १.

(11)

Sīsara

"सीसर Sīsara. m. N. of a mythical dog (the husband of Saramā), Pār Gṛ."—M. Ws.

(12)

Ilībiśa

"इलीबिश Ilībíśa, as, m., N. of a demon conquered by Indra, Rv. i, 33, 12."—M. Ws.

(13)

Śarabha

"शरभ *Śarabhā*, m. a kind of deer or (in latter times) a fabulous animal."—M. Ws.

Sima

(1) सिम Pron. Uṇādis. 1. 143 (सिम)...श्रेष्ठ. सिम इति वै श्रेष्टमाचक्षत इति वाजसनेयकम् Sāyaṇa on Ṛv. 8. 4. 1 [Bhötlingk and Roth]

(2) See Böhtlingk and Roth for शिम, शिमिका, शिमिदा, शिमिद्वन्त, शिमिविद्विष etc. On शिमिविद्विष Bhötlingk and Roth write "शिमिविद्विष अ॰ was bedeuten könnte *Werke nicht anfeindend* Tait. Ār. 1. 9. 3".

(3) सिम 1. Simá, mfn. (prob. connected with 1. *Sama* ; abl. *Simasmāt*, dat. *Sima'smai*, voc. *Si'mā* [Padap. Sima, Ṛv. viii, 41] ; n. pl., Síme) all, every, whole, entire (according to some = *Śreṣṭha* ; according to others = ātman, 'one's self') Ṛv. [M. Ws. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*.]

ABBREVIATIONS

L. S. = Semitic Mythology by Professor S. H. Langdon (1931).
L. TI. = Tammuz and Ishtar by Professor S. H. Langdon.
ME. = Scripta Minoa by Sir Arthur J. Evans (1909).
MP. = Mémoires de la Mission Archêlogique de Perse, Tome XVII Mission en Susiane sous la direction de MM. R. de Mecquenem et V. Scheil, Textes de Comptabilité proto-Elamites.
Ṛv. = Ṛgveda.
GADD. = A Sumerian Reading Book by C. J. Gadd (1924).

ANIṄGYAM

EDITED BY

V. VENKATARAMA SHARMA

VIDYĀBHŪṢAṆA

Aniṅgyam

Aniṅgyam is the name of a small work hitherto not published. It is one among the works on Vedalakṣaṇa (works describing the characteristics of Vedas). The present work has been written with reference to Taittirīya school of the *Black Yajurveda.* Aniṅgya means undivided (words) or avibhakta (pada). It does not mean a single (word) or asamasta (pada), because compound-words (samasta) like 'Śacīpati' 'Bṛhaspati' etc. are considered among the words of Aniṅgya. The derivation of the word is as follows: *iṅgyate vibhāgenoccāryate*[1] *itīṅgyam ; na iṅgyam aniṅgyam.* From this derivation, it is easy to understand that the name of the work given is something significant. [2]Aniṅgya words are numerous and all of them are not the subject matter of this work. But it is intended only to give a clear idea in a conclusive manner regarding the words which will give doubt whether they are aniṅgyas or iṅgyas.

The work contains 99 verses in different metres. It is divided into two parts ; the former describing 49 general rules regarding the words of aniṅgya in 24 verses, and the latter giving a list of the same words in Sanskrit alphabetical order, which are dishevelled in the Vedic text, and not included in the general rules of the first part (with some exceptions), in 75 verses.

In making an edition of this work, I have consulted three Mss. (two in palm-leaves and one in paper), which belong to the Oriental Mss. Library of the Theosophical Society at Adyar, Madras. The first is a paper Ms : (No. 20. G. 21. $\frac{7}{172}$), written in Devanāgarī script, and contains the text and a commentary also. But it is full of errors, and omissions of passages (of commentary) and verses (in the text) in several places. The second is a Ms. of the text alone, written in Grantha script. The last (No. XXII. B. 39. 49) is also in the same script, and mostly resembles the first in correctness. But the commentary is slightly different. These are designated as A.B.C. respectively. As the condition of the Mss. is unsatisfactory

1 'Vibhāgena cālyate itīṅgyam'. Vide "Vaidikābharaṇa" of "Taittirīya-prātiśākhya" on sūtra "Nānāpadavad iṅgyam asaṅkhyāne".

2 Vide verse 3, part 1. and verse 75. in part II.

it is not possible for me to give a commentary on the text in a correct and complete method, from the Mss. So, after a careful study of these Mss. I have added a *ṭīkā* to the text.

Eṣāniṅgyapadānām padavī sandarśitā viśuddhadhiyā/
Devamanīṣisutena Śrīvatsāṅkena Taittirīyāṇām//

From this closing verse, we understand that one Śrīvatsāṅka son of Devamanīṣi is the author of the work. There is no doubt that these two names which occur in this verse are ficticious and not original. But this verse is to be seen at the end of the commentary in two Mss. and at the end of the text in another Ms., hence there is difficulty to infer, whether Śrīvatsāṅka is the author of the text alone or the comentary or both.

I am greatly indebted to Dr. C. K. Raja, M.A., PH.D. for allowing me to use the Mss. of the Adyar Library.

ANIṄGYAM

Śrīhayagrīvāya namaḥ.

Munimānasamanthānamathitāgamasāgarāt/
Uditāya namo bhūyād amṛtāya murāraye//1//
Guṇatrayavihīnāya jagattrayavidhāyine/
Śrutitrayadṛśe śaśvat puratrayama(the) namaḥ//2//
Namaskṛtya vinetāraṃ vighnānām anuśiṣyate/
Aniṅgyam iṅgyasādṛśyād yat sandehāspadam padam//3//
Śruti-śruc-chabda-nirdiṣṭaṃ vikṛtaṃ cāpadātmakaiḥ/
Syād ananyavad

'Śruti', 'śrut', 'śabda', ityeṣām anyatamena nirdiṣṭam, yac chabdarūpaṃ tad apadātmakair varṇaiḥ (pratyayādibhiḥ) vikṛtaṃ kiñcin nyūnādhikabhāvena kiñcid anyathābhūtam api ananyavat syāt anyathā na bhavati (aniṅgyam bhavati).

yathā—atithiśrutiḥ (vide [1]p. 2. v. 8).
āyuṣaśrutiḥ (p. 2. v. 12).
ājiśrut (p. 2, v. 12).
ārttaśrut (p. 2. v. 13).
udumbaraśabda (p. 2. v. 21).
tūparatvotaśabdau (p. 2. v. 34).

1 P.—part. V.—verse.

tasmāt tūparā (p. 2. v. 34) (vikṛta).
tāvatīḥ saṃvatsarasya (p. 2. v. 33).
pautudravān paridhīn (p. 2. v. 47).

ankārādyakārādi ca yat padam//4//

Ankārādi vā akārādi vā sat vikṛtam, tad api ananyavat syāt (aniṅgyam bhavati).

yathā—anāmayac ca me.
anamīvo bhavā naḥ.
anapa vyayantaḥ.
aparāvapiṣṭham (akārādivikṛtam).
avimuccyamānaḥ.

Bhir-bhyām-bhyas-subhir arvāg obhāvaṃ hrasvabhāg adīrghaṃ ca/
Nityaṃ vihāya neṅgyam

'Bhiḥ', 'bhyāṃ', 'bhyaḥ', 'su' ityetais saha ebhyo'rvāk pūrvam obhāvaṃ hrasvabhāg adīrghaṃ ca nityaṃ vihāya varjayitvā bhavati neṅgyaṃ na vigrāhyam bhavatīty arthaḥ. Atra obhāvaśabdena visarjanīyavikāra obhāvo nirdiśyate. Tasyaiva sambhavāt. Hrasvabhākśabdena '*athādāv uttare vibhāge hrasvaṃ vyañjanaparaḥ*'[1] iti atrāvagrahādhikāre yasya dīrghasya hrasvavidhānam asti tad ucyate. Adīrghaśabdena dīrghād anyahrasvaṃ vyañjanam cocyate. Plutasyābhāvāt. Ataḥ pāriśeṣyād arvāg dīrgham eva neṅgyam iti gamyate. Nityagrahaṇam apavādaviṣaye'py eṣām aniṅgyatā yathā syād iti. Ato *vāvāder api vāvadadbhir* ity atra Rudreṣu ca *śvabhyaḥ śvapatibhyaś ca* ityādīnām pañcaṣākṣarāṇām api nāniṅgyatā syāt. Caśabdo neṅgyam ity anuvartayati. Etac cā samapteḥ.

yathā—mavam jaṅghābhiḥ.
mana uśriyāsu.
santanūbhis somo rudrebhiḥ.

Vāvādīni vihāyeti kim ? vipakṣebhiḥ. śam ahobhyām. aṃhobhyaḥ.
Hrasvabhāk—rātrībhiḥ. dvābhyāṃ citībhyām. oṣadhībhyaḥ.
Adīrgham—sāmabhiḥ. bhānubhiḥ. marubhiḥ. prastotṛpratihantṛbhyām.
Arvāg iti kim ? su āgrayaṇo jinva.

1 See sūtra 1. Addhyāya iii. of "Taittirīya-prātiśākhya".

go gīs sura dundu ceti bhiśrutyā||5||

Bhiśrutyā saha 'goḥ', 'gīḥ', 'sura', 'dundu' ityetāni neṅgyāni bhavanti.

yathā—agne gobhiḥ.
gīrbhiḥ nabhaḥ.
surabhir vasānaḥ.
surabhino mukhā.
surabhīṇi viyantu.
dundubhir vāvadīti.
yā dundubhau.
dundubhīn samāghnanti.

Arvāk sarvaṃ ṣuṇā

'Ṣu' ityanena saha arvāk sarvaṃ neṅgyam bhavati.

yathā—puro yāvānam ājiṣu. paśuṣu.
meṣīṣu. pāśīṣu. citīṣūpa.

tadvat syādi-smādyakṣarair avi/

Syādyakṣaraiḥ smādyakṣaraiḥ saha tadvat pūrvavat arvāk sarvaṃ vi' ityetasmād anyan neṅgyam bhavati.

yathā—yad apa syād upa dadhāti.
avasyur asi uvasvān.
agnes tvāsyena.
katamasmai parasmāt.
Avīti kim ? viṣyūtam iti vi syūtam.

Vaikārādipadaṃ vaiṣṇāvaiśvāyuk

'Vaiṣṇā', 'vaiśva' ityetābhyām ayuktam vaikārādipadaṃ neṅgyam.
yathā—tā vai dehyo'bhavan. vaibhītaka idhmaḥ.
yad vai kaṅkatam. vaibhūdhāya.
Vaiṣṇāvaiśvāyug iti kim ? vaiṣṇā vāruṇīm. vaiśvadevīm āmikṣām.
vaiśvakarmaṇā ni juhoti.

sāsahādi ca //6//

'Sāsaha' ityevamādipadaṃ neṅgyam.

yathā—sāsahyāma pṛtanyataḥ.
vājeṣu sāsahat.
pṛtanāsu sāsahim.

Saukārādi

Saukārādipadaṃ neṅgyam bhavati.

yathā—sauvarcanasaḥ. sauśravasāya. sautrāmaṇyā yajeta. sauhārdena. te saudhanvānāḥ.

saparyādi

Saparyādipadaṃ neṅgyam.
yathā—saparyantaḥ puru priyam.
sa urī saparyāt.

nīyavīyāmayādi ca/

'Nīya', 'vīya', 'āmaya' ityevamādipadaṃ neṅgyam.
yathā—vā eṣa nīyate. mṛtyave nīyamānam.
yasya jyogāmayati. āmayāvī.

Traikārādi

Traikārādipadaṃ neṅgyam.
yathā—yat traidhātavīyam.
Indrāya traiṣṭubhāya.

kukārādi naso-gopoyutaṃ vinā //7//

Nasogopoyutaṃ vinā kukārādi neṅgyam.
yathā—kusṛvinda Auddālakiḥ. kulāyinam.
Nasogopoyutaṃ vineti kim ? kuṃbhīnasaḥ. kulagopo yat.

Arātyādi ca

Arātyādipadaṃ neṅgyam.
yathā--arātīyantam. arātīyato hantā. arātī vā.

vāvādi

Vāvādipadam neṅgyam.
yathā—vāvadato abhriyasya. vāvātā jaratāṃ vāvaśāne.
vāvaśatīḥ. vāvṛdhānaḥ.

jaśabdāyuk prathādi ca/

Jaśabdāyuk 'pratha' ityevamādipadaṃ neṅgyam.
yathā—mitram prathiṣṭham. prathimā ca. prathimānam.
ye aprathetām. uru prathasva. dharmāṇi prathamāni.
Jaśabdāyug iti kim ? prathamajā ṛtasya.

Dhūrvātiṣṭhādikaṃ

'Dhūrva', 'atiṣṭha' ityevamādipadaṃ neṅgyam.
yathā—dhūrva dhūrvantam. asmāṃ̐ dhūrvati. vayam dhūrvāma. yajñayātiṣṭhamānā. yajñam pratyati atiṣṭhipām.

ṣaṣṭhau turyau dityau vyathādi ca //8//

'Ṣaṣṭhau', 'turyau', 'dityau', 'vyatha' ityevamādipadaṃ neṅgyam.

yathā—ṣaṣṭhau hi ca me. turyau hi. dityau hi.

dityaubhyastā rudrāṇām. avatān mā vyathitam.

Īd upādyakṣaraṃ tac ced ekavyañjanamadhyagam/

Yasya padasyādyakṣarād anantarākṣaram īkāras tad īdupādyakṣaram. Tac copādyakṣaram ekajātīyayor vyañjanayor madhyagataṃ cet neṅgyam.

yathā—ajījipata. avīvarata. amīmadanta pitaraḥ. atītṛpanta.

Īdupādyakṣaram iti kim ? eṣām navāvadhānam. anupūrvaṃ viyūya.

Meghaśīkādiśabdau ca varjayitvā dvitīyakau//9//

'Megha', 'śīka' ityevamādiśabdau dvitīyakau varjayitvānyat sarvaṃ neṅgyam bhavati.

yathā—meghāyiṣyate. śīkāyiṣyate.

Varjayitvā dvitīyakāv iti kim ? meghāyate. śīkāyate.

Māmādi

'Māma' ityevamādipadaṃ neṅgyam.

yathā—māmateyaṃ te agne. adhi māmahānaḥ. māmakānām.

caikatāyādi trikam

Neṅgyam.

yathā—ekatāya svāhā. dvitāya svāhā. tritāya svāhā.

īdṛṅṅ iti trikam/

Īdṛṅādipadaṃ trayaṃ neṅgyam.

yathā—īdṛṅ vai rāṣṭram. anyādṛṅ. etādṛṅ.

Trikam iti kim ? pratidṛṅ.

Pratnathādicatuṣkaṃ

Neṅgyam.

yathā—pratnathā. pūrvathā. viśvathā. imathā.

Catuṣkam iti kim ? jjyeṣṭhatātim.

cedṛśāyādicatuśrutiḥ//10//

Īdṛśādayaś catuśruto neṅgyāḥ. īdṛśāya. kīdṛśāya. tādṛśāya. sadṛśāya.

yathā—mṛḍāta īdṛśe.

sadṛśaṃ krāmati. tasmāt sadṛśīnām.

Catuśrutir iti kim ? vi sadṛśāya. su sadṛśāya.

Rudreṣu ca dvitīyādiṣv aṣṭasv anupasargayuk/
Bhave-mate-karāya-nye-bhīkṣṇa-go-pūrva-vāstvayuk//11//
Apañcaṣākṣaraḥ śabdaḥ

Rudraikādaśānuvākeṣu dvitīyādiṣv aṣṭasv anuvākeṣu anupasargayuk upasargayuktād anyat. Upasargāḥ prādayaḥ. 'Bhave', 'mate', 'karāya', 'nye', 'bhīkṣṇa', 'go' 'pūrva', 'vāstu' ityetaiś cāyuk apañcākṣaraḥ aṣaḍakṣaraś ca yaś śabdas sa neṅgyaḥ.

yathā—vabhluśāya vi vyādhine. rohitāya sthapataye. mantriṇe vāṇijāya. bhuvantaye. kakubhīya. namo giriśāya śaṅkarāya ca. jjyeṣṭhāya. kaniṣṭhāya.

Upasargāyug iti kim ? saṃvṛdhvane. ātapyāya. ālādyāya.
Apañcaṣākṣara iti kim ? harikeśāya. hiraṇyabāhave.

niṣā-sū-sas-sahādayaḥ/
Nīpyāyudhāśavāsīnāvaṭyāvāryādiśabdavat//12//

Teṣu dvitīyādiṣv aṣṭasu 'niṣā', 'sū', 'saḥ', 'saha' ityevamādayaḥ śabdāḥ 'nīpyā', 'āyudhā', 'āśava', 'āsīna', 'avaṭya', 'avāryā' ityevamādiśabdavad vikṛtā api aniṅgyā bhavanti.

yathā—niṣādebhyaḥ. sūdyāya ca. sūrmyāya ca. saspiñjarāḥ. sahamānāya. nīpyāya ca. āyudhine ca. āśave ca. āsīnebhyaḥ. avaṭyāya ca. avāryāya ca.

Īkārādāv īm avāpopasaṃnyud-
viprāyug yā sā śrutiḥ prothate ca/

Īkārādāv anuvāke 'Īm' 'ava' 'apa' 'upa' 'saṃ' 'ni' 'ut' 'vi' 'pra' ityetair ayuktā yā śrutis sā ca prothate śrutiś ca neṅgyā bhavati.

yathā—palāyitāya svāhā. āsiṣyate svāhā. prothate svāhā. prothat aśśvaḥ.

Īm avādyayug iti kim ? īkṛtāyetīṅkṛtāya svāhā. ava krandate svāhā. apa anāya svāhā. upa raṃsyate svāhā. niṣaṇṇāya svāhā. niviṣṭāya svāhā. utthāsyate. vi īkṣiṣyate. pra bhotsyate.

Ūrdhve pakṣe datvatādāv adādir
hitvā' retaskāya cā'prāṇate ca//13//

Datvata ityanuvāke ūrdhve pakṣe aretaskāya aprāṇate iti ca hitvā adādir akārādiśrutir neṅgyā.

yathā—aprāṇāya. alomakāya. alomakā amedhyā. anasthikāya svāhā. tasmād anasthikena.

Ūrdhve pakṣe iti kim ? aruṇvate svāhā.

Adādir iti kim ? prajananāya svāhā.

Hitvā' retaskāya cāprāṇate ceti kim ? aretaskāya svāhā. aprāṇate svāhā.

Ekākṣarādyaditpūrvam mānamāṇaśrud antakam/
Bahiḥ śatopasargāyug vinā sātmānam ity api//14//

Ekam evākṣaram ādiḥ pūrvaṃ yābhyāṃ mānamāṇaśrudbhyām akāra ikāro vā yābhyāṃ ca pūrvas te tathokte. Ekākṣarādī aditpūrve' vā mānamāṇaśrutāv ante yasya padasya tat tathoktam. 'Bahiḥ', 'sata' ityetābhyām upasargaiś cāyuktam sātmānam iti padam vinā yad ekākṣarād yad itpūrvamānamāṇaśrudantakaṃ tat padaṃ neṅgyam bhavati.

yathā—bhūmānam. somānam. premāṇam. sahasā gāhamānaḥ. ahṛṇīyamānāḥ. mahimānam. jarimāṇam.

Ekākṣarād iti kim ? tāvanmānaṃ syāt.

Bahiś śatopasargāyug iti kim ? bahiḥ pāvamānaḥ. śatamānam bhavati.

Vinā sātmānam iti kim ? yaḥ sātmānam iti sā ātmānaṃ cinute.

Śṛtaṃ daśa puro dakṣa svagā tvad upasargayuk/
Vihāya tāraśabdāntam

'Śṛtam', 'daśa', 'puraḥ', 'dakṣa', 'svagā', 'tvat' ityetair anupasargaiś ca yuktaṃ vihāya tāraśabdāntam padaṃ neṅgyam bhavati.

yathā—te vayaṃ tarpayitāraḥ. daditāras syāma. janitāram agre.

Śṛtamādi vihāyeti kim ? śṛtaṃ karttāraḥ. daśa hotāram apaśyat. pura etāraḥ. asya dakṣāḥ. yajñasya svagākarttāram. tvatpitāraḥ. ava gamayitāraḥ. upa gātāraḥ. prati harttāraḥ.

tathā tavyaśrudantakam //15//

Tavyaśrudantakaṃ padaṃ pūrvavad upasargayutaṃ vihāya neṅgyam bhavati śṛtamādibhir yogābhāvāt.

yathā—agniś cetavyaḥ. adhvarttavyāḥ.

Upasargāyug iti kim ? na pravastavyam.

Suprāyug vāṃsaśabdāntam

'Su', 'pra' ityetābhyām ayuktam vaṃśaśabdāntam padaṃ neṅgyam bhavati.

yathā—jakṣivāṃsaḥ. papivāṃsaḥ.

Suprāyug iti kim ? su vidvāṃsaḥ. vitenire pra viviśivāṃsam.

asuyuk cīśrud antakam/

'Su' ityanenāyuktam cīśrudantakam neṅgyam bhavati.

yathā—prācī. pratīcī.

Asuyug iti kim? su prācī. su pratīcī.

Dhṛtāntāv iṣṭhayantāntaśabdāv anupasargakau//16//

Dhṛtāntau pracayāntau 'iṣṭha', 'yanta' ityevamantau upasargarahitau ca aniṅgyau bhavataḥ.

yathā—yavasām pathiṣṭhaḥ. śubhaṃ gamiṣṭhau. avṛkā aśramiṣṭhāḥ. bhūyiṣṭhāṃ te. kayā śaciṣṭhayā. abhivājayantaḥ. divā patayantaḥ pathibhiḥ. pārayantā. abhrayantī.

Dhṛtāntāv iti kim? ajā asi rayiṣṭheti rayiṣṭhāḥ. kucaro giriṣṭhā iti giri sthāḥ. amitra yantam.

Anupasargāv iti kim? ā yajiṣṭha. svasti abhivarttayantaḥ. śatrūn anapa vyayantaḥ.

Nissaṃvyukthermavīrāsaḥ pūrṇāyuk tricatussvaram/
Etaikādyapi vāso'ntam

'Niḥ', 'sam', 'vi', 'uktha', 'īrma', 'vīrāsaḥ', 'pūrṇa' ityetair ayuktaṃ tryakṣaraṃ caturakṣaraṃ vā 'etā', 'ekā' ityevamādi ca aso'ntam padam neṅgyam bhavati.

yathā—maghavānam. sutāsaḥ. atandrāsaḥ. kitavāsaḥ, apsuṣadaḥ.

Nir ādyayug iti kim? niḥ yāsaḥ. sam itāsaś ca naḥ. vi śikhāsaḥ. ukthaśāsaḥ. īrma antāsaḥ. su vīrāsaḥ. pūrṇamāsaḥ.

Tricatussvaram iti kim? tu vimrakṣāso divyāḥ. aviduṣṭarāsaḥ.

tathā yāṃsaśrud antakam//17//

Yāṃsaśrudantakam padaṃ tathā pūrvavat tricatussvaraṃ cen neṅgyam bhavati.

yathā—bhūyāṃsaḥ asurāh. atho iti raghīyāṃsaḥ. pakṣau drāghīyāṃsaḥ.

Stān-masyantam

'Stāt', 'masi' ityevamantam padam neṅgyam bhavati.

yathā—parastāc ca. avastāc ca. minīmasi. carāmasi.

svata-svanta-ṣmata-ṣmantaśrud antakam/

'Svata', 'svanta', 'ṣmata', 'ṣmanta' ityevaṃśrudantam padam neṅgyam bhavati.

yathā—pīpivāṃsam sarasvataḥ. sūryāya tvā bhrājasvate. payasvatīr oṣadhayaḥ. sārasvatau homau. ūrjasvantam. vivasvantam. jjyotiṣmate. haviṣmantaḥ. jjyotiṣmantaḥ.

Tvata-tvanta-ṣyata-ṣyanta śrudantaṃ nopasargayuk//18//

'Tvata' 'tvanta' 'ṣyata' 'ṣyanta' ityevaṃśrudantaṃ na ced upasarga yuṅ neṅgyam bhavati.

yathā—Indrasya vai marutvataḥ. marutvantaṃ vṛṣabham. stanayiṣyate. khaniṣyantaḥ.

Nopasargayug iti kim ? vāyave ni yutvate. ni yutvantam. sam proṣyate. parā bhaviṣyantaḥ.

Tavai-tave-mahai-mahe-mahi-dhvamantakaṃ tathā/

'Tavai', 'tave', 'mahai', 'mahe', 'mahi', 'dhvam' ityevamantaṃ tathā ; pūrvaṃ na ced upasargayuṅ neṅgyam bhavati.

yathā—yātavai. jīvātave. aśnavāmahai. śapāmahe. sakṣīmahi. śundhadhvam.

Tatheti kim ? anu etavai. prati dhātave. sam avadyāmahai. anu ārabhāmahe. sam adhadhvam.

Ukaśrudantakam yad apyabhāvukopasargayuk||19//

Bhāvukaśabdena upasargaiś ca yuktād anyad yad ukaśrudantakaṃ tad api neṅgyam bhavati.

yathā—urvārukam iva. gāvīthukam carum.

Prāṅ-vāgayug ag āg aṅṅ āṅ antam cen na catussvaram/

'Prāṅ', 'vāk' ityetābhyām ayuk 'ak', 'āk', 'aṅ', 'āṅ' ityevamantaṃ padam caturakṣaram na cen neṅgyam bhavati.

yathā—ānuṣak jujoṣat. prāk. apāk. adharāk. viṣvaṅ. parāṅ.

Prāṅ vāgayug iti kim ? su prāṅ. su vāk.

Na catussvaram iti kim ? asma driyak. upa avāsrāk.

Tvān-ṣāḍantaṃ

'Tvān', 'ṣāḍ' ityevamantam padam neṅgyam bhavati.

yathā—cikitvān. marutvān. turāṣaṭ. ṛtāṣāṭ.

saṣopetaṃ vi-vad-vān-mān-madantakam//20//

Sakāreṇa ṣakāreṇa vā saṃyuktaṃ 'vi', 'vad', 'vān', 'mān', 'mat' ityevamantam padaṃ neṅgyam bhavati.

yathā—rakṣa vī rakṣasī. aṅgirasvat. ūrjasvān. payasvān, āyuṣmān,

Saṣopetam iti kim? saḥ pratnavat. aṃśumadyat. gāmān agne, iḍāvān eṣaḥ.

Cīnāñcāñcasvinān taśrut

'Cīna', 'añca', 'āñca', 'svina' ityevamantaśrun neṅgyam bhavati.

yathā—pratīcīnam vṛjinam. parācīnā mukhā. viṣūcīnān vyasyatām. pātamā pratyañcam. tiryañcam. parāñcaḥ. namasvinaḥ. manasvine.

tvāntam mahyabhiyug vinā/

'Mahi', 'abhi' ityetābhyāṃ yuktaṃ vinā tvāntam padaṃ neṅgyam bhavati.

yathā—uditvā. mathitvā.

Mahyabhiyug vineti kim? antarikṣam mahi tvā. abhi satvā.

Apidvādiś ca saṁkhyāśrud vihāya paraniprayuk//21/

'Para', 'ni', 'pra' ityetair yuktam vihāya saṃkhyāvācinī śrutir neṅgyā bhavati. Apidvādiś ca sā neṅgyaiva. Apidvādiś ceti vacanaṃ saṃkhyāntarādeḥ saṃkhyāśabdasya parisaṃkhyānārtham.

yathā—yad viṃśatiḥ. triṃśat. catvāriṃśat.

Vihāya paraniprayug iti kim? para ardhāya svāhā. niyutāya svāhā.

Apidvādiś ceti kim? pañcadaśa śāmidhenīḥ. caturviṃśatim anu brūyāt.

Agre bhāgā bhagaśrud giri hari sam anīkorjabhadrādri
vṛtrāvarttinn āśāśu rapśinn uda sadha sahasā
dhūs svadhā tāna rūpa/
Deva tvaṃ dānavo vāḍ uru puru mahaso vājinī vājа viśvāśruj jātaśrud vasā vasv ṛta ghṛta śata
gātvagni mitra tri loka//22//
Pate mate śuci śipi satya cakṣaṇākṣa pītayo rayi riśi
candra cāriṇi/
Bhavo ughe' dhvara magha yajña vāhanapraṇītayo huta
tama tigma ni pra ṇiḥ//23//
Ebhir yuktaṃ hrasvabhāg yuk bahusvar
yodūdantaṃ devatādvandvakaṃ ca/
Hitvā sarvam nīcam anyasvaraṃ cen
nīcam tac cāpy evam evohanīyam//24//

'Agre', 'bhāgā', 'bhagaśrut', 'giri', 'hari', 'sam', 'anīka', 'ūrja', 'bhadra', 'adri', 'vṛtra', 'āvarttin', 'āśā', 'āśu', 'rapśin', 'uda', 'sadha', 'sahasā', 'dhūḥ' 'svadhā', 'tāna', 'rūpa', 'deva', 'tvam', 'dānavaḥ', 'vāḍ', 'uru', 'puru',

'mahasaḥ', 'vājinī', 'vāja','viśvāśrut', 'jātaśrut', 'vasā', 'vasu', 'ṛta', 'ghṛta', 'śata', 'gātu', 'agni', 'mitra', 'tri', 'loka', 'pate', 'mate', 'śuci', 'śipi', 'satya', 'cakṣaṇa', 'akṣa', 'pītayaḥ', 'rayi', 'riśi', 'candra', 'cāriṇi', 'bhavaḥ', 'ughe', 'adhvara', 'magha', 'yajña', 'vāhana', 'praṇītayaḥ', 'huta', 'tama'. 'tigma', 'ni', 'pra', 'ṇiḥ', ityetair yuktam hrasvabhāg avagrahayuktam bahvakṣaravad okārāntam ukārāntam ca padam devatādvandvaśabdam ca varijayitvā anyad anudāttam sarvam neṅgyam. Evaṃ sarvatronneyam.

yathā—Indranardabuda. ahe daidhiṣavya. pitaraḥ pitāmahāḥ. aśvam āyuñjan. enasaḥ pāpayiṣṭa. abhicākaśīhi. kim asmān kṛṇavat. etan me gopāya. anamitrāya suvadhvam. anu vīrayadhvam.

Eṣām dhvamantānām upasargayogaśāṅkā sarvagrahaṇena nivāryate.

Ebhir yuktaṃ hitveti kim ? agre pūvaḥ. agre guvaḥ. januṣā su bhāgāḥ. bhaga īśānaḥ. śivām giritra tām. tat hari. sam idhāna. su anīkā. ūrja sane. kṛṇavad bhadraśoce. arātīvā cid adri vaḥ. vṛtrahaṇā juṣethām. agne bhyāvarttin. devā āśāpālāḥ. apāṃ napād āśu heman. visṛpo virapśin. agna udadhe. pṛthivyās sadhasthād agnim. sahasāvan pariṣṭau. dhūr ṣāhā. prabhṛtasya svadhā vaḥ. namasta ātānā. vācā vi rūpa nityayā. pṛthivi devayajani. prajāpatis tvaṃ vedayaṃ. marutas su dānavāḥ. suvo vāṭ. viṣṇo uru krama. puruhūtayāmani. divo vi mahasaḥ. vājeṣu vājinīvati. vājino vājajitaḥ. viśvavāre. jātaṃ jātavedasi. vasāṃ vasā pāvānaḥ. vasunītha yajñaiḥ. ṛtam ṛtapāḥ. ghṛtam ghṛtapāvānaḥ. śatakṛtvo yūyam. gātuvidaḥ. agnīt. mitram aho. evātriṇāman. lokakṛtau. agne gṛhapate. anvidam anumate tvam. bhūṣaśucipāḥ. śipiviṣṭā havyam. satytā te. vicakṣaṇaḥ. agne sahasrākṣa. devāḥ sapītayaḥ. rayivaḥ suvīram. yuṣmākotīriśādasaḥ. ubhe suścandra sarpiṣaḥ. stomāsastvāvicāriṇi. subhavaḥ. kāmaṃ kāmadughe. svadhvara. antaryaccha maghavan. yajñair vā yajñavāhanaḥ. yad agne kavyavāhana. sadata supraṇītayaḥ. agne ghṛtenāhuta. tubhyantī aṅgirastama. satigma jambha. avabhṛthanicaṅkuṇa. prayajyavastiradhvam. nirṭe viśvarūpe.

Hrasvabhāg avagrahayuktam hitveti kim ? śuddhā yuvaḥ. omāsaś carṣaṇīdhṛtaḥ.

Bahusvaryodūdantam hitveti kim ? adabdhāyo. aśītatano. su krato.
Devatādvandvakaṃ hitveti kim ? Indrāgnī. Indrābṛhaspatī. Dyāvāpṛthivī.

Anyasvaraṃ cen nīcaṃ tac cāpyevam evohanīyam iti kim ? Kvacin nīcatvena dṛṣṭam padam anyatra nīcād anyair udāttādibhir yuktaṃ cet tac cāpy evam eva neṅgyam iti ūhanīyam.

yathā—gopāya naḥ svastaye. chandāṃsyāsan.

Hariḥ om.

Athānamitrānyatarāmbarīṣaśruto'vadhiṣmāśvataro'navadyam/
Avākayāṅkāṅkam asūṣudantāvayātavīyān avatād
avadhyam//1//
Apaspṛdhetām apathāgṛhītaśrud abhyasetām arapā arepāḥ/
Apiprayaṃ cāpsarasaśrud asyasy apasyuvo'nulbaṇam
asravantīm//2//
Avattaśabdo'paśavo'paśavyaśrud aśvako'didyutad apnavānaḥ/
Apadyamānāntarato'pavitrāv apāram anvīpam apeśase ca//3//
Anuṣṭuyāniṣṭṛto'niṣṭakābhiṣṭīr abhiṣṭaye'bhīravo'bhīvato
'bhittyai/
Anenasānehasānāgasāvarttiśruto'po'repasāv anya-
thāṅguṣṭham//4//
Alajo'tkāśācchāvākaśrud avocāmājuṣṭāniṣṭāḥ/
Ababhūno'vāśṛṅgo'nāśvān adadṛṃhanto'naḍvāhaśrut//5//
Ajagaraśabdo'vadyād aramatir apuvāyate' puvāyeta/
Apaśur akūpārasyānāśīrkeṇānyake'nyakeṣāṃ ca//6//
Areḍatāvaro'vaṭaśrutāv apūpam aṅkupam/
Areṇavo'vakāvṛkāvasāpasaśruto'gadam//7//
Ahiṃsantam asunvantam aditsantam ayācitam/
Anavāram anarvāṇam atharvāṇo'tithiśrutiḥ//8//
Adhvaryanto'ntam (ā ? a)yakṣmāyasmayāmīvaśabdavat/
Adhvaryośrud abhīke'todhy akṣitāṅghāriśabdavat//9//
Ajarebhir anījānam avamā cāvamo'vamam/
Acchalābhir abhīśūnām aśnuvītāśamanta ca//10//
Apīcyosrīvir anyāsām anaśan naparīṣu ca/
Avāre'pravatāvātāvitāśrud aṇavo'dhamam//11//

Anamitra—Anamitraṃ ca me.
Anamitrāya suvadhvam.
Anyatara—Anyatarāṃś ca na.
Anyatarasyānhaḥ.
Ambarīṣa—Ambarīṣād annakāmasya.
Ambarīṣe vai.
Avadhiṣma—Avadhiṣma rakṣaḥ.
Aśvatara—Aśvataro'tyaplavata.
Anavadyam—Anavadyaṃ yuvānam.
Avākayā—Samudrasya tvāvākayā.

Aṅkāṅka—Aṅkāṅkaḥ chandaḥ.
Asūṣudanta—Asūṣudanta yajñāḥ.[1]
Avayā—Śuṣmin navayā.
Atavīyān—Tamasam atavīyān.
Avatāt—Avatān mā nāthitam.
Avadhyam—Akṛṇod avadhyam.
Apaspṛdhetām—Yad[2] apaspṛdhetām.
Apatha—Apathena pratipadyate.
  Apathāt.
Agṛhīta—Agṛhītā droṇakalaśaḥ.
  Yasyāgṛhītā abhi.
Abhyasetām—Rodasī abhyasetām.
Arapā—Arapā[3] edhate.
Arepāḥ—Tanūr arepāḥ.
Apiprayam—Apiprayaṃ codanā.
Apsarasa—Oṣadhayo'psarasaḥ.
  Apsarasau sarpāḥ. Apsarasau yātudhānāḥ.[4]
Asyasi—Perum asyasy arjuni.
Apasyuvaḥ—Apasyuvo vasānaḥ.
Anulbaṇam—Anulbaṇam vayata.
Asravantīm—Asravantīm āruhema.
Avatta—Svagākṛttyai catur avattam.
  Havir vai catur avattam.
  Paśavaś catur avattam.
Apaśavaḥ—Ṛṣabhasyāpaśavo vai.
Apaśavya—Apaśavyo'[5]paśuḥ.
Aśvakaḥ—Sasasty aśvakaḥ.
Adidyutat—Pradidyutat.
Apnavānaḥ—Savīmanīyam apnavānaḥ.
*Apadyamānā—Apadyamānā pṛthi[6].
Antarataḥ—Pāyayaty antarataḥ.
Apavitrau—Yad ubhāv apavitrau.
Apāram—Apāram praplavante.
Anvīpam—Yad anvīpam tiṣṭhan.
Apeśase—Peśo maryā apeśase.

1 C yajñiyā 2 C viṣṇo yad apaspṛi 3 C pām edha
4 C nānām 5 C vyam apa. 6 C thivī.

* Apadyamāneti padam mānāntam apy upasargayuktaśaṅkā mā bhūd iti gṛhītam.

[1] Anuṣṭuyā—[2] Anuṣṭuyā kṛṇuhi.
Aniṣṭṛtaḥ—Vardhatāṃ te aniṣṭṛtaḥ.
Aniṣṭaka—Eṣo'niṣṭaka[3] ruhutrim.
Abhiṣṭīḥ—Pṛtanā abhiṣṭīr upasadyaḥ.
Abhiṣṭaye—Sumṛḍīkām abhiṣṭaye.
Abhīravaḥ—Abhīravo [4] vidve.
Abhīvataḥ—Abhīvato[5] vṛṣṭyā.
Abhittyai—Pari dadāmy abhittyai.[6]
Anenasā—Karotu mām anenasam.
Anehasā—Anehasaṃ suśarmāṇam.
Anāgasā—Svaritrām anāgasam.
Suvatād anāgasaḥ.
Avartti—Avarttim pāpmānam.
Manyunā yad avarttyā.
Apa—Śaṃyor arapaḥ.
Arepa[7]—Samokasāv arepasau.
Anyathā—Na hy eteṣām anyathā.
Aṅguṣṭham—Sarvāsv aṅguṣṭham.
Alaja—Alaja āntarikṣaḥ.
Atīkāśa—Atīkāśān karoti.
Atīkāśas tad vai.
Acchāvāka—Tāṃ vā etām acchāvākaḥ.
Acchāvākāyānaḍvāham.
Avocāma—Avocāma kavaye.
Ajuṣṭa—Gūhatām ajuṣṭa.[8]
Aniṣṭā—Aniṣṭā devatā āsan.
Ahabhūna—Ahabhūna ṛṣiḥ.
Avāśṛṅga—Avāśṛṅgo bhavati.
Anāśvān—Yadi nāśvān upavaset.
Adadṛṃhanta—Adadṛṃhanta pūrve.
Anaḍvāha—Trayo'naḍvāhāḥ.
Anaḍvāham agrīdhe.
Anaḍvāhau vāruṇī.
Ajagara—Balāyājagaraḥ.
Ajagareṇa sarpān.
Avadyāt—Mitram aho avadyāt.

1&2 C ṣṭhuyā. 3 C ka āhutim. 4 C vidre.
5 C bhīpato. 6 C dadyām abhityai.
7 C paśau. 8 C ṣṭā.

Aramati—Aramatir vasūyuḥ.
Apuvāyate—Evāsyāpuvāyate.
Apuvāyeta—Apuvāyeta saumyarcā.
Apaśuḥ—Apaśur bhāvukaḥ.
Akūpārasya—Te'kūpārasya vāce.
Anāśīrkeṇa—Anāśīrkeṇa yajñena.
Anyake—Nabhantām anyake same.
Anyakeṣām—Nabhantām anyakeṣām.
Areḍatā—Areḍatā manasā.
Avara—Manojavā avaraḥ.
Avaraiḥ paraiś ca.
Avaṭa—Siñcāmahā avaṭam.
Evāvaṭeṣu.
Apūpa—Ekāṣṭakāyām apūpam.
Aṅkupam—Aṅkupaṃ chandaḥ.
Areṇavaḥ—Areṇavo vitatāḥ.
Avakā—Avakām anūpadadhāti.
Śaro'vakāḥ.
Avakā aśramiṣṭhāḥ.
Avṛkā—Avṛkebhir varūthaiḥ.
Avṛkā ṛtajñāḥ.
Avasā—Devā avasāgamaṃ tu.
Tenāvasena paraḥ.
Avasena dhīmahi.
Avasāya padvate.
Pate'vasaṃ karoti.
Pitur yathāvasaḥ.
Apasa—Apasacchinasmahi.
Bhuvo devānāṃ karmaṇāpasā.
Agadam—Me agadaṃ kṛti.
Ahiṃsantam—Prajābhyo 'hiṃsantam.
Asunvantam—Asunvantam ayajamānam.
Aditsantam—Aditsantaṃ dāpayatu.
Ayācitam—Tisṛdhanvam ayācitam.
Anavāram—Ete 'navāram apāram.
[1] Anarvāṇam—Anarvāṇam[2] rathe śubham.
Atharvāṇa—Atharvāṇo bhṛgavaḥ.

1&2 C nir.

Atithi— Indrasya gharmo atithiḥ.
Yathātithaya āgatāya.
Adhvaryanta—Adhvaryanto asthuḥ.
Antam[2]—[3]Yadantam amaṅgāram.
Nāntam āvahantīḥ.
Ayakṣma—A yakṣmaṃ ca me.
Ayakṣmā māvaḥ.
Ayasmaya—Ayasmayaṃ vicṛtā.[4]
Amīva—Asmadyuyavam anamīvāḥ.
Anamīvo bhavā naḥ.
*Adhvaryo—Ghṛtavatīm adhvaryo.
Adhvaryo veḥ.
Abhīke—Niṣiktam dyaur abhīke.
Abhīke ci u
Atodhi—Yad ato 'rdhyarcitāraḥ.
Akṣita—Akṣito'sya kṣittyai.
Aṅghāri—Aṅghārir asi.
Aṅghāre baṃbhāre.
†Ajarebhiḥ—Ajarebhir nānadadbhiḥ.
Anījānam—Ījānād anījānam.
Avamā—Avamā yā madhyamā.
Avamaḥ—Avamo bhavoti.[5]
‡Avamam—Yo vai stomānāṃ avamam.
Acchalābhiḥ—Acchalābhiḥ kapiñjalān.
Abhīśūnām—Abhīśūnām mahimānam.
Aśnuvīta—Yad aśnuvītāndho'dhvaryuḥ.
Aśamanta—Yajñam aśamanta devāḥ.
Apīcya—Priyas strīṇām apīcyaḥ.
Asrīvi—Asrīvi chandaḥ.
Anyāsām—Kṣeme'nyāsām.
Anaśan—Anaśan vyavasphūrjan.
Aparīṣu—Ye aparīṣu paśyān.

1 A Dandra. 2 C ma.
3 C nānta. 4 C ta. 5 C vobhī.

* Adhvaryo iti nīcam api bahusvaryodūdantam iti gṛhītam.

† Ajarebhir ityetad ajetyatra vibhāgaśaṅkā mā bhūd iti gṛhītam. Evam īdṛśeṣu draṣṭavyam.

‡ 'Avamā cāvamo'vamam' iti rūpatrayam avamāśabdasyārthaḥ, evam īdṛśeṣu draṣṭavyam.

Avāra—Avāra ikṣavaḥ.
*Apravata—Aśvataro[1] nyapravata.
Apravata tasyānubhāvāya.
Avāta—[2] Nanvannavātaḥ.
Avitā—Tābhir no'vitā bhava. Dhinām avitryāvatu.
Aṇavaḥ—Aṇavaś ca me.
Adhamam—Asmad avādhamam.

Ātmāmuṣyāyaṇārṣeyāmikṣāgne[3]yy āyuṣaśrutiḥ/
Āmāṇḍājiśrud āṭṇāra āraṇyādityaśabdavat//12//
Āptā[4]jīgarttim ārttiśrud[5] vinārttor ārttavaśrutiḥ/
Āpyānām āśvināśvatthaśrutāv āspātram āpsyatha//13//
Āvithātharvaṇaś cāka[6] ākhur ātithyaśabdavat/
Āvinnāvaśrud āśūnām āśādyājyāttaśabdavat//14//
Āpyam āntyāyanaś cāyan[7] anantodāttam āsani/
Āsanyād ānaśānāś cāśitimne [8]cāśyam āśuyā//15//
Āmbānām āhuvaddhyai cāsāmahai cābhur[9] ākṣiṣuḥ/
Āṅgirasy āntarikṣa[10]ś cāśuṣāṇāś[11]uśukṣaṇiḥ//16//
Ānṛbhur[12] ānṛcur āpayitāyōr āyinam
āyava[13] āyavase ca/
Āśitam[14] āśiram āsuramārādānaśur
āgrayaṇaśrutir [15]ācchat//17||
Āsandyevādakām āvir āgnendrā indriyāvy api/

Ātmā—Ātmā prajāpatiḥ.
Āmuṣyāyaṇa—Āmuṣyāyaṇam anamitrāya.
padaikadeśe—Āmuṣyāyaṇasyāmnādyam.
Āmuṣyāyaṇo'syām.
Ārṣeya—Catvāra ārṣeyāḥ.
Ārṣeyam vṛṇīte.
Āmikṣā—Pīyūṣa āmikṣām astu.

* 'Apravata' ityetan nīcam api prayuktaśaṅkānirāsārtham gṛhītam.

1 C rotya. 2 C van. 3 C neya.
4 C tāgī. 5 C taśr. 6 B.C cākha.
7 B yan nanat. 8 A cāsyam. 9 B cāhur.
10 B kṣāś. 11 A nāś cāsu. 12 B.C rhu.
13 B āpava. 14 B ta āśi. 15 C ārccha.

Āgneyī[1]—Āgneyīs triṣṭubhaḥ.
Āyuṣa—Ayuṣo'ntaḥ.
Āma—Tasmād āmāpakvam uhe.
Āmā supakva [2]maireyaḥ.
Āṇḍa—Vyuddham āṇḍam ajāyata.
Āṇḍābhyām svāhā.
Āji—Dhanvanājiñ jayema.
Ājiṃ dhāvanti.
Puro yāvānam ājiṣu.
Āṭṇāraḥ—Etaṃ vai para āṭṇāraḥ.
Āraṇya—Indriyam vā āraṇyam.
Ya[3] āraṇyāḥ
Āditya—Ādityaṃ garbham.
Ādityebhyo bhuvadvadbhyaḥ.
Āptā—Teṣām evaiṣāptā.
Ājīgarttim—Śunaḥśepam ājīgarttim.
*Ārtta—Ārttaṃ vai.
Yajñasyaiva tad ārttyā.
Ārttava—Ārttavo'dhipatir āsīt.
Tad ārttavānām ārttavatvam.
Āpyānām—Varṣiṣṭham āpyānām.
Āśvina—Āśvinaṃ dhūmralalāmam.
Tad āśvinīr upa.
Āśvattha—Āśvatthe pātre.
Āśvatthī havirddhānañ ca.
Āspātra—Āspātraṃ juhūḥ.
Āpsyatha—Ātha pravāpsyatha (neṅgyāḥ).
Āvitha—Tvaṃ sakhyam āvi(śa[4])tha.
Ātharvaṇaḥ—Dadhyaṅṅ ātharvaṇaḥ.
Āka[5]—Ma ākaśyati.
Ākhu—Ākhus te rudra paśuḥ.
Ātithya—Ātithyaṃ gṛhṇīyāt.
Ātithyasya kriyate (neṅgyāḥ).
Āvinna—Āvinnaḥ pūṣā.
Āvinnau mitrāvaruṇau.

1 C neya. Example according to this reading "Āgneyam aṣṭākapālam".
2 C merayah. 3 C yad āra.
* Vinārttor iti kim ? Ārttim.
4 C vitha. 5 C Kha.

Āva—Suruco vena āvaḥ.
Āvaṃ devānām.
Āśūnām—Āśūnāṃ vrīhīṇām.
Āśā—Āśā diśa āpṛṇa.
Samid diśām āśayā.
Ādya—Ādyam asyānnam.
Nādyā prajāpateḥ.
Agner anādyam.
Ājya—Ājyam asi.
Yad ājyena.
Ātta—Āttaḥ somaḥ.
Asurāttaḥ sindhuḥ (neṅgyāḥ).
Āpyam—Āpyaṃ vā eṣaḥ.
Āntyāyana—Āntyāyanaś ca.
*Āyan—Suvargaṃ lokam āyan.
Āsani—Śrīṇīṣa āsani.
Āsanyāt—Asanyān mā mantrāt pāhi.
Ānaśānāḥ—Suvar ānaśānāh.
Āśitimne—Āśitimne svāhā.
Āśyam—Tasmād dvāśyam.
Āśuyā—Āśuyā patanti.
Āmbānām—Āmbānāṃ carum.
Āhuvaddhyai——Āhuvaddhyā ubhā.
Āsāmahai—Āsāmahā evemau.
[1]Ābhuḥ—Ābhur asya niṣaṅgathiḥ.
Ākṣiṣuḥ—Yad ākṣiṣur divyam.
Āṅgirasi—Ūrg asyaṅgirasy ūrṇamradāḥ.
Āntarikṣaḥ—Alaja āntarikṣaḥ.
Āśuṣāṇāḥ—Ṛtam āśuṣāṇāḥ.
Āśuśukṣaṇi—Tvam āśuśukṣaṇiḥ.
Ānṛbhu[2]—Na vasūny ānṛbhūḥ.[3]
Ānṛcu—Yad ānṛcus tena.
Āpayitā—Anāptasyāpayitā.
Āyo—Āyos tvā sadane.
Āyinam—Śyenam āyinam.
Āyava—Pratibhūṣat[4]yāyavaḥ.

* Anantodāttam iti kim? Āyan pra candramāḥ, ādyasvaraṃ cen nīcaṃ tac cāpīty asyāpavādo'yam.

1 C āhuḥ. Example of this reading—Enasāhuḥ, Sahāhuḥ, etc.
2 C nṛhu. 3 C nṛhu. 4 C ṣantyā.

Āyavase—Āyavase ramante.
Āśitaṃ—Āśito bhavati.
Āśira—Āśiram abanayati.
Āsura—Nāmāsurā āsīt.
Ārāt—Ārāc cid dveṣaḥ.
Āre asme ca.
Ānaśu—Mahimānam ānaśuḥ.
Āgrayaṇa—Yad āgrayaṇam gṛhītvā.
Ācchat—Ācchac chandaḥ.
Āsandī—Āsandī sādayati.
Ādakām—Ādakāṃ khādena.
Āviḥ—Āviṣkṛṇuṣva.
Āgnendrāḥ—Āgnendrāḥ kṛṣṇalalāmāḥ.
Indriyāvī—Indriyāvī paśumān.
Iṣṭarga—Iṣṭargo vai.
Iṣṭaka—Iṣṭakā upadadhāti.
Ilānda—Ite iṣṭake ilāndaṃ bhavati.
Iḍāvatsareṇa—Iḍāvatsareṇa namaskaromi.
Īḍenya—Agnim īḍenyo girā.
Devām īḍe'nyān.
Udaryeṇa—Nabha udaryeṇa.
Udara—Udaraṃ sadaḥ.
Samudram udareṇa,
Upasti—Stomasyopastir bhavati.
Upastiṃ kurute.
Uśija—Acchidrā uśijāḥ.
Uśijaṃ kavikratum.
Udāra—Śrīṇām udāraḥ.
Urvarām—Urvarām prabhindanti.
Utsa—Utsam uhrate.
Udīca—Udīca utsṛjati.
Uṣṇihā—Uṣṇihā chandaḥ.
Bṛhaspatir uṣṇihāḥ.
Upahatnum—Upahatnum ugram.
Upānahau—Kārṣṇī upānahau.

Note—(1) Anudāttam iti kim? udyata ity ut yate svāhā. Ayam apy antyasvaraṃ cen nīcam ity asyāpavādaḥ.

(2) 'Uditam', 'udita' iti rūpadvayagrahaṇaṃ anyatreṅgyatvārtham. Ut itau. Ut hutāya svāhā.

Upāka—Upāka ā rocate.
Upariṣṭāt—Upariṣṭād ānayati.
Upareṇa—Pṛthivīm upareṇa dṛṃha.
Uttaredyu—Uttaredyur upatiṣṭhate.
Ubhayādat—Nirvape ubhayādat.
Udaṅka—Udaṅkaḥ śaulbāyanaḥ.
Udriṇam—Udriṇaṃ siñce akṣitam.
Ubhayataḥ—Ubhayataḥ prati tiṣṭhanti.
Udaka—Sthalayodakam (?).
Udyate—Vyākṛtā vāg udyate.
Uditam—Pūrvam evoditam.
Uṣāsānaktā—Yonā uṣāsānatkā.
Ulūkhalam—Ulūkhalañ ca
Uccāvacān—Uccāvacān hi
Udāvartaḥ—Udāvartaḥ prajāḥ.
Udita—Tasya bhāga uditaḥ.
Udumbara—Ūrg vā udumbaraḥ.
Udumbareṇorjam.
Ūṣmaṇyā—Ūṣmaṇyā pidhānā.
Ūrṇāyu—Imām ūrṇāyum.
Ūrmiṇī—Ṛtāvarīr ūrmiṇīḥ.
Ṛṇadhat—Ṛṇadhat sa jīvāt.
Ṛkvatā—Ṛkvatā gaṇena.
Ṛdudareṇa—Ṛdudareṇa sakhyā.
Ṛtusthā[1]—Ṛtusthā yajñā yajñiyena.
Ṛtviyāt—Tasmād ṛtviyāt.
Ṛkṣama—Jagatyā ṛkṣamam ṛkṣamāt.
Ṛkmiyāṇi—Ṣaḍ ṛkmiyāṇi.
Ṛtvija—Ṛtvijas ta enaṃ.
Devam ṛtvījam.

jahṛṣāṇaś ca[1] jabhṛrāṇā ca jaṃbhayoḥ//30//

Janatā jīvātuśruj jamadagnijāmadagnyau[2] jahakāḥ /
Janitā jīmūtaśruj janimā jañjabhyate jaritre ca //31//

Juhurāṇam jujuṣāṇā[3] jyeṣṭhajarāyuśrutau[4] jantitraṃ ca /
Jāṃbīlena janitvair jāye'nyasyāpi jīvanasthāyai //32//

Jahṛṣāṇaḥ—Jahṛṣāṇo'yam vājam.
Jabhṛrāṇa[6]—Jabhṛrāṇā[7] caranti.
Jambhayoḥ—Tāṃs te dadhāmi jaṃbhayoḥ.
Janatā—Vīryeṇa janatām eti.
Jīvātu—Jīvātuṃ na marāmahe.
Jīvātave jīvanasthāyai.[8]
Jamadagni—Jamadagniḥ puṣṭikāmaḥ.
Jāmadagnya[9]—Palitau jāmadagnyau.[10]
Jahakā—Jahakā saṃvatsarāya.
Janitā—Yo naḥ pitā janitā.
Jīmūta—Jīmūtasy eva.
Jatravo jīmūtān.
Janimā—Janimā vivakti.
Jañjabhyate—Yaj jañjabhyate.
Jaritre—Mṛḍā jaritre.
Juhurāṇam—Juhurāṇameṇamenaḥ.
Jujuṣāṇā—Jujuṣāṇā ghṛtācī.
Jyeṣṭha—Jyeṣṭhaś ca mantraḥ.
Jyeṣṭhaṃ putram.
Jyaiṣṭhyaṃ ca me.
Jarāyu—Jarāyu tad eva tat.
Jarāyuṇā.
Janitram—Agner janitram asi.
Jāmbīlena—Araṇyam jāmbīlena.
Janitvaiḥ—Bhinada urjanitvaiḥ.
Jāye'nyasya—Taj jāye'nyasya.
Jīvanasthāyai—Jīvātave jīvanasthāyai.

1 C jarbhurā 2 C gniyau 3 C jjyaiṣṭhyaja
4 C śruto 5 B C nasyāyai 6 & 7 C jarbhurā
8 C nasyāyai 9 & 10 C gniyau

Tattvāya tāvataśrut tādṛk tvaṣṭīmatī tuviṣmaṇasam /
Tredhā ca tetijānas tatṛṣāṇas tārakās[1] tanayitnoḥ //33//
Turaṇyatas turīpaśrut trasadasyus tamasvarīḥ /
Tūparatvotaśabdau ca triṣṭubhaśrut taritrataḥ //34//

Tattvāya—Tattvāya savitā dhiyaḥ.
Tāvata—Tāvato vāruṇān.
Tāvatī saṃvatsarasya.
Tādṛk—Tādṛg eva tat.
Tvaṣṭīmatī—Tvaṣṭīmatī te.
Tuviṣmaṇasam—Tuviṣmaṇasam.
Tredhā—Sa viṣṇus tredhā.
Tetijānaḥ—Svadhitis tetijānah.
Tatṛṣāṇaḥ—Tatṛṣāṇo ajaraḥ.
Tārakā—Tārakā asthani.
Tanayitnoḥ—Tanayitnor acittāt.
Turaṇyataḥ—Ivatas turaṇyataḥ.
Turīpa—Tan nas turīpam. Tvaṣṭre turīpāya.
Trasadasyuḥ—Trasadasyuḥ paurukutsyaḥ.
Tamasvarīḥ—Tamasvarīrundatīḥ,
Tūpara—Yat[2]ūparaḥ.
Tasmāt tūparā.
Tvota—Manasā tvotaḥ.
Sadhanyas tvotāḥ.
Triṣṭubha—Āgneyīs triṣṭubhaḥ.
Triṣṭubhā pari dadhāti.
Taritrataḥ—Sahorjā taritrataḥ.

Didyudduhitaraśabdau draviṇasyur dṛśīkavaḥ /
Dūṣīkābhiś ca devāccyā dātyū[1]haś ca davidyutat //35//
Darvidā devikā devatāśabdavad-
drāghuyā dīdhitiṃ dīdivaṃ[2] dīdivān /
Dvāparo[3] duṣṭaram duṣṭarītur dṛṣad-
dyumnaduryāśruto[4] dandaśūka[5]śrutiḥ //36//
Dyutāno dadhīco daridradvitīya[6]śrutiḥ

1 C kāś ca ta 2 C yat tūpa 3 C dātyauhaś ca 4 C vim
5 B ram 6 C ṭau 7 C kāśru 8 C yāśru

Didyut—Didyud varṣan.
Duhitara—Duhitara āsan. Suryasya duhitā.
Draviṇasyu—Draviṇasyur vipanyayā.
Dṛśīkavaḥ—Te ye bāhyā dṛśīkavaḥ.
Dūṣīkābhiḥ—Dūṣīkābhir hrādunīm.
Devāccyā—Devāccyā kṛpā,
Dāty[1]ūhaḥ—Dāty[2]ūhas te.
Davidyutat—Davidyutad adhaspadam.
Darvidā—Darvi[3]date vāyavyā.
Devikā—Devikā nir vapet.
Devatā—Agnir devatā.
Drāghuyā—Drāghuyā ca me.
Dīdhitim— Dīdhitim ukthaśāsaḥ.
Dīdivim—Gopāmṛtasya dīdivim.
Dīdivān—Dīdivāṃ sadat.
Dvāparaḥ—Dvāparo yānām.
Duṣṭaram—Duṣṭaram astv ojaḥ.
Duṣṭarītuḥ—Duṣṭarītur adābhyaḥ.
Dṛṣat—Dṛṣac copalā ca.
Dyumna—Dyumnaṃ citraśravastamam.
Dyumnasya prāsahā.
Duryā—Duryān adityāḥ.
Duryā dyāvāpṛthivyoḥ.
Dandaśūka—Dandaśūkās tām samām.
Dyutānaḥ—Dyutānas tvā.
Dadhīcaḥ—Dadhīco asthabhiḥ.
Daridra—Daridraṃ nīlalohitam.
Dvitīya—Dvitīyorddhamāsānām.
Yā dvitīyā yajñaṃ tābhiḥ,

dhāṇikā ca dhrajī[4]yāṃś ca dheṣṭhā./

Dhāṇikā—Nijalgulīti dhāṇikā.
Dhrajīyān—Vāta iva dhrajīyān.[5]
Dheṣṭhā—Uśate dheṣṭhā.

Narāśaṃsaśabdo navedā navāgvā
napātko napātaṃ ca nakṣatraśabdaḥ//37//

1 & 2 C tyauha 3 C dā ṭe 4 C jīmām 5 C jīmāṃ

Naktoṣāsā[1] naktayā navyaseśrun-
nārāśaṃsa[2]śrunnido nannamīti/
Naiyagrodho nānadan nītanṛmṇa-
śrunnīvārā nāthitaśrun nabhantām//38//
Nīhāraśrun nahanā nanda[3]ghunā nīkṣaṇam ca nīlaṃgoḥ/
Nīmimanūtanaśabdau nāivāraśrun nilāyata nyaṅkuḥ//39//
Niṣkāvaṃ niṣkāse niṣkevalyam niṣaṅga[4]thir nīviḥ/
Niṣṭarkkyam niṣṭy[5]āyai nyagrodhaśrun naraṃdhiṣaśruc ca//40//

Narāśaṃsa—Narāśaṃsena vai.
Narāśaṃsasyāhaṃ.
Navedā—Na vedā yaśasvatīḥ.
Navāgvā—Na vāgvāva nāvananti.
Napātkaḥ—Napātko vai.
Napātam—Apānnapātam.
Nakṣatra—Kṛttikānakṣatram.
Yaṃ nakṣatrāṇi.
Naktoṣāsā—Naktoṣāsā samanasā.
Naktayā—Dadṛśe naktayā.
Navyase—Suvitāya navyase.
Nārāśaṃsa—Pitṛṇām nārāśaṃsaḥ.
Nārāśaṃsena stomena.
Nidaḥ—Druho nidaḥ.
Nannamīti—Nannamīti viśvāḥ.
Naiyyagrodha—Nāiyyagrodha audumbaraḥ.
Nānadat—Nānadad rāsabhaḥ.
Nīta—Nītāsu dakṣiṇāsu.
Nṛmṇasya—Nṛmṇasya manhā.
Nīvārāḥ—Nīvārāś ca me.
Nāthita—Avatān mā nāthitam.
Nabhantām—Nabhantām anyakeṣām.
Nīhāra—Nīhāreṇa prāvṛtāḥ.
Nīhārāya svāhā.
Nahanā—Nahanā vyasyan.
Nanda[6]ghunā—Ānandaṃ nanda[6]ghunā.

1 Csā naktā na 2 B śrudo 3 C dathunā
4 B gadhir 5 C styāya 6 A thunā

Nīkṣaṇam—Yan nīkṣaṇam.
Nīlaṅgoḥ—Nilaṅgoḥ kṛmiḥ.
Nīmima—Dakṣiṇām na nīmima.
Nūtana—Nūtanena [1]sṛkṣīmahi.
Purāṇā ye ca nūtanāḥ,
Naivāra—Naivāram carum.
Nilāyata—Sa nilāyata.
Nyaṅku—Pitvo nyaṅkuḥ.
Niṣkāvam—Niṣkāvam ādan.
Niṣkāsa—Niṣkāsa udayanīyam.
Niṣkevalyam—Niṣkevalyam uktham.
Niṣaṅgathi—Abhurasya niṣaṅgathiḥ.
Nīvi—Nīvir oṣadhīnām,
Niṣṭarkkya—Niṣṭarkkyam badhnāti.
Niṣṭyāya—Niṣṭyāya saha vasati.
Nyagrodha—Nyagrodhaś camasaiḥ.
Nyagrodhena vanaspatīn.
Narandhiṣaḥ—Narandhiṣaḥ pro[2]dyamānaḥ.

Pṛtsutiḥ puritatā pṛtanyataḥ[3] pruṣṇate pṛṣatayaḥ pariṣkṛtaḥ /
Patvane paramatām pṛtanyavaḥ paspaśe[4] patayiṣṇu
pāyavaḥ //41//
Praugam prayasaḥ prajāpater hṛdayenāpi[5] pitāmahaśrutiḥ /
[6]Parameṣṭhipatatriṇaśrutiḥ pṛtanā[7] hy eṣu ca
puṇḍarisrajām //42//
Pataṅgam [8]piśaṅgāśrutiḥ pārvateyī parācaḥ pratīciśrutiḥ
pākalāya /
Purandhiḥ puroḍāśaśabdaḥ pariṣṭau pṛdākuḥ parāke ca
paplūlanena //43//
Paryāriparyāriṇī pārayiṣṇuḥ[9] pauruṣeyaśrutiḥ prāvṛṣā
parvatiḥ[10] /
Proṣiṣyatepi pratīpam[11] pratīkaśrutiḥ prāvṛtasya śrutiḥ
prāsacāya //44 //

1 C sakṣī
2 C 'Prohy'
3 B 'yavaḥ'
4 B 'śe ca pa'
5 C 'neti'
6 C 'ṣṭhī ca pa'
7 B C 'nā jyeṣu'
8 C 'gaśru'
9 B C nuśrutiḥ pau'
10 C 'tiś ca
11 C 'pratīkam pratīpa'

Prāyaścittiśrut prākaśau prāśṛṅgaśrut pūrvedyuś ca /
Pūtudruśrut praśnam pracchat[1] prattapratnaśruc ca paṭbīśam //45 //

Prāṇāyanaḥ piśaṅgilā prāvāhaṇiḥ pilippilā /
Praiyyaṅgavam priyaṅgavaḥ[2] pāvīravī pavīravam // 46 //

Premāṇaṃ prāṇine preṇā pretā pautudravaśrutiḥ[3] /
Purūravaḥ [4]parucchepaḥ paramaśrut pravatvitī //47 //

Prātaḥ puroḍāśinyaś ca pārayāḥ pāpīyasīśrutiḥ /
Poṣayitnu ca pīvānaḥ pāvakā pājasāśrutiḥ // 48 //

Prācaḥ prakṣaśrutiḥ plākṣaḥ

Pṛtsutīḥ—Pṛtsutīr martyānām.
Puritatā—Antarikṣam puritatā.
Pṛtanyataḥ—Śāsahmāma[5] pṛtanyataḥ.
Prusṇate—Prusṇate svāhā.
Pṛṣatayaḥ—Marutāṃ pṛṣatayaḥ.
Pariṣkṛtaḥ—Viproḍutaḥ[6] pariṣkṛtaḥ.
Patvane—Śyenāya patvane.
Paramatām—Paramatāṃ gamayati.
Pṛtanyavaḥ—Ye pṛtanyavaḥ.
Paspaśe—Vratāni paspaśe.
Patayiṣṇu—Patayiṣṇu arvan.
Pāyavaḥ—Ye pāyavaḥ.
Praugam—Praugam uktham.
Prayasaḥ—Mandrāsu prayasaḥ.
Prajāpater hṛdayenāpi[7]—Prajāpater hṛdayenāpi pakṣam.
Pitāmaha—Pitāmahaḥ puṇyaḥ.
Pitaraḥ pitāmahāḥ.
Parameṣṭhī—Parameṣṭhī adhipatiḥ.
Parameṣṭhino vā eṣa yajñaḥ.
Patatriṇaḥ—Śyenena patatriṇo vṛṣṇā.
Pṛtanā hyeśu[8]—Ugrahaḥ pṛtanā hyeṣu.[9]

1 B C 'ttām pra'
2 C 'vam pā
3 B 'vāśrutiḥ'
4 C 'puru'
5 C 'hyām'
6 C 'dūtaḥ
7 C 'napi'
8 C 'nājjyeṣu
9 'nājjyeṣu'

Puṇḍarīsrajām—Puṇḍarīsrajāṃ prayacchati.
Pataṅgam—Patayantaṃ pataṅgam.
Juhvā pataṅgān.
Piśaṅgā—Piśaṅgās trayaḥ.
Pārvateyī—Dhiṣaṇāsi pārvateyī.
Parācaḥ—Ye parācaḥ.
Parācībhis stuvate.
Pratīcī—Yatpratīco rakṣāṃsi hanyuḥ.
Pratīcī dik.
Pākalāya—Pākalāya svāhā.
Purandhiḥ—Purandhir yoṣā.
Puroḍāśa—Puroḍāśam aṣṭākapālam.
Puroḍāśena vai.
Pariṣṭau—Sahasāvan pariṣṭau.
Pṛdākuḥ—Pṛdākuḥ prācī nāmāsi.
Parāke—Asya rajasaḥ parāke.
Paplūlanena—Paplūlanena vāsaḥ.
Paryāri—Paryārīva hy etasya.
Paryāriṇī—Paryāriṇī bhavati.
Pārayiṣṇu—Vīrudhaḥ pārayiṣṇavḥ.
Acchidrām pārayiṣṇum.
Pauruṣeya—Pauruṣeyo vadhaḥ.
Pauruṣeyeṇa daivyena.
Prāvṛṣā—Viśvedevāḥ prāvṛṣā.
Parvatiḥ—Parvatir vettu.
Proṣiṣyate—Proṣiṣyate svāhā.
Pratīpam—Pratīpam tiṣṭhan.
Pratīka—Bhavatī pratīkaṃ yad varmī.
Sa tvam agne pratīkena.
Prāvṛta—Prāvṛta jālpyā ca.
Prāvṛtasya rātrim.
Prāsacāya—Prāsacāya svāhā.
Prāyaścitti—Prāyaścittir ye paṣum.
Prāyaścittim aicchat.
Prākāśau—Prākāśāv adhvaryave.
Prāśṛṅga—Prāśṛṅgam ālabheta.
Prāśṛṅgo bhavati.
Pūrvedyuḥ—Pūrvedyuḥ prakrāmati.
Pūtudru—Pūtudruvattavat.
Tām pūtudrau.

Praśnam—Praśnamai tām.
Pracchat—Pracchac chandaḥ.
Pratta—Prattā vai gauḥ.
Pratna—Tam pratnathau.
Pratna ṛṣiḥ.
Patbīśam—Arvantam patbīśam.
Prāṇāyanaḥ—Vasantaḥ prāṇāyanaḥ.
Piśaṅgilā—Kiṃsvid āsīd piśaṅgilā.
Prāvāhaṇi—Prāvāhaṇir akāmayata.
Pilippilā—Āsīt pilippilā.
Praiyyaṅgavam—Praiyyaṅgavam carum.
Priyaṅgavaḥ—Priyaṅgavaś ca me.
Pāvīravī—Pāvīravī kanyā.
Pavīravam—Lāṅgalam pavīravam.
Premāṇam—Premāṇam eva.
Prāṇine—Prāṇine svāhā.
Preṇā—Sṛṣṭvā preṇā nu.
Pretā—Pṛśneḥ pretā.
Pautudrava—Yat pautudravāḥ. Pautudravān paridhīn.
Purūravāḥ—Purūravā ghṛtena.
Parucchepa—Parukṣepo'[1]bhyavadat.
Parama—Paramaś catuṣṭomaḥ.
Paramā vā eṣā vāg.
*Pravatu—Pravatim ahnā.
Prātaḥ—Ekādaśa prātaḥ.
Puroḍāśinyaḥ—Puroḍāśinya upakhadaḥ[2].
Pāryā—Yat pāryā yunajate.
Pāpīyasī—Pāpīyasī prajā bhavati.
Pāpīyasā ca.
Poṣayitnu—Adha poṣayitnu.
Pīvāna—Pīvānaḥ putrāḥ.
Pāvaka—Pāvako asmabhyam.
Agnaye pāvakāya.
Pājasā—Vi pājasā pṛthunā.
Prācaḥ—Tānyatṛ[3] prācaḥ (?).
Prakṣa—Sa prakṣo bhavati.
Plakṣa—Tat plakṣasya. Plākṣa itīdhmaḥ.

1 C 'pohyava' 2 C 'pasadaḥ' 3 C 'yat prā'
* Note—Etan nīcam api prayuktaśaṅkā mā bhūd iti gṛhītam.

phaligam phalinīśrutiḥ. /

Phaligam—Phaligam ravena.
Phalinī—Phalinīr aphalā uta.
Phalinyo na oṣadhayaḥ pacyantām.

Bṛhaspatiśrutis tadvad bandhutā balbajāśrutiḥ //49//
Bārhaspatyaśrud balākā bahiṣṭhād bambhāriśrud
brāmhaṇācchaṃsine ca /
Barhiṣyaśrud bārhataśrud balakṣī

*Bṛhaspati—Dhatta Bṛhaspate.
Bandhutā—Bandhutā vacobhiḥ.
Bandhutāṃ veda.
Balbajā—Balbajā udatiṣṭhan.
Balbajān api.
Bārhaspatya—Bārhaspatyaś caruḥ.
Bārhaspatyaṃ śitipṛṣṭham.
Balākā—Saurī balākā.
Bahiṣṭhāt—Dvau dvau bahiṣṭhāt.
Baṃbhāri—Baṃbhārir avasyuḥ. Aṃghāre baṃbhāre.
Brāmhaṇācchaṃsine—Brāmhaṇācchaṃsine vāsasī.
Barhiṣya—Barhiṣyam dattaṃ bhavati.
Bārhata—Bārhato vai śukraḥ.
Balakṣī—Balakṣī tāḥ sārasvatyaḥ.

bhrātṛvyaśrud bheṣajaśrud bharibhrat //50//
Bhālandano bharadvājo bhura[1]ṇyuśruc ca bhauvanaḥ /
Bhauvāyano bhiṣajyanto bhaiṣi[2]jyam api bhāmitaḥ //51//

Bhrātṛvya—Bhrātṛvyo bhavati.
Agner bhrātṛvyaḥ.
Abhrātṛvyo yad Indrāya.
Bheṣaja—Bheṣajaṃ gave.
Asmabhyam bheṣajam.
Bharibhrat—Aruṣaṃ bharibhrat.
Bhālandanaḥ—Bhālandano'gneḥ.

1 B 'ṇyaśru'

2 B C 'ṣajyam'

* Note—Etan nīcam api pateyuktam iti gṛhītam. Patigrahaṇaṃ api Bṛhaspatir naḥ parīyādiṣvaniṅgyatvārthaṃ.

Bharadvāja—Bharadvāja ṛṣiḥ.
Bhuraṇyu—Madhyamaruhad bhuraṇyuḥ.
Aruṣaṃ bhuraṇyum.
Bhauvana—Bhauvanaś ca bhuvanaś ca.
Bhauvāyana—Bhauvāyano vasantaḥ.
Bhiṣajyantaḥ—Tad bhiṣajyanto bhitayo.
Bhaiṣijyam—Tredhā bhaiṣijyam.[1]
Bhāmita—Kudra bhāmi[2] tāvadhīḥ.

Mālaṅgā madirā mudgā māndā madhyamaśabdavat /
Mamattu ca manīṣāṇām[3] muṣkarā mārutaśrutiḥ //52//
Mārjālīyamanoṭāyai[4] marutvatīyaśruto matasnābhyām /
Madhyandine maghonī[5] mādhyandinamātariśvaśabdau ca //53//
Mithuyā mṛḍayantaśrun mumucānā mādayiṣṇavo madguḥ /
Mahimā [6]matintamaśrun mahinā mānthīlavo malimluśrut //54//
Mastiṣkaśrun maspaśā māṃspacanyā mānavyaśrun māhinaṃ mādayadhyai /

Mālaṅgāḥ—Mālaṅgās tūparāḥ.
Madirāḥ—Madirā mādayiṣṇavaḥ.
Mudgā—Mudgāś ca me.
Māndā—Māndā vāśāḥ.
Madhyama—Vi madhyamaṃ śrathāya. Madhyama upayāti
Mamattu—Mamattu naḥ.
Manīṣāṇām—Manīṣāṇām prārpaṇaḥ.
Muṣkarā—Ye muṣkarā.
Māruta—Māruto'si marutām.
Māruta phalguḥ.
Mārjālīya—Hotrīyo mārjālīyaḥ.
Dāsyomārjālīyam.
Manotā—Sahaso yā manotā.
Manotāyai haviṣaḥ.

1 C 'ṣajyam'
2 C 'tova'
3 B 'ṇā mu'
4 C 'yam ma'
5 B 'nī syāmạ'
6 B C madinta'

Marutvatīya—Marutvatīyam uktham.
Marutvatīyaś ca me.
Matasnābhyām—[1] Sarvaṃ matasnābhyām.
Madhyandine—Grīṣme madhyandine.
Maghonī—Maghonī juṣṭir asi.
Mādhyandinam—Mādhyandinaṃ savanam.
Mādhyandine savane.
Mātariśvā—Bṛhaspatir mātariśvā.
Mātariśvāno gharmaḥ.
Mithuyā—Mithuyākarbhāgadheyam.
*Mṛḍayanta—Bhavatā mṛḍayātaḥ.
Mumucānāḥ—Yathā bandhān mumucānāḥ.
Mādayiṣṇavaḥ—Madirā mādayiṣṇavaḥ.
Madguḥ—Udro madguḥ.
Mahimā—Saṃvatsaro mahimā.
*Matintama—Indriyāvān matintamaḥ.
Mahinā—Mahinā viśvaśaṃbhūḥ.
Mānthīlavaḥ—Kaśo mānthīlavaḥ.
Malimlu—Ye janeṣu malimlavaḥ.
Malimluṃ jambhyaiḥ.
Mastiṣka—Aśaniṃ mastiṣkeṇa.
Mastiṣkāya svāhā.
Maspaśā—Maspaśā kuru yam.
Māṃspacanyāḥ—Māṃspacanyāḥ.
Mānavya—Mānavyo hi prajāḥ.
Māhina—Māhimnaṃ datram.
Mādayadhyai—Saha mādayadhyai.

Yuṣmānīto yādṛśo yātujūnā[2] yāvad yajñiyā[3] yajñaśrud yavāgūḥ //55//
Yāyāvaro yunajate yuvāno[4] yajathaśrutiḥ /
Yoyupyeta yajatraśrud yuktvāyā pi ca yavyudhaḥ //56//

Yuṣmānītaḥ—Yuṣmānīto abhayam.
Yādṛśa—Yādṛśe punaḥ.

1 C 'śarvam'
2 C 'nām yā'
3 B C 'jñāya yajñiyaśru'
4 B 'nam ya'

* Note—1 Etad dhṛtantam na bhavatīti gṛhītam.
* Note—2 Etat tamayuktam iti gṛhitam.

Yātujūnā—Yātujūnān jāmim.
Yāvat—Yāvān evāsya prāṇaḥ.
Yāvanto vai.
Yāvad etat.
Yajñiyā—Yajñiyā yajñiyaṃ puccham.
Yajña—Yajñiyā yajñasya stotre.
Yavāgū—Yavāgū rājanyasya.
Yāyāvaraḥ—Tasmād yāyāvaraḥ.
Yunajate—Yunajate dhiyas tāḥ.
Yuvānaḥ—Etaṃ yuvānam.
Yajatha—Yajathāya sukratuḥ.
Yajathā yad eva.
Yoyupyeta—Yoyupyeta stṛtiḥ.
Yajatra—Amuñcatā yajatrāḥ.
Saṃyajatrair aṅgāni.
Yuktvāya—Yuktvāya manasā devān.
Yavyudhaḥ—Ailabṛdāyavyudhaḥ.

Rukmantaṃ rādhayiṣyāmo rājanyaśruc ca rukmate /
Raivataśrut

Rukmantam—Rukmantaṃ svena.
Rādhayiṣyāma—Yad imaṃ rādhayiṣyāma iti.
Rājanya—Rājanyo'bhitaḥ. Rājanyāj jāyamānāt.
Rukmate—Rukmate puroḍāśam.
Raivata—Trayastriṃśāya raivatāya.
Yad Indrāya raivatāya.

lapsudino lopāśo[1] lomaśaśrutiḥ //57//

Lapsudinaḥ—Urukramāya lapsudinaḥ.
Lopāśaḥ—Lopāśaḥ siṃhaḥ.
Lomaśa—Lomaśaṃ vāi nāma.
Paśavo lomaśāḥ.

Vatsataraśrud varivo varimā vasatīvarī varūtriśrut[2] /
Vipravipaściechabdau viveṣavārdhrāṇaso varatrāś ca //58//
Vīḍitavaḍabavanaspativānaspatyaśruto vasavyaśrut /
Vāsiṣṭhaś ca vaniṣṭhur vasyaṣṭir viṣṭapam vyaciṣṭhaṃ ca //59//

1 B 'śāśṛu'

2 B 'traśru'

Vṛṣadaṃśo viduṣaśrud viṣuṇasya vidīgayo vidānaśrut /
Vividāno vidathaśrud vidhuro viśpatniyai viṣūcaśrut //60//
Vāyavyavaiśvānaravīryavidyā[1] vasantavāsantikavārṣikaśrut /
Vṛtvāya valmīkavarāhaśabdau vītho vapāvyāghravarī-
yasīśrutiḥ[2] //61/
Vāsavo vaṃsago vāhaso vāyavo vasyasīśabdavad vīrudho
vīratām /
Vāghato varttikā viśvato viśpatiśruc ca vācyāyano
viśvavītaśrutiḥ //62//

Vatsatara—Daśabhir vatsataraiḥ. Vatsatarī dakṣiṇā.
Varivaḥ—Sakhabhyo varivaḥ.
Varimā—Varimā ca me.
Vasatīvarī—Vasatīvarīr abhavan.[3]
Tad vasatīvarīṇām.
Varūtri—Varūtrayastvetyāh a.
Viprāḥ—Vipro ḍutaḥ.
Viprā viprasya.
Vipaścit—Bṛhato vipaścitaḥ.
Bhrājamāno vipaścitā.
Viveṣa—Viveṣayan ma.
Vārdhrāṇasaḥ—Śitikakṣī vārdhrāṇasaḥ.
Varatrā—Saṃ varatrā dadhātana.
Vīḍita—Tigmam āyudhaṃ vīḍitam.
Vaḍaba—Pumāṃsaṃ vaḍabaḥ.
Tasmād vaḍabād dviretāḥ.
Vanaspati—Vanaspatir devalokam.
Ye vanaspatīnām.
Vānaspatyaḥ—Adrir asi vānaspatyaḥ.
Vānaspatyāḥ khalu.
Vasavya—Bahubhir vasa (vyaiḥ ? khyaiḥ).
Vāsiṣṭhaḥ—Vāsiṣṭho ha sātyahavyaḥ.
Vaniṣṭhuḥ—Vaniṣṭhurandhābheḥ.[4]
Vasyaṣṭi—Vasyaṣṭir asi.
Viṣṭapam—Bradhnasya viṣṭapam.
Vyaciṣṭham—Vyaciṣṭham annam.

1 C 'vāsa'
2 B 'śrut'
3 C 'vat'
4 C 'dhāheḥ'

Vṛṣadaṃśa—Vṛṣadaṃśas te dhātuḥ
Viduṣa—Viduṣa ete dhayaḥ.
 Viduṣā bahiṣpavamānaḥ.
Viṣuṇasya—Viṣuṇasya cāruḥ.
Vidīgayaḥ—Kikidīvir vidīgayaḥ.
Vidānaḥ—Hotṛṣadane vidānaḥ.
 Rabhasaṃ vidānam.
Vividānaḥ—Vasu vividānaḥ.
Vidatha—Ākṣeti vidathā kaviḥ.
 Vidathe antareṣām.
Vidhura—Vidhureva rejate.
Viśpatnīyai—Tasyai viśpatnīyai haviḥ.
Viṣūca—Viṣūcīnāni tasya.
 Viṣūca evāsmān.
 Viṣūcī praharati.
Vāyavya—Vāyavyāḥ kāryāḥ.
 Vāyavyaṃ śvetam.
Vaiśvānara—Vaiśvānaro naḥ.
 Vaiśvānaraṃ dvādaśakapālam.
Vīrya—Indriyaṃ vīryam.
 Vīryāṇi samārabhya.
Vidyā—Vidyā vai dhiṣaṇā vidyābhiḥ.
Vāsanta—Vāsantās sāraagāḥ.
 Vāsantāyāṣṭākapālaḥ.
Vāsanti—Vāsantikāv ṛtū.
Vārṣika—Vārṣikāv ṛtu.
Vṛtvāya—Tūnyā vṛtvāya.
Valmīka—Yad valmīko'gnim purīṣyam.
Varāha—Varāho'yam.
Vītho—Vītho ghṛtasya.
Vapā—Yad vapāgram oṣadhīnām.
 Vapām ekaḥ.
Vyāghra—Sa yathā vyāghraḥ.
 Vyāghreṇāraṇyān.
Varīyasī—Varīyasīm evāsmai.
Vasava—Ā yasmin sapta vasavaḥ.
Vaṃsaga—Tigmaśṛṅgo na vāṃsagaḥ.
Vāhasa—Pratiśrutkāyai vāhasaḥ.
Vāyavaḥ—Vāyavastha.
Vasyasī—Vasyasīṃ saṃsadam.

Vīrudha—Vīrudhaś ca me.
Vīratām—Vīratāṃ pāhi.
Vāghataḥ—Mūrdhnor viśvasya vāghataḥ.
Varttikā—Varttikā nīlaṅgoḥ.
Viśvataḥ—Viśvataḥ paribhūr asi.
Viśpati—Jyeṣṭho viśpatiḥ.
Enā viśpatinā.
Vācyāyana—Hemanto vācyāyanaḥ.
Viśva—Viśvaṃ ca me.
Amṛtāni viśvā.
Vīta—Vītaṃ ghṛtasya.

Suśrūṣeṇyāṃ śiśriyāṇaḥ śaravyāḥ śabdau śag[1]māṃ śāradaśruc chavartān /
Śrāyantīyaṃ śiṃśumāraś [2]śamīvāñ śabdaś śundhyūś śambarasya śvitiṅgāḥ // 63//
Śakuntikā śayaṇḍakaś śravasyavaś ca śuśruvān /
Śikhaṇḍaśaiśiraśrutiś śacīpatiś ca śitpuṭaḥ //64//
Śunaśśepaṃ śunāsīrā śīrṣaṇyā śuṣmiṇaśrutiḥ /
Śaulbāyanaś śamayitoś śārdūlāya ca śuṣmayam //65//
Śauceyaś śośucānaś ca śiśānaś [3]śāradaśrutiḥ /
Śubhitaṃ śarabhaṃ śryaiṣṭhyaṃ śreṣṭhaśyāmākaśabdavat //66//
Śvitānaś śūrathaś[4] śvātrā[5]śamitre śākvaraśrutiḥ /
Śaṇḍāya

Śuśrūṣeṇyām—Śuśrūṣeṇyāṃ manuṣyebhya ḥ.
Śiśriyāṇaḥ—Kakubhi śiśriyāṇaḥ. Śiśriyāṇaṃ vane vane.
Śaravya—Śivā śaravyāya.
Tasya tisraḥ śaravyāḥ.
Śagmām—Śagmāṃ no vācam.
Śārada—Śāradāv ṛtū.
Pṛśnayas trayaś śāradāḥ.
Śavartta—Śavarttānūvaddhyena.
Śrāyantīyam—Śrāyantīyaṃ brāhmasāma.
Śiṃśumāraḥ—Sindhoś śiṃśumāraḥ.

1 B 'gmam' 2 C 'śimī'
3 B C 'śara' 4 B 'śurudhaḥ' 5 B C 'traśśami'

Śamīvān—Dhuniś śamīvān.
Śamīvato bhāminah.
Śundhyūḥ—Uvasvāṃ cchundhyūḥ.
Śambarasya—Daṃhitāś[1] śambarasya.
Śvitiṅga—Saumyās trayaś śvitiṅgāḥ.
Śakuntikā—Iyaṃ yakā śakuntikā.
Śayaṇḍaka—Sa[2] jāyā śayaṇḍakaḥ.
Śravasyavaḥ—Śravasyavo ghṛtasya.
Śuśruvān—Śuśruvān grāmaṇīḥ.
Śikhaṇḍa—Indrāgnī śikhaṇḍābhyām.
Śikhaṇḍebhyas svāhā.
Śaiśira—Śāiśirāv ṛtū.
Śacīpati—Kṛtvā śacīpatiḥ.
Śitpuṭa—Bṛhaspataye śitpuṭaḥ.
Śunaḥśepam—Śunahśepam ājīgarttiḥ.[3]
Śunāsīrā—Śunāsīrāśunam.
Śīrṣaṇyā—Śīrṣaṇyā raśanā. Śīrṣaṇyā niṣpataḥ.
Śuṣmiṇaḥ—Anamīvasya śuṣmiṇaḥ.
Śaulbāyana—Udaṅkaś śāulbāyanaḥ.
Śamayitoḥ—Yajamānasya śamayitoḥ.
Śārdūlāya—Śārdūlāya rājñe.
Śuṣmayam—Madaṃ ca śuṣmayam.
Śauceyaḥ—Sārvaseniś śauceyaḥ.
Śośucānaḥ—Pṛthunā śośucānaḥ.
Śiśānaḥ—Śiśāno vṛṣabhaḥ.
Śiśāno'gniḥ.
Śārada—Śaradam ṛtūnām.
Śāradā tvartunā.
Śubhitam—Śubhitam ugravīram.
Śarabham—Śarabham araṇyam.
Śryaiṣṭhyam—Śryaiṣṭhyaṃ samānānām.
Śreṣṭha—Yac chreṣṭho bhavati.
Śyāmāka—Yac chyāmākaḥ.
Śyāmākaṃ carum.
Śvitānaḥ—Sa śvitānas tanyataḥ.
Śūrathaḥ—Śūra[4]thaś candrāgrāḥ.
Śvātrā—Śvātrāstha.

1 C 'dṛm'
2 C 'sṛjayā'
3 C 'tim'
4 C 'rutha'

Śamitre—Śamitre śamitā.
Śākvara—Saptapadā śākvarī.
Yad indrāya śākvarāya.
Śaṇḍāya—Śaṇḍāya tvā.

ṣoḍaśaśruc ca

Ṣoḍaṣa—Vajraś ṣoḍaśaḥ.
Indrāya tvā ṣoḍaśine.
Na vai ṣoḍaśi.

suṣāva samayā svariḥ //67//
Svasrīyas svaraṇam[1] sagdhis svasāraśrut sasasti ca /
Sanutas sanitā sakhyam sakhāyas salilaśrutiḥ //68//
Saceran sūkaras sūcyā sutānām sumnayāśrutiḥ /
Salāvṛkī sinīvālī sāmānyasthāvaraśrutiḥ[2] //69//
Samanā samane samyak somendram sānagas suvānaśrut[3] /
Sṛñjayān sṛmaras saṅge sāyujyam sādhuyā siṣāsantīḥ //70//
Suṣupuṣas suṣuvāṇasamāvatī svarusadasyasamudriya-śabdavat /
Svadayitā ca sanemisavīmanisthavimatas sarirasya saniṣyavaḥ //71//
Satrasyardhyā sagarasuṣirasvārasāraṅgaśabdāś śabdas subdhān sanavatha sakṛt svāṃkṛtas[4] saṃskṛtam ca /
Snāvanyābhyām savanasadanasvāduśabdās sanīyān sarnīkāya[5] svaditasuvitasvastiśabdās svapantam //72//
Sādhāraṇam sardigṛdim [6]saheyas sālāvṛkebhyaś ca sarīsṛpebhyaḥ /
Saṁskṛtya sutyā stanayitnuśabdās svāttam samānatra samasya saṅkāḥ //73//
Sāhantyasāvitrasapatnasūnṛtāśruto[7]

Suṣāva—Yam te suṣāva.
Samayā—Samayā viprktaḥ.

1 C 'ṇaṃ sindhuḥ'
2 B C 'rāśru'
3 C 'śrutiḥ'
4 B 'vākṛ'
5 B C 'sarṇī'
6 B C 'sabhe'
7 C 'tāś śabdā śruto'.

Svariḥ—Svarur amatraḥ.
Svasrīyaḥ—Svasrīyo surāṇām.
Svaraṇam—Somānaṃ svaraṇam.
[1]Sagdhi—Sagdhiś ca me.[1]
Svasā—Devānām asi svasā.
Triṃśat svasāraḥ.
Sasasti—Sasastyaśvakaḥ.
Sanutaḥ—Sanutar yuyotu.
Sanitā—Sanitāsi saneyam.
Sakhyam—Marto vṛṇīta sakhyam.
Sakhāyaḥ—Avase sakhāyaḥ.
Sakhāyaṃ pariṣasvajā.
Salilam—Salilaṃ chandaḥ.
Saceran—Rakṣāṃsi saceran.
Sūkaraḥ—Indrāya rājñe sūkaraḥ.
Sūcyā—Sūcyā chidyamānayā.
Sutānām—Pradivas sutānām.
Sumnayā—Dhīrā deveṣu sumnayā.
Salāvṛkī—Sa Indras salāvṛkī.
Sinīvālī—Sinīvālī paurṇamāsī.
Sinīvālyai carum.
Sāmānya—Sāmānya ṛco bhavanti.
Sthāvara—Varuṇagṛhītā vai sthāvarā.
Yas thāvarāṇām.
Samanā—Te ācarantī samanā.
Samane—Jyā iyaṃ samane.
Samyak—Amṛtam amṛtena samyak.
Somendram—Etaṃ somendram.
Sānaga—Sānaga ṛṣiḥ.
Suvāna—Suvānas somaḥ.
Sṛñjayān—Yat sṛñjayān.
Sṛmaraḥ—Araṇyāya sṛmaraḥ.
Saṅge—Samatsu vṛtrahā(?).
Sāyujyam—Devatānāṃ sāyujyaṃ gacchati.
Sādhuyā—Rūpaṃ kṛṇotu sādhuyā.
Siṣāsantī—Śṛṅgāṇi siṣāsantī.
Suṣupuṣa—Suṣupuṣa indriyam.

Suṣuvāṇa—Varuṇaṃ suṣuvāṇam.
Diśas suṣuvāṇena.
Samāvati—Tathān[1] samāvatī.
Svaru—Svaruṃ yūpasya.
Svarum ayajñaveśasāya.
Sadasya—Yāvanto vai sadasyāḥ.
Sadasyān eva tat prīṇāti.
Samudriyam—Balam asi samudriyam.
Svadayitā—Pavayitā svadayitā.
Sarnemi—Sarnemy asmat.
Savīmani—Savīmani hiraṇyapāṇiḥ.
Sthavimataḥ—Sthavimato bahiḥ.[2]
Sarirasya—Vi bhrājamānas sarirasya.
Saniṣyavaḥ—Medhasā tā saniṣyavaḥ.
Satrasyardhyā—Satrasyardhyāhavanīyasya.
Sagara—Sagaras sumekaḥ.
Sagaro vajriṇo nāmastha.
Suṣira—Yad veṇos suṣiram.
Suṣirābhir bhavati.
Svāra—Svāraṃ svārāt.
Sāraṅga—Sāraṅgās trayaḥ.
Sabda—Sabdas sagaraḥ.
Subdha—Tān subdhān yat.
Sanavatha—Sanavatha pūruṣam.
Sakṛt—Sakṛdyatvā manasā.
Svāṃkṛta—Svāṃkṛto'si.
Saṃskṛtam—Tan nas saṃskṛtam.
Snāvanyābhyām—Santatiṃ snāvanyābhyām.
Savana—Mādhyandinaṃ savanam.
Mādhyandine savane.
Sadana—Sadanāni kṛtvā.
Arṇave sadane sīda.
Svādu—Svādoḥ.
Svādīyaḥ.
Svādunā.
Sanīyān—Pracetā amutas sanīyān.
Sarnīkāya—Sarnīkāya tvā.

1 C 'tathainān' 2 C 'barhiḥ'

Svadita—Svaditāni vakṣat.
Suvita—Suvitan no astu.
Svasti—Rayiṃ naśate svasti.
Spaḍyas svastiḥ.
Pramuñcā svastaye (?).
Svapantam—Svapantaṃ vai dīkṣitam.
Sādhāraṇam—Sādhāraṇaṃ kurute.
Sardigṛdim—Sardigṛdiṃ parāvadhīt.
Sabheyaḥ—Sabheyo yuvā.
Sālāvṛkebhyaḥ—Indro yatīn sālāvṛkebhyaḥ.
Sarīsṛpebhyaḥ—Sarīsṛpebhyas svāhā.
Saṃskṛtya—Śarīram eva saṃskṛtya.
Sutyā—Sutyā sampadyate.
Sutyāṃ sampādayati.
Stanayitnu—Arvāṅ tena stanayitnunā.
Svātta—Svāttaṃ citsadevam.
Samānatra—Tasmāt samānatra.
Samasya—Manas samasya ūḍhyaḥ.
Saṅkāḥ—Isudhis saṅkāḥ.
Sāhantya—Agnim eva sāhantyam.
Agnaye sāhantyāya.
Viśvajitsāhantyaḥ.
Sāvitraḥ—Sāvitram āgrāyaṇāt.
Sāvitrāṇi juhoti.
Sapatna—Sapatnaṃ durmarāyum.
Praṇudānas sapatnān.
Sūnṛtā—Yajño vai sūnṛtā.
Yo vai sūnṛtāyai.

havişyaṃ ca halīkṣṇaśabdaḥ[1] /
[2]Hemantahotrīyahiraṇmayaśruto[3] haimantikaśruc ca
hikaṃ hiraṇmayam[4] //73//

Haviṣyam—Yad dhaviṣyam ṛtuśaḥ.
Halīkṣṇaḥ—Ūlo halīkṣṇaḥ.
Halīkṣṇān pāpavātena.

1 B C 'davat'
2 B 'haima'
3 B C 'ṇyaya śruto'
4 B 'ṇyayaśrutaṃ'

Hemanta—Grīṣmo hemantaḥ.
Hotrīya—Hotrīyo mārjālīyaḥ.
Hiraṇmaya—Hiraṇmayena savitā.
Yonir hiraṇmayī.
Haimantika—Haimantikāv ṛtū.
Haimantikā avaliptāḥ,
Hika—Rājāhikaṃ bhuvanānām.
Hiraṇmayam—Hiraṇmayaṃ dāma dakṣiṇā.

*** Prapañcatvād aniṅgyānām diṅmātram iha darśitam /**
Ato'nuktaṃ ca yatkiñcid unneyaṃ tan manīṣibhiḥ //75/

* Note—After this the following is written in A and C :
'Eṣāniṅgyapadānāṃ padavī sandarśitā [1]subhagadhiyā/
Devamanīṣisutena śrīvatsāṇkena taittirīyāṇām//
After this C. reads :
Bindudurlipivisargavīcikā-
paṅktibhedapadabhedadūṣaṇam/
Hastavegajam abuddhiprūvakaṃ
kṣantum arhatha samīkṣya sajjanāḥ//

Śrī gurubhyo namaḥ.

1 C viśuddhadhiyā.